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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

JAMES WILSON BRIGHT, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM WILLIAM KURRELMEYER

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

VOLUME XXXVIII

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

JAMES WILSON BRIGHT, Editor-in-Chief

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM WILLIAM KURRELMEYER

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

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VOLUME XXXVIII JANUARY, 1923 NUMBER 1

JOHN FOSTER'S PIONEER INTERPRETATION OF THE ROMANTIC

Out of the multiplication of studies and conflicting theories which have gathered around the English Romantic Movement during the past thirty years one result stands unchallenged as a self-evident fact: the writers of that period did not know that they were "romanticists." Unlike the self-conscious *Romantiker* and *romantiques* of the Continent, they did not recognize the significance of the widespread change in the European mind, of which they were the prophets; in contrast with the earlier concerted enthusiasm of the Germans and the later sophisticated insurgence of the French, the English never attached any formal significance to the term romantic. These are facts, not opinions; the literature of the time is common property, the evidence, apparently, is all in.

At the same time, the historic interest of the scattered but steadily increasing use of "romantic" by English writers through the Romantic Period is by no means inconsiderable. We need, in fact, as emphasized anew by Professor Lovejoy's recent searching re-examination of the meaning of romantic in early German romanticism,[1] a thorough study of the term, let us say, from 1750 to 1850. The present lack of such special investigation, however, cannot explain the surprising and well-nigh complete neglect of John Foster's essay, "On the Application of the Epithet Ro-

[1] "On the Meaning of 'Romantic' in Early German Romanticism," A. O. Lovejoy, *MLN*, 1916 (XXXI), 385-396; 1917 (XXXII), 65-77. See also "Schiller and the Genesis of Romanticism" by the same writer, *MLN*, 1920 (XXXV), 1-10.

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mantic," published in 1805. Here is a discussion of some eighteen thousand words, from the pen of an essayist widely known in his own lifetime (1770-1843), appearing in a volume[2] which ran through at least thirty-five English and American editions. It is not only the pioneer attempt in England to find the meaning and larger implications of the romantic,[3] but it anticipates much that is fundamental in all subsequent discussion of the baffling term and of the perennial spiritual phenomena which it describes.[4] And it achieves at least some constructive interpretation of these phenomena. A work of such significance deserves rescue from oblivion. Such a rescue is the aim of the present study.

By the rigorous method which would honor more recent investigation in semasiology, Foster begins with an exposure of the careless application of censorious terms in general, illustrating with Puritan, Methodist, and Jacobin; and proceeds to a scrutiny of the common disparaging use of romantic.

"For having partly quitted the rank of plain epithets, it has become a convenient exploding word, of more special deriding

[2] *Essays in a Series of Letters to a Friend,* [his future wife] *on the following subjects: On a Man's Writing Memoirs of Himself; On Decision of Character; On the Application of the Epithet Romantic. Some of the Causes by which Evangelical Religion has been Rendered less Acceptable to Persons of Cultivated Taste,* by John Foster, 1805. Citations are made from vol. I of the 3rd ed. in 2 vols. 1806.

[3] Probably the first well-known English discussion of the distinction between classical and romantic, one which deserves more frequent recognition, is in Hazlitt's review of Schlegel's "Lectures on Dramatic Literature," *Edinburgh Review,* Feb. 1816, which he quotes at length in "Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth," Lecture VIII, "On the Spirit of Ancient and Modern Literature," 2nd ed. 1821, p. 321 ff.

[4] The importance of Foster as a pioneer was suggested in my paper read by title at the MLA. meeting of 1917. *PMLA.* 1918, p. xxviii. Apparently neither Professor Pierce in *Currents and Eddies of the English Romantic Movement,* 1918 (p. 288), nor Professor Babbitt in *Rousseau and Romanticism,* 1920 (p. 8), agrees with my estimate, although obviously the plan of both these studies would permit only brief reference to Foster.

The Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit. (XII, 311, 316, bibl. 512) makes no special mention of the essay.

C. H. Herford, *The Age of Wordsworth,* 12th ed. 1919, merely lists the title, p. 29 n.

Oliver Elton, *A Survey of English Literature,* 1780-1830, ignores him. This is representative of the treatment accorded Foster by the authorities on this period.

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significance than the other words of its order, such as wild, extravagant, visionary. It is a standard expression of contemptuous despatch . . . by the indolent and inanimate on what they deemed impracticable, by the apes of prudence on what they accounted foolishly adventurous, and by the slaves of custom on what startled them as singular." [5]

Thus at the outset he characterizes definitely the significant eighteenth century attitude toward the term with greater precision than in any other statement that I have discovered up to 1805.

"Pray now what do you mean by romantic?" he continues,

"Perhaps one may mean, that the ideas which I am expressing associate in your mind with the fantastic images of Romance; and that you cannot help thinking of the enchanted castles, encounters with giants, solemn exorcisms, fortunate surprises, knights and wizards, dragons and griffins." [6]

The author might well have been thinking of the recent crop of Gothic romances in his own time, but he was actually describing the original examples of the middle ages, as he definitely shows further on. In any case he derives from them what appears to him the determining characteristic of the romantic, that is, "the ascendency of imagination over judgment." [7]

This is his fundamental definition which forms the basis for the rest of his discussion. From a brief though interesting consideration of the "prevalence of imagination over reason" in the creative attitude of the medieval romancers he passes to the characterization of the

"craving of the human mind for something more vivid, more elated, and more wonderful, than the plain realities of life; as a kind of mental balloon, for mounting into the air from the ground of ordinate experience, as an extra-rational kind of luxury." [8]

With this background he proposes to

[5] Foster, 1806 ed., p. 240.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

[7] This phrasing is from an American ed. from the 7th London ed. revised, Andover, 1826, p. 114.

[8] Ed. of 1806, p. 243.

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"look for some of the practical exemplifications of this unfortunate disproportion between the two faculties." [9]

Very plainly it is these "practical exemplifications" which are vital to every student of Romanticism whether they manifest themselves in the first quarter of the nineteenth century or in our own time.

The description of the first of these is so strikingly prophetic of the developments of romanticism that it must be quoted at length:

"Imagination may be indulged till it usurp an entire ascendency over the mind, and then every subject presented to that mind will excite imagination, instead of understanding, to work; imagination will throw its colours where the intellectual faculty ought to draw its lines; imagination will accumulate metaphors where reason ought to deduce arguments; images will take the place of thoughts, and scenes of disquisitions. The whole mind may become at length something like a hemisphere of cloud-scenery, filled with an evermoving train of changing melting forms, of every colour, mingled with rainbows, meteors, and an occasional gleam of pure sunlight, all vanishing away, the mental like this natural imagery, when its hour is up, without leaving anything behind but the wish to recover vision. And yet, the while, this series of visions may be mistaken for operations of thought, and each cloudy image be admitted in the place of a proposition or a reason; or it may even be mistaken for something sublimer than thinking. The influence of this habit of dwelling on the beautiful fallacious forms of imagination, will accompany the mind into the most serious speculations, or rather musings, on the real world, and what is to be done in it, and expected; as the image, which the eye acquires from looking at any dazzling object, still appears before it wherever it turns." [10]

This is nothing more or less than a revelation of what we have come to term "romantic revery," [11] and is a remarkable anticipation of Shelley the poet or Shelley the prose rhapsodist. Such an "extrarational kind of luxury," Foster hastens to explain, is not to be cultivated, "except perhaps in early life," but he considers it wholly human, that the exercise of the imagination "so easy

[9] 1826 ed., p. 115.

[10] 1806 ed., pp. 248-9.

[11] This escape of the mind is described by the term "reveries," on p. 275.

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and bewitching, and the scope so infinite, should obtain a predominance over judgment." Foster, in fact, essays here as elsewhere in his discussion to determine the extent to which the mind may profitably disport itself in "the land of chimeras."

In Letter II, continuing the examination of the "romantic modes in which the ascendency of imagination operates," the author strikes unwittingly but profoundly into one of the central aspects of the extreme romantic attitude, the obsession of uniqueness, a "persuasion in a person's own mind that he is born to some peculiar and extraordinary destiny."[12] This obsession Foster distinguishes carefully from justified confidence in one's ability or destiny, pointing out that the victim of the "visionary presumption . . . takes no deliberate account of what is inevitable in the lot of humanity."[13] "If this excessive imagination is combined with tendencies to affection, it makes a person *sentimentally* romantic."[14] Foster continues in this significant union of terms, thus forecasting subsequent exploration of the relationships between sentimentalism and romanticism. He then proceeds to sketch with almost uncanny accuracy a distinct type that was shortly to burst upon the world.

"If a passion for variety and novelty accompanies this extravagant imagination, it will exclude from its bold sketches of future life every thing like confined regularity, and common plodding occupations. It will suggest that *I* was born for an adventurer, whose story will one day amaze the world. Perhaps I am to be an universal traveller; and there is not on the globe a grand city, or ruin, or volcano, or cataract, but I must see it. Debility of constitution, deficiency of means, innumerable perils, unknown language, oppressive toils, and the shortness of life, are very possibly all left out of the account.

If there is in the disposition a love of what is called glory, and an almost religious admiration of those capacious and intrepid spirits, one of which has often decided in one perilous day the destiny of armies and of empires, a predominant imagination may

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 255. For an illuminating and profound study of this aspect of romanticism *cf.* Babbitt's chap. on Romantic Genius in *Rousseau and Romanticism*, which will shortly be supplemented by a historical survey of the idea of original genius by the present writer.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 256-7.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 257. This is the first linking of these terms that I have found.

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be left to revel amidst the splendours of military exploit, and to flatter the man that he too is to be a hero, a great general." [15]

Thus clearly does Foster add the anticipatory portrait of Byron to that of Shelley.

Apparently, also, Foster divined on a not far distant horizon the signs of eccentricity of manner which was to break out shortly in England and France and which was to continue sporadically in certain aesthetic groups throughout the century, for he cites

"great aversion to the common modes of action and languages, and an habitual affectation of something extraordinary." [16]

and describes how

"They will perhaps disdain regular hours, usual dresses, and common forms of transacting business; this you are to regard as the impulse of a spirit whose high vocation requires it to renounce all signs of relation to vulgar minds." [17]

It would seem, moreover, that not a single important element of romanticism escapes this critic, for he is prompt to recognize the aspect of romantic solitude, the full significance of which is often overlooked.[18] Thus, speaking of himself, he says,

"the very word *hermit* was enough to transport him, like the witch's broomstick, to the solemn groves, mossy rocks, crystal streams, and gardens of radishes. While this fancy lasted, he forgot the most obvious of all facts, that man is not made for habitual solitude, nor can endure it without misery, except when transformed into a superstitious ascetic." [19]

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 258-9, cf. Hazlitt's definitive description of the romantic rebels at the end of the *Lecture on the Living Poets*, in *Lectures on the English Poets*, 1818.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 261. This does not refer to the future particularly, as the paragraph opens, "you will generally observe," etc. Such a reference suggests the interesting inquiry as the vagaries already noticeable in romantics up to 1805. Cf. Babbitt, *op. cit.*, chap. on Romantic Genius, pp. 58-63 and references there given which will readily suggest other well known aberrations in manners.

[18] It is to be hoped that an important Harvard dissertation on this subject by Professor Odell Shepard of Trinity College may be soon made accessible to students.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 264. The 1826 ed. adds, "nor probably even then." (p. 122).

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In this connection Foster begins to lay down the basis of the fundamental fallacy of the romantic attitude in terms amazingly similar to those of the present day humanists. With unusual force and clarity he shows that the illusory character of these various ravings and obsessions is not in their being "uncongenial with the human mind," but in their being "incongruous with the nature of man."

"Perhaps however you will say, What is that nature? Is it not a mere passive thing, variable almost to infinity, according to climate, to institutions, and to the different ages of time?" [20]

The reply is incisive and significant:

"I speak of human nature in its most general principles only, as social, self-interested, inclined to the wrong, slow to improve, passing through several states of capacity and feeling in the successive periods of life, and the few other such permanent distinctions. Any of these distinctions may vanish from the sight of a visionary mind, while forming, for itself or for others, such schemes as could have sprung only from an imagination become wayward through its excess of power." [21]

This sober, general view of human nature Foster proceeds to apply in a single paragraph of notable conciseness and completeness to the recent attempts to revolutionize society.

"The same charge of being unadapted to man, seems applicable to the speculations of those philosophers and philanthropists who have eloquently displayed the happiness, and asserted the practicability, of an equality of property and modes of life throughout society. Those who really anticipated or projected the practical trial of the system, must have forgotten on what planet those apartments were built, or those arbours were growing, in which they were contemplating such visions. For in these visions they beheld the ambition of another, the avarice of another, the stupidity or indolence of another, and the selfishness of almost all, as mere adventitious faults, superinduced on the character of the species, and instantly flying off at the approach of better institutions, which shall prove, to the confusion of all the calumniators of human nature, that nothing is so congenial to it as industry, moderation, and disinterestedness. It is at the same time but just to acknowledge, that many of them have admitted the necessity of such a grand transformation as to make man another being,

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 262.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

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previously to the adoption of the system. This is all very well; when the proper race of *men* shall come from Utopia, the system of polity may very properly come along with them; or these sketches of it, prepared for them by us, may be carefully preserved here, in volumes more precious than those of the Sibyls, against their arrival. Till then, the sober observers of the human character will read these beautiful theories as romances, adapted to excite sarcastic ridicule in their splenetic hours, when they are disgusted with human nature, and to produce deep melancholy in their benevolent ones, when they pity it." [22]

My justification for such a lengthy quotation lies in Foster's definite description of political and social Utopianism as a fundamental manifestation of the romantic temper and the romantic view of life. That his obduracy toward the naïve and enthusiastic faith in both the essential goodness and perfectibility of human nature are original in his own time I am not, of course, contending for a moment: he shares the sober and "tough-minded" attitude of such men as Burke and the abler conservatives of the period. But I have not found so unerring analysis of the nature of the imperfect organization of society as conditioned by the constitutional imperfection of the members of that society. In this passage with special clearness we can hear the accents of the contemporary humanistic critics of romanticism.

Turning to the institution of chivalry for further illustration of a similar perversion of normal human expression, Foster presents a diverting picture of the medieval inversions and suppressions of natural desires, concluding this section with the repetition of his general definition that

"schemes and speculations respecting the interests either of an individual or of society, which are inconsistent with the natural constitution of man, may, except where it should be reasonable to expect some supernatural intervention, be denominated romantic." [23]

The last paragraph of Letter II passes by awkward transition to a general emotional element in the romantic temper, the *flair*

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 266-7.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 270. Such a statement would, of course, accomplish little except to open the dispute regarding the "natural constitution of man," if Foster had not been careful to define this constitution, quoted above.

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for the huge and vast. "All the images in the intellectual scene" of those "subject to this disease," says Foster,

"must be colossal and mountainous. They are constantly seeking what is animated into heroics, what is expanded into immensity, what is elevated above the stars. But for great empires, great battles, great enterprises, great convulsions, great geniuses, great temples, great rivers, there would be nothing worth naming in this part of the creation. All that belongs to connexion, gradation, harmony, regularity, and utility, is thrown out of sight behind these forms of vastness. The influence of this exclusive taste will reach into the system of projects and expectations. The man will wish to summon the world to throw aside its tame accustomed pursuits, and adopt at once more magnificent views and objects, and will be indignant at mankind that they cannot or will not be sublime."[24]

Thus does Foster anticipate in a first definite survey another important aspect of romanticism. Such unwitting forecast seems today hardly less than uncanny. We feel that Foster's essay should be dated nearer to 1905 than a century earlier.

But our historian before the event, as it were, has by no means finished his survey. In Letter III he explodes the myth of the noble savage and pricks the bubble of primitivism. His emphasis is, indeed, rather on the deluded enthusiast's vision

"transforming a multitude of stupid and ferocious tribes into a community of mild intelligence and regular industry."[25]

Such a humanitarian dreamer

"would become sober enough, if compelled to travel a thousand miles through the desert, or over the snow, with some of these subjects of his lectures and legislation; to accompany them in a hunting expedition, to choose in a stormy night between exposure in the open air and the smoke and grossness of their cabins; to observe the intellectual faculty narrowed almost to a point, limited to a scanty number of the meanest class of ideas; to find by repeated experiments that *his* kind of ideas could neither reach their understanding nor excite their curiosity; to see the ravenous appetite of wolves exceeded for a season by a stupidity insensible even to the few interests which kindle the utmost ardour of a savage; to witness loathsome habits occasionally diversified by abominable cere-

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 271-2.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

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monies; or to be for once the spectator of some of the circumstances which accompany the wars of savages." [26]

No wonder that the "attempt of some ingenious men to represent the state of wandering savages as preferable to every other condition of life" are "whimsical"! [27] In the light of this ironical exposure it is instructive to recall that Chateaubriand's *René* appeared in the same year as these words.[28] But it was Foster's voice and not Chateaubriand's that was crying in the wilderness!

This primitivistic fallacy which had been gaining ground steadily for fifty years and which was coloring romantic thought more and more deeply Foster holds up as one of the dangerous delusions of another rapidly developing aspect of romanticism, the enthusiasm for humanitarian reform. This propensity for "projects of a benevolent order," [29] as Foster terms it, one of the marks of the "romantic mind," [30] is marked fatal insistence on "violation of all the relations between ends and means." [31] We can well understand the chill of disillusion which in these years called forth Foster's pitying scorn for the gushing sympathies and rosy hopes of the 1790's; we can only marvel at the clear sighted condemnation of his phrase "romantic delusion" [32] so far in advance of its current application some decades later.

The last two Letters, IV and V, amplify his unsparing exposure of the hollowness of all humanitarian reform which is based on ingenuous beliefs in the sweet reasonableness and docility of human nature. Here Foster appears plainly to be answering the fundamental social philosophy of Godwin.[33] Unfortunately, he says, there is no

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 287-8.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[28] *Atala* had appeared in 1801. Wordsworth's decisive attack on the idealization of the savage in *The Excursion*, III, 950 ff. will be recalled.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 301. And this would apply to the *fin de siècle* pessimism in France. We must wait for at least another generation before such an idea finds expression in England.

[33] Students of Godwin will recognize Foster's use of the phrase "the Omnipotence of Truth."

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"avoiding the ungracious perception, in viewing the general character of the race, that, after some allowance for what is called natural affection, and for compassionate sympathy, (an excellent principle, but extremely limited and often capricious in its operation,) the main strength of human feelings consists in the love of sensual gratification, of distinction, of power and of money." [34]

Appeals to reason and the innate goodness of the human heart have never availed to regenerate man or bring the millenium.

"Nor do I perceive any signs as yet that we are commencing a better era, in which the means that have failed before, or the expeditions of a new and more fortunate invention, shall become irresistible, like the sword of Michael, in our hands. The nature of man still 'casts ominous conjecture on the whole success.' While *that* is corrupt, it will pervert even the very schemes and operations by which the world should be improved, though their first principles were pure as heaven; and revolutions, great discoveries, augmented sciences, and new forms of polity, will become in *effect* what may be denominated the sublime mechanics of depravity." [35]

Society, therefore, cannot be regenerated by changing external forms and institutions, for the only meaning of forms and institutions lies in the functioning of the human subject, and as long as the moral revolutionist, declares Foster with impressive finality,

"As long as he is condemned to depend, for the efficacy of his schemes, on the aid of so much pure propensity as he shall find in the corrupted subject, he will be nearly in the case of a man attempting to climb a tree by laying hold, first on this side, and then on that, of some rotten twig, which still breaks off in his hand, and lets him fall among the nettles." [36]

Such is the religious and ethical, the general sociological manifestation of a certain universal tendency in humanity, the tendency which Foster, in the light of the general spiritual upheaval of his time, significantly denominated romantic. All unconsciously, it would seem, we have merely echoed him whenever we have attempted comprehensive interpretation of the romantic movement. At least our contemporary neo-humanist appraisal of romanticism, from the eighteenth century to the present, can find its fundamental positions outlined with startling pointedness in him. For

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 308 and cf. quotation from Godwin, p. 315 n.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 318.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 310.

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he is concerned primarily not with the new literary fashions, however significant and important they may be, but with the momentous shifting of thought, the sudden widening of vision, the liberation of imagination, however we choose to describe the revolutionary attitude of his time. He sees romanticism as the age-long expression of human restlessness; as waywardness; as rebellion against brute fact and the attendant effort to escape and transcend the grind of ordinary experience; as longing for some Utopia based on generous and ardent, though tragically ungrounded, confidence in human goodness; and so as the substitution of sympathy for discipline and coercion both in the individual and in the social organism. All this he sees as a perennial urge; and the particular developments of it affecting every aspect of experience he binds together by a term which the eighteenth century had made increasingly comprehensive though still vague. His synthesis was nothing less than an inspiration; all these tendencies revealing the ascendency of the imagination or feeling over reason he grouped within the term romantic.

I am not sure how far we have progressed beyond Foster in our interpretation of the movements inspired by this common fundamental impulse. Consider his insight into romantic egotism, romantic revery, romantic imagination, his unmasking of romantic belief in human goodness and in the sway of sympathy and benevolence, his consequent exposure of the fallacy of romantic humanitarianism. We must then grant him the title of pioneer in the interpretation of the English romantic revolt. That he was a conscious prophet, that he recognized a coherent stream in which many tributaries merged, I do not for a moment contend. He could hardly forsee the drift which we with our perspective can perceive; the phrase "romantic movement" would not occur to him, although he would, I believe, have caught its significance with quicker insight than most of his contemporaries. Even if my large claims for him be accepted only with reservations, the mere treatment of the subject,—and, it should be insisted, at such length,—as well as the uniqueness of the attempt at this time, cannot be overlooked. Not until Hazlitt's significant importation of Schlegel's exposition of the classical and romantic eleven years later[37]

[37] See note 3 above.

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do we meet anything approaching it even remotely. This fact in itself makes Foster's eclipse the more incomprehensible. That he was widely read is attested by the no less than thirty-five editions through which the essays passed.[38] Such men as Horne Tooke,[39] Joseph Cottle,[40] and De Quincey [41] mentioned his work with admiration, and De Quincey, indeed, wrote an essay about him devoting a paragraph to the essay before us, but none of his contemporaries apparently saw any significance in the "epithet romantic"; they were unconscious of the correlation of the movements which they themselves so strikingly embodied. They simply did not grasp the relation of the term to the currents which swept them along.[42]

[38] Foster was one of the best known essayists in the greatest period of the English essay ,contributing 186 articles on a very wide range of subjects to the *Eclectic Review*, from 1806 to 1839. A selection of 59 of these was published in two volumes under the title *Biographical, Literary, and Philosophical Essays; contributed to the Eclectic Review by John Foster*, in 1843; an American edition containing 20 appeared in 1844. This volume and also *Lectures delivered at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol, by John Foster*, London, 1845, 2nd ed., and the *Life and Correspondence of John Foster*, edited by J. E. Ryland, 2 vols., London, 1848, are not uncommon in American bookshops. His popularity is further demonstrated by the publication of *Fosteriana, consisting of Thoughts, Reflections, and Criticisms of John Foster*, ed. by Henry G. Bohn, 2 vols., 1858, 2d ed., 1877.

Of the essays with which we are concerned here at least one American edition appeared, that reprinted from the 7th London edition, at Andover, 1826.

[39] See *Life of Foster*, cited above, I, 244.

[40] In *Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey*, 1848, Introd., pp. xi-xii, Joseph Cottle exclaims:

"The whole of the events thus recorded, appear through the dim vista of memory, already with the scenes before the flood! while all the busy, the aspiring and the intellectual spirits here noticed, and once so well known, have hurried off our mortal stage!—Robert Lovell!—George Burnet!—Charles Lloyd!—George Catcott!—Dr. Beddoes!—Charles Danvers! —Amos Cottle!—William Gilbert!—John Morgan!—Ann Yearsley!—Sir H. Davy!—Hannah More!—Robert Hall!—Samuel Taylor Coleridge!—Charles Lamb!—Thomas Poole!—Josiah Wade!—Robert Southey!—and John Foster!"

[41] In *The Works of Thomas DeQuincey*, 12 vols., Boston, 1853, vol. VI, *Biographical and Historical Essays*, pp. 348-355. The presence of Foster amid such a group as Shakspere, Goethe, Schiller, Lamb, Hazlitt, Godwin, Shelley, and Keats in this famous volume would appear sufficient to lead students back to the subject of our study here.

[42] Yet almost everyone interested at the time must have seen or heard of the essay, for three editions were called for in less than a year.

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Foster is no more fortunate later in the ninetenth century.[43] Any direct influence of the essay in shaping ideas of the romantic I am unable to find. Yet I cannot but think it had unconscious influence which emerges later from underground and colors thought. The essay seems strikingly parallel to Young's "Conjectures on Original Compositon," a document without apparent influence in England in its own generation, lost to sight for almost one hundred and fifty years and suddenly recognized in our time as a turning point in critcism.[44] Foster may well merit a similar recognition. For practically unaided by the past or his own time, he by sheer penetration put a new content, a whole new set of values into the old term. Within its suddenly widened scope he ranged and correlated those modes of thought and feeling which we now call the characteristics of romanticism. Whatever his influence, then, he must be accorded the place of the English pioneer in the interpretation of the romantic.

American University. PAUL KAUFMAN.

ALTE UND NEUE WORTGESCHICHTEN

Allvater M. Nachbildung von altnord. (*Edda*) *alfaðir* (*alföðr*) 'Wodan'; seit Klopstock[1] 1769 *Hermannsschlacht* VIII, XII in der Dichtersprache geläufig, z. B. Schiller 1782 *Semele* v. 543 (= Zeus); Cramer 1796 *Raphael Pfau* II, 2. S. 528 und seit Campe 1807 gebucht und belegt.

[43] Robert Hall's review of Foster's Essays, in *The Miscellaneous Works and Remains of Robert Hall*, 1846, pp. 427-447, approves the essay intelligently, but is oblivious to its real bearing.

The most competent and sympathetic, though doubtless over-favorable estimate of Foster, is in George Gilfillan's *Gallery of Literary Portraits*, 1845, pp. 163-183. It is to be noted that Gilfillan includes him among the twenty-six "immortals" of the period 1790-1830, all of whom with the exception of Thomas Aird are far better remembered at present. Like Hall he shows no recognition of the significance of this essay.

[44] Recent references to the importance of Young are gathered by the present writer in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April, 1918, XVII, pp. 298-304.

[1] Das Wort ist jedoch nicht von Klopstock gebildet, wie z. B. Weigand-Hirt 1909 *Deu. Wbch.* I, 43 angibt, sondern erscheint schon bei Gottsched 1749 *Neuer Büchersaal* VIII, 85: Odin heisst Allvater. Vgl. Reichel 1909 *Gottsched-Wbch.* I, 136.—W. K.

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Blindekuh F. erst bei Klein 1792 *Provinzialwb.* I, 53 gebucht und bei Campe 1807, der es aber unter *blind* einordnet;[2] ältere Schreibung seit frühnhd. Zeit *blinde Kuh:* so seit Luther oft belegt, z. B. Fischart 1590 *Gargantua* S. 262 und Jul. v. Braunschweig 1593 *Von einem Wirte* (Holland) S. 329. Siber 1579 *Gemma* S. 146 bezeichnet *blinde Kuh* als obersächsisch; aber oberdeutsch gilt vielfach *blinde Maus* (z. B. Schnüffis 1695 *Maul-Trummel* S. 211) mhd. *blinde miuse* (Fischart 1575 S. 259) und *Blinzelmaus.* Zu *blinde Kuh* verzeichnet Stieler 1691 als Synonyma auch *Blinzelkuh, Wischauf,* und *Guckenbergen.*

Hain[2], **Hein(e)** verbreitete Kurzform für Heinrich als Familien- und Taufnamen: in der Verbindung "Freund Hain" euphemistische Bezeichnung des Todes wie schweiz. *Beinheinrich, Idiotikon* II, 1315. Seit der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts bezeugt auf einem anonymen Flugblatt: "Freund Hain lässt sich abwenden nit Mit Gewalt, mit Gut, mit Trew, noch Bitt Und braucht ohn all Barmherzigkeit Gegen jedermann hie Oberkeit" (*Illustr. deu. Monatshefte,* Juli 1872 S. 381 = K. Braun, Wiesbaden, *Aus der Mappe eines deutschen Reichsbürgers,* Hannover 1874 II, 157). Seit 1770 Literaturwort nach dem Vorgang von Matth. Claudius 1774 *Sämtl. Werke* I/II, 81 "wenn Freund Hain mit der Hippe kommt." Claudius schwankt zwischen *Hain* und *Freund Hain* im Vorwort zum 1. Bande und in dem Gedicht "Nach der Krankheit" 1777 *Werke* III, 158/59. Vgl. auch 1788 *Felsenburg, ein sittl. unterhaltendes Lesebuch* I, 3; Bretzner 1788 *Leben eines Lüderlichen* III, 56, 173, 235, 469.

Heiland[2] M. 'Mond': "Heiland nennen die Bauren uff den Schwartz-Walt und im Preyssgau den Mon, wenn sie ihn ehrerbietig nennen wollen" Grimmelshausen 1670 *Calender* S. 60; vgl. Zehner 1622 *Nomencl.* S. 133 "Luna, der Mond, vulgo der Heyland." Sonst unbezeugt. Nicht eins mit *Heiland*[1], das wäre Blasphemie; vielmehr verwandt mit frühahd. (*Gl. Ker.*) *heilantî heilantlîh* 'heilsam' = angls. *hâlwende hâlwynde* 'heilsam' (über *-wand* als Suffix vgl. meine *Stammbildungslehre* 2. Aufl. § 245). Die ehrerbietige Begrüssung des Mondes war von Hutabnehmen begleitet (Wuttke, *Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* 3. Aufl. S. 11).

[2] Schon Steinbach 1734 *Deu. Wbch.* I, 133 bucht: die blinde Kuh spielen, *velatis oculis alios capere.* Nach Reichel 1909 *Gottsched-Wbch.* I, 857 bedeutet *Blindekuh* bei Gottsched 1741 ein Kartenspiel.—W. K.

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Als Ansprache bedeutete unser Wort wohl den gekürzten Wunschsatz: "Sei Heilbringer oder heilbringend!"

Jammertal N. 'Erde, irdisches Leben' mhd. *jâmertal* N.; der Dichtersprache des höfischen Rittertums noch fremd; um 1300 oft in Hugo von Trimbergs *Renner* und seitdem in religiösen Texten besonders auch bei Luther (z. B. Ps. 84, 7) und im protest. Kirchenlied viel gebraucht. Sonstige Belege: Schnüffis 1695 *Maul-Trummel* S. 6; M. Claudius *Sämtl. Werke* v, 161, 216. Quelle lat. *vallis lacrymarum,* Psalm 83, 7.

Kaiserschnitt M. als medizinischer Fachausdruck nach lat. *sectio caesarea:* vor Campe 1808 von den Wbb. nicht gebucht. Beleg: M. Claudius 1777 *Sämtl. Werke* III, 110. Dafür älter *kaiserlicher Schnitt* Heister 1739 *Chirurgie* S. 647. Das mittelalterliche *sectio caesarea* (= engl. *caesarean section* und frz. *opération césarienne*) beruht auf einer alten Überlieferung (Plin. *Nat. hist.*), wonach Jul. Caesar (geb. 100 v. Chr.) durch Kaiserschnitt zur Welt kam. Typus der Wortübersetzung wie bei *Zankapfel.*

Keilschrift F. Bezeichnung der aus keilförmigen Buchstaben bestehenden altpersischen Schrift der Achämeniden, als geläufiges Wort literarisch zuerst verwendet in den anonymen Mitteilungen über G. F. Grotefends Schrift über die Entzifferung der Darius-Inschriften von Persepolis (Praevia de cuneatis quas vocant inscriptionibus Persepolitanis legendis et explicandis relatio) in den *Göttinger Gel. Anzeigen* 1802 S. 1481 ff. und S. 1769 ff.; 1803 S. 593, 1161 (allerdings wurde diese Schrift erst 1893 im lat. Wortlaut gedruckt). Seitdem regelmässig im Gebrauch z. B. auch in Grotefends eigenem deutschen Bericht über seine Entzifferung in des Göttinger Historikers Heeren *Ideen über den Handel der alten Welt*[2] (1805) I, 931-960. In dem Reisewerk von Karstens Niebuhr 1776 begegnen die Bezeichnungen *Keilschrift* und *Keilinschrift* bei der Erwähnung der persischen Inschriften noch nicht. Wahrscheinlich ist unser Wort eine Nachbildung des schon früher durchgedrungenen *Bilderschrift.* Beleg: Kotzebue 1807 *Kleine Romane* usw. ("Des Pfarrers Tochter") I, 25 "Die Grabschriften mussten wohl schwer zu entziffern seyn, da er an mancher so lange studierte, als sey es Keilschrift aus Persepolis."

Nymphe F. seit Opitz zunächst gelehrtes Fremdwort der neueren Dichtersprache aus lat. *nympha,* zur Bezeichnung mythischer Mädchen der antiken Götterwelt und seit dem 18. Jahrh. auch

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für junge Mädchen mit gutem oder bösem Nebensinn. Sekundär (zool.) 'Libelle, Jungfer' Richey 1755 *Hamb. Idiotikon* S. 105—'Puppe, Larve' Campe 1813;[3] (gynaecol.) 'Schamlippe' Heister 1739 *Chirurgie* S. 764.

Sensenmann M. dichterisch für 'Tod'; seit Stieler 1691 gebucht; im 17./18. Jahrh. beliebt, z. B. Weise 1673 *Erznarren* S. 156; Bretzner 1790 *Leben eines Lüderlichen* I, 259; III, 236, 275. Das Wort (eigentlich 'Schnitter') beruht auf dem Volkslied vom Schnitter Tod vom Jahre 1638 ("Es ist ein Schnitter, der heisst Tod" *Wunderhorn*). Durch das 16. Jahrh. wurde der Tod in bildlichen Darstellungen z. B. der Totentänze mit der Sense gekennzeichnet. Vgl. auch *Knochenmann* und *Streckebein*.

Waldeinsamkeit F. Wortschöpfung Tiecks 1797 (*Volksmährchen hrsg. v. Peter Leberecht* I, 209 = *Phantasus* I, 152, "Märchen vom blonden Eckbert"); dann Modewort der Romantiker geworden, auch Heine 1851 *Romanzero* S. 391 (Elster). Jüngere Gegenstücke *Bergeinsamkeit* Tieck 1825 *Gedichte* III, 220, *Alpeneinsamkeit* Heine *Werke* VI, 434 (Elster) und *Feldeinsamkeit* als Überschrift eines Gedichtes von Allmers 1860 (vertont von Brahms); neuerdings auch bei Sanders *Dorfeinsamkeit*.

Zankapfel M. nach dem Vorbild von lat. *pomum Eridis* (z. B. Leibniz *Deu. Schr.* I, 198) in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhs. aufgekommen, aber erst seit Kindleben 1781 *Studentenlexikon* S. 241 gebucht. Frühster Beleg nach A. Gombert (Progr. v. Gr. Strehlitz 1879 S. 23) *Warhaftiger Bericht* 1570 "sie wollten zum wenigsten ein neu Pomum Eridos, das ist, wie sie es gedeutscht, ein Zanckapffel in hauffen werffen"; Zinkgref 1653 *Apophthegmata* I, 53; Arnold 1699 *Ketzerhistorie* I, 688[a]; Jean Paul 1793 *Grönl. Prozesse* I, 67—1796 *Siebenkäs* S. 26. Anspielung auf die Göttin Eris, die auf der Hochzeit des Peleus und der Thetis einen Apfel mit der Aufschrift "der Schönsten" unter die Göttinnen Hera, Athene und Aphrodite wirft. Humanistisches Wortgebilde des Typus *Leitfaden;* vgl. auch *Kaiserschnitt* und *Adamsapfel*.

F. KLUGE.

Freiburg, Baden.

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[3] In dieser Bedeutung schon bei Adelung 1777 *Wbch.* I, 856 und Nemnich 1793 *Polyglotten-Lexicon* II, 1092.—W. K.

A SHAKESPEAREAN MEASURE OF MORALITY

Some of the moral comments on Angelo, in *Measure for Measure,* make one recall, almost inevitably, the epigram of Hazlitt: "If we wish to know the force of human genius we should read Shakespeare. If we wish to see the insignificance of human learning we may study his commentators." Even Coleridge turns tedious pulpiter on this play. But it is refreshing to note that Sir Walter Raleigh says: "This is indeed the everlasting difficulty of Shakespeare criticism, that the critics are so much more moral than Shakespeare himself, and so much less experienced."

Angelo is a study in Puritanism and hypocrisy, but he is not a wholly despicable hypocrite. As Falstaff might say, he is an "ill angel," a counterfeit coin. If we see the play on the stage, adequately presented, I suspect that we shall be compelled to revise our prudish attitude toward its central problem and agree with John Masefield, himself a fine and unflinching poet and moralist, that *Measure for Measure* is constructed "closely and subtly for the stage," and is "one of the greatest works of the greatest English mind."

Any comment on Angelo must begin with a recognition that he is still a young man, perhaps under thirty. It is only five years since he violated his promise to wed Mariana. April is in his blood, and the beauty and purity of Isabella awaken it with a suddenness that seems astonishing but is, in the circumstances, merely natural. Shakespeare nowhere refers to him as old, or even as middle-aged. Angelo does not say, as Othello does: "The natural affects [passions] in me defunct." His hesitancy to assume his duties as deputy is apparently due in part to realization of youth:

> Let there be some more test made of my metal,
> Before so noble and so great a figure
> Be stamped upon it.

Is this a self-confident Polonius or a master of hypocrisy like Claudius? But the Duke is obdurate. Lord Angelo must assume the reins of government. Will he prove worthy of absolute authority? The Duke's intent, and Shakespeare's intent, are set clearly before us:

> Hence shall we see,
> If power change purpose, what our seemers be.

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Such a theme is didactic. Indeed, Walter Pater observes that traces of the old Morality play survive in *Measure for Measure* and give it a peculiar ethical interest.

The drama was written, apparently, at about the same time as *Hamlet;* and the guilty passion of Angelo is curiously allied to that of Claudius and Gertrude, which, to Hamlet, turns the whole world into an unweeded garden possessed by "things rank and gross in nature." Angelo, like Claudius, is finally disgusted with himself; his deeds smell to heaven, and, going further than the Danish monarch, he welcomes death. Isabella herself defends him:

> I partly think
> A due sincerity governed his deeds,
> Till he did look on me: since it is so,
> Let him not die.

To maintain a prudish attitude toward such a character is impossible. Before we condemn Angelo let us understand him.

For such an understanding Shakespeare has given us ample data. To quote Mr. Masefield again, the temptation to sexual sin "is mixed up with every generosity. It is a flood in the heart and a blinding wave over the eyes. It is the thorn in the side under the cloak of the beauty of youth. In Shakespeare's vision it is a natural force incident to youth, as April is incident to the year." And no amount of rereading of the play will show that Angelo is declined into the vale of life. As Isabella, with the courage of innocence, says, he is

> Drest in a little brief authority,
> Most ignorant of what he's most assured.

Temptation comes upon him suddenly. The courtesan has never stirred his blood, but this virtuous maid subdues him quite. "What dost thou, or what art thou, Angelo?" he cries. Lying by the violet in the sun, he is corrupted "with virtuous season." His struggle is apparently so brief as to be no struggle. He is astonished to find that he has no real defences. "Blood, thou art blood," he exclaims. We have indeed found out "what our seemers be." Isabella, it may be retorted, maintains her purity; but she maintains it at no cost to herself. Duty and inclination do not come nobly to the grapple. She feels for Angelo neither

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love nor passion. Yet she consents, seemingly, to marry the Duke at the end of the play. "Get thee to a nunnery!" cries Hamlet to Ophelia; and in our memory echoes that magical line from an earlier play,

> Chanting faint hymns to the cold, fruitless moon.

But Isabella forsakes the nunnery which she has been about to enter. Each to his own solution of the moral problems of life, says Shakespeare. For Antony and for Cleopatra "the bright day is done," and they are for the dark. Not so Isabella or even Angelo. In *Measure for Measure,* the cloud lifts, and our discontent is made glorious summer at the end. Thanks to the Duke's interposition, Angelo's act

> Did not o'ertake his bad intent,
> And must be buried but as an intent
> That perished by the way.

These are Isabella's words; and we cannot condemn Angelo without tacitly condemning her also. Indeed, Johnson, incorruptible moralist, does condemn her: the play seems to inculcate the lesson, he says, "that women think ill of nothing that raises the credit of their beauty, and are ready, however virtuous, to pardon any act which they think incited by their own charms."

O virtuous lexicographer! In the dictionary of thy youth was there no such word as tolerance? In old age, the heyday in the blood is tame and humble, and waits upon the judgment; but what a judgment is Johnson's! Isabella needs no defence. As the tainted Lucio says, she is "enskied and sainted." But she is no Puritan. Like Hamlet, she would use us much better than we deserve, else who should scape whipping? Angelo's intention was incited by the charm of her beauty and innocence, and the walls of his fancied moral security evaporated like a mist; for it was a security formed of "such stuff as dreams are made on." Like Shakespeare's later creation, Desdemona, Isabella is so modest in her passion of purity that she abhors to name the sin to which Angelo would tempt her. Even the apparently inevitable execution of her brother does not move her to compromise with the treason of the blood. "More than our brother is our chastity," she exclaims. Like so many of Shakespeare's women, she leaves us with a feeling of astonishment and admiration. She is a

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prophecy of Shakespeare's finished study in true virtue, Imogen. In the presence of such secure souls we can forget Mr. Masefield's phrase about the difficulty of doing justice "in a world of animals swayed by rumor." For in Isabella "the ape and tiger die." We are no longer in a world of animals but in one of spirits.

Angelo, however, is not, even at the end of the play, an attractive character. He is not like Hamlet, or even Antony—that Antony of whom one of his admirers says:

> A rarer spirit never
> Did steer humanity; but you, gods, will give us
> Some faults to make us men.

No, Angelo is not of these heroic proportions. But he is not despicable; he is merely "the prenzie Angelo"—a phrase which Claudio uses and which, significantly enough, his sister repeats. Angelo is a model of propriety, one of the "unco guid." "Prim" seems to be almost an equivalent of "prenzie," which is apparently a Scotch term allied to Burns' "primsie" and was possibly used by Shakespeare to please the Scotch king, James. In fact, the whole play and its Scriptural title constitute a kind of abbreviated King James version of the Scriptures. Angelo, though a hypocrite, is a hypocrite almost in spite of himself, not a finished and consummate type like Claudius in *Hamlet*. His is but a 'prentice hand'; he cannot carry it off like the seasoned villain. There is nothing of Iago's diabolical determination in him at the end. Although he braves it out to the moment when the disguised Duke is unhooded and confronts him, his acknowledgment of guilt is then complete and sincere. And he does not beg for clemency:

> I crave death more willingly than mercy;
> 'Tis my deserving, and I do entreat it.

This is a perfect humility of soul which a good actor, however sudden the transition may seem, can make at least partly convincing. A Shakespearean comedy permits these quick conversions; no one will forget that of the usurping duke who meets a holy hermit on the outskirts of the forest of Arden. Sudden repentance is a dramatic convention almost necessary to the so-called "happy ending." A tragedy has greater truth to nature, but forgiveness is always beyond nature.

We must remember also that Angelo is only temporarily obsessed

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with passion, as Hamlet is obsessed with melancholy. Neither is in his natural and healthy state. We are shown merely one brief period in their lives, with a hint of the before and after—in Hamlet, only the former. Of Angelo before his temptation Escalus, a wise and aged counselor, says:

> If any in Vienna be of worth
> To undergo such ample grace and honor,
> It is Lord Angelo.

And his modesty upon receiving the authority of the Duke has already been mentioned. It is a genuine, not a hypocritical, modesty and gives us a most pleasing introduction to the man. When Isabella threatens to denounce him to the world, he reminds her that his reputation is so blameless that she will not be believed. She tacitly admits this. Angelo's obsession, then, must not be taken as an accurate index to his character. While obsessed, he is extraordinarily cruel and tyrannical; he even orders the execution of Claudio after he has promised Isabella to release him; for he fears that a brother's rage will mean vengeance upon himself. This, some may say, is mere sensationalism—Shakespeare's concession to the groundlings. But, when the blood burns, no vow is sacred—as old Polonius reminds Ophelia. At any rate, Shakespeare, with a fine irony, makes Angelo commit the very sin for which he would have Claudio's life, and commit it unconsciously; for Mariana, to whom he had been affianced, is substituted for Isabella at a midnight assignation, and the Duke later forces Angelo to marry her. The wheel has come full circle. Mariana, offered a better husband, craves, she says, "no other, nor no better man." Like a true realist, she enters wedlock wisely, with no illusions—feeling, apparently, that our virtues would be proud if our faults whipped them not.

Whether she reconciles us wholly to her moral choice is still a fair question; but I find amusement in the confession of a modern editor who thinks that Shakespeare "intends us to forgive Angelo, and regard him as a converted character." Such editorial humility is so rare as it is welcome. "Genius begins," says Leslie Stephen, "where intellect ends." Shakespeare often begins where schoolmasters end. Let us all admit that he perhaps knew what he was about, not merely when he wrote *Hamlet* or *Othello* but

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when he wrote *Measure for Measure* and *Cymbeline.* Although he does not bestow so much pains on the portrait of Angelo as on that of Hamlet, and may have been revising an earlier drama by himself or another, he produces a sharp impression, an impression which requires the stage for its full vindication. It is a pity that this play is seldom performed, for it is full of dramatic felicities and contains several long passages which equal the best in Shakespeare.

HARRY T. BAKER.

Goucher College.

A NOTE ON COLERIDGE'S SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM

That Coleridge's literary criticism owes much of its significance to keen psychological analysis is a fact that has now for some time been generally recognized. In 1912 Professor Oliver Elton noted that Coleridge's psychological genius accounted for much of his best aesthetic criticism, mentioning specifically his analyses of the characters of Shakespeare's plays.[1] A little later we find C. E. Vaughan going so far as to assert that Coleridge's "records of the working of the mind, especially under abnormal or morbid conditions, are extraordinarily minute and subtle," and that "it would hardly be too much to say that he is the founder of what has since become a distinct . . . branch of philosophy: the study of experimental psychology."[2] Other students of Coleridge might be cited. And yet, so far as I am aware, no thorough-going attempt has been made to classify his psychological comments and formulate the underlying principles.

This is not to be wondered at, for Coleridge's variety of eclecticism was such as to baffle most attempts to get at fundamental principles. But recent developments in psychological thinking have been rapidly bringing to consciousness principles that do—we must now admit—to some extent integrate Coleridge's scattered comments, and make classification, at least within a limited field, seem perhaps worth while. Looking at his criticism in the light of our contemporary functional psychology we see interesting

[1] *Survey of English Literature, 1830-1880,* Vol. II, pp. 106, 120-121.
[2] *Cambridge History of English Literature,* XI, p. 152.

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anticipations of a fairly definable psychological point of view. Many of Coleridge's comments anticipate, both in substance and in phraseology, the tendency of the functional school to "get rid of *externality* in psychology,"[3] to talk in terms of vital activity rather than externally "given" elements, in terms of significance rather than mere facts. A number of these parallel rather remarkably the utterances of the present-day abnormal psychologists who find significance rather than accident even in errors, and explain the pathological and the vicious in terms of normal vital functions vitiated only by deficiencies, repressions, or some similar interference.

Such passages frequently bear witness to Coleridge's persistent attempt to do away with philosophic dualism, to prove to himself that extremes do meet, to reconcile all opposites.[4] This is entirely natural, for the contemporary thought tendency referred to is really the modern, psychological rather than metaphysical, way of resolving dualism. It shows itself as the attempt, now to explain the objective or external—reality as grasped by the intellect—in terms of vital activity; now to explain the conscious in terms of the subconscious; and now to explain the pathological in terms of the normal, the destructive in terms of the constructive or creative.

I have tabulated Coleridge's comments, taken from the notes on Shakespeare's plays, that anticipate rather strikingly this modern psychological attempt at monism. In each there is evidence that Coleridge was conscious of some dualism to be dealt with; there is always some pair of opposing elements or some contradiction to be reconciled, or something vaguely but truly paradoxical in its implications. But, unlike many of his metaphysical attempts to reconcile opposites, these psychological attempts have given a body of doctrine that must be recognized as relatively sound and significant at the present time.

Since the modern parallels that the comments will suggest are, many times, to be found in the field of abnormal psychology, it is worth while to note at the outset that Coleridge was himself con-

[3] The phrase is Professor Dewey's.

[4] A more comprehensive survey of Coleridge's attempts to reconcile philosophic opposites will be found in my study, "The Critical Principle of the Reconciliation of Opposites as Employed by Coleridge," No. IX of the *Contributions to Rhetorical Theory*, edited by F. N. Scott, of the University of Michigan.

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scious that he was dealing in abnormal psychology. In his comparison of Chaucer and Shakespeare he remarked: "Shakspeare's characters are the representatives of the interior nature of humanity, in which some element has become so predominant as to destroy the health of the mind."[5] This very statement is a significant anticipation of the view of one of our contemporary psychologists who notes that among others Iago, Richard III, Macbeth, Hamlet, Anthony, and Timon "can all be studied like patients suffering from neuroses."[6]

I

In handling the question of motive Coleridge frequently tends to discount the obvious external motive, stressing instead the temperament or predisposition of the individual, once or twice even suggesting that the external motive is deliberately created by what the contemporary abnormal psychologist would probably call the "unconscious." The paradoxical phrase "motive-mongering" used in the following *Hamlet* note gives the essence of his conception. On the King's lines (Act 3, scene 3) "My words fly up, my thoughts remain below: Words, without thoughts, never to heaven go," Coleridge comments:

"O what a lesson concerning the essential difference between wishing and willing, and the folly of all motive-mongering, while the individual self remains!"[7]

Similarly, to Iago's soliloquy (*Othello,* Act 1, scene 3), "I hate the Moor; . . . I know not if't be true; But I, for mere suspicion in that kind, Will do't as if for surety," Coleridge applies the paradoxical phrase "the motive-hunting of a motiveless malignity."[8] It is possible, of course, that here Coleridge conceived the "motive-hunting" merely as a means of justifying the proposed action to others, not as the attempt of a blind malignity to furnish itself with a motive for action; but that the latter conception was in his mind seems likely from the use of the same phrase in one of the *Anima Poetae* notes, where Coleridge says that in dealing

[5] *Works,* N. Y., 1856-75, Vol. IV, p. 246.

[6] Mordell. *The Erotic Motive in Literature.*

[7] *Works,* IV, 161. The following notes are all taken from the section entitled "Shakspeare, with Introductory Matter on Poetry, the Drama, and the Stage," in Vol. IV of this edition.

[8] *Ib.*, p. 181.

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with suicide we usually try to "fish out some *motive* for an act which proceeded from a *motive-making* impulse." [9]

The difference between the supposed cause and the real germ of action lies at the bottom of Coleridge's comments on the dialogue between Banquo and Macbeth just after the disappearance of the witches (*Macbeth,* Act 1, scene 3).

". . . Banquo goes on wondering, like any common spectator:

> Were such things here as we do speak about?

whilst Macbeth persists in recurring to the self-concerning:—

> Your children shall be kings.
> *Ban.* You shall be king.
> *Macb.* And thane of Cawdor too: went it not so?

So surely is the guilt in its germ anterior to the supposed cause, and immediate temptation!"

And later,

"Then he relapses into himself again, and every word of his soliloquy shows the early birth-date of his guilt." [10]

Finally, in a note on *Romeo and Juliet* Coleridge commends Shakespeare for introducing Romeo as "already love-bewildered" before the introduction of Juliet, for

"The necessity of loving creates an object for itself," and "no one . . . ever experiences any shock at Romeo's forgetting his Rosaline, who had been a mere name for the yearning of his youthful imagination, and rushing into his passion for Juliet." [11]

II

Mood, and even intellectual conviction, ordinarily conceived as forced on the individual by something beyond his control, are sometimes seen by Coleridge as the deliberate creations of an inner self. Note the phrasing of the following comment on Macbeth's speech after the death of Lady Macbeth (Act 5, scene 5):

"Alas for Macbeth! now all is inward with him; he has no more prudential prospective reasonings. His wife, the only being

[9] *Anima Poetae.* London, 1895, p. 196.
[10] *Works.* Vol. IV, p. 168.
[11] *Ib.*, p. 111.

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who could have had any seat in his affections, dies; he *puts on despondency, the final heart-armor of the wretched,* and would fain think every thing shadowy and unsubstantial, as indeed all things are to those who cannot regard them as symbols of goodness:—

Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow; . . ." [12]

In explaining the contradiction between the weightiness of the occasion and the triviality of mood in *Hamlet* Act 1, scene 4, Coleridge writes:

"The unimportant conversation with which this scene opens is a proof of Shakspeare's minute knowledge of human nature. It is a well-established fact, that on the brink of any serious enterprise, or event of moment, men almost invariably endeavor to elude the pressure of their own thoughts by turning aside to trivial objects and familiar circumstances: thus this dialogue on the platform begins with remarks on the coldness of the air, and inquiries, obliquely connected, indeed, with the expected hour of the visitation, but thrown out in a seeming vacuity of topics, as to the striking of the clock and so forth. The same desire to escape from the impending thought is carried on in Hamlet's account of, and moralizing on, the Danish custom of wassailing: he runs off from the particular to the universal, and in his repugnance to personal and individual concerns, escapes, as it were, from himself in generalizations, and smothers the impatience and uneasy feelings of the moment in abstract reasoning." [13]

Of the lines (Act 1, scene 5) "*Mar.* Hillo, ho, ho, my lord! *Ham.* Hillo, ho, ho, boy! come bird, come . . ." he notes:

"This part of the scene after Hamlet's interview with the Ghost has been charged with an improbable eccentricity. But the truth is, that after the mind has been stretched beyond its usual pitch and tone, it must either sink into exhaustion or inanity, or seek relief by change. It is thus well known, that persons conversant in deeds of cruelty contrive to escape from conscience by connecting something of the ludicrous with them, and by inventing grotesque terms and a certain technical phraseology to disguise the horror of their practices. Indeed, paradoxical as it may appear, the terrible by a law of the human mind always touches on the verge of the ludicrous." [14]

In *The Tempest* Act 2, scene 1, Coleridge says that Shakespeare has,

[12] *Ib.*, p. 174. The italics are mine.
[13] *Ib.*, p. 154. [14] *Ib.*, p. 155-6.

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"as in many other places, shown the tendency in bad men to indulge in scorn and contemptuous expressions, as a mode of getting rid of their own uneasy feelings of inferiority to the good. . . . ."[15]

Reading these passages to-day one is half surprised not to find mention of "defense reactions" as such.

III

Nowhere, perhaps, does Coleridge more nearly approach the contemporary standpoint than in some of his explanations of the vices, faults, and tragic weaknesses of Shakespeare's characters. The paradoxical law that certain positive, essentially moral forces may, when coexistent with some inner weakness or some peculiarity of environment, result in anti-social and even criminal acts, was clearly recognized by Coleridge, and we find him explaining such acts as the distortion of what is fundamentally wholesome. His note on Act I, scene 4 of *Richard II* reads:

"In this scene a new light is thrown on Richard's character. Until now he has appeared in all the beauty of royalty; but here, as soon as he is left to himself, the inherent weakness of his character is immediately shown. It is a weakness, however, of a peculiar kind, not arising from want of personal courage, or any specific defect of faculty, but rather an intellectual feminineness, which feels a necessity of ever leaning on the breasts of others, and of reclining on those who are all the while known to be inferiors. To this must be attributed . . . all Richard's vices, his tendency to concealment, and his cunning, the whole operation of which is directed to the getting rid of present difficulties. . . . Shakspeare has represented this character in a very peculiar manner. He has not made him amiable with counterbalancing faults; but has openly and broadly drawn those faults without reserve, relying on Richard's disproportionate sufferings and gradually emergent good qualities for our sympathy; and this was possible, because his faults are not positive vices, but spring entirely from defect of character."[16]

Lear's attitude toward his daughters is explained as the distortion of a kindly and loving nature. In speaking of the "moral verities" on which the play is founded Coleridge notes

"the strange, yet by no means unnatural, mixture of selfishness, sensibility, and habit of feeling derived from, and fostered by, the particular rank and usages of the individual;—the intense desire

[15] *Ib.*, p. 77.

[16] *Ib.*, p. 123-4.

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of being intensely beloved,—selfish, and yet characteristic of the selfishness of a loving and kindly nature alone;—the self-supportless leaning for all pleasure on another's breast;—the craving after sympathy with a prodigal disinterestedness, frustrated by its own ostentation, and the mode and nature of its claims;—the anxiety, the distrust, the jealousy, which more or less accompany all selfish affections, and are amongst the surest contradistinctions of mere fondness from true love, and which originate Lear's eager wish to enjoy his daughter's violent professions, whilst the inveterate habits of sovereignty convert the wish into claim and positive right, and an incompliance with them into crime and treason." [17]

The distortion of some positive force—a will-to-power as it were—is used to account even for Oliver's apparently wholly vicious speech about Orlando just after his interview with Charles (*As You Like It,* Act 1, scene 1). Of the lines "Yet he's gentle; never school'd, and yet learned; full of noble device; . . ." Coleridge notes:

"It is too venturous to charge a passage in Shakspeare with want of truth to nature; and yet at first sight this speech of Oliver's expresses truths, which it seems almost impossible that any mind should so distinctly, so livelily, and so voluntarily, have presented to itself in connection with feelings and intentions so malignant, and so contrary to those which the qualities expressed would naturally have called forth. But I dare not say that this seeming unnaturalness is not in the nature of an abused wilfulness, when united with a strong intellect. In such characters there is sometimes a gloomy self-gratification in making the absoluteness of the will (*sit pro ratione voluntas!*) evident to themselves by setting the reason and the conscience in full array against it." [18]

Madness itself is shown to be simply a variation of its opposite. Of *Hamlet* Act 4, scene 2 Coleridge notes:

"Hamlet's madness is made to consist in the free utterance of all the thoughts that had passed through his mind before;—in fact, in telling home-truths." [19]

And in one of the notes on *Macbeth* the opposites *hope* and *fear* are shown to have an identical basis:

"Hope, the master element of a commanding genius, meeting with an active and combining intellect, and an imagination of just that degree of vividness which disquiets and impels the soul to try to realize its images, greatly increases the creative power of the mind; and hence the images become a satisfying world of themselves, as is the case in every poet and original philosopher:—but

[17] *Ib.*, p. 133-4. [18] *Ib.*, p. 88. [19] *Ib.*, p. 162.

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hope fully gratified, and yet the elementary basis of the passion remaining, becomes fear; and, indeed, the general, who must often feel, even though he may hide it from his own consciousness, how large a share chance had in his successes, may very naturally be irresolute in a new scene, where he knows that all will depend on his own act and election." [20]

IV

The general principle of psychological compensation is suggested by Coleridge over and over again, when he tests Shakespeare's characters and finds them tragic characters because of a deficiency in one sphere accompanied by a corresponding proficiency in another. Sometimes he sees a cause and effect relationship between the deficiency and the proficiency, and sometimes mere coexistence. The principle is, naturally, most fully elaborated in his notes on the character of Hamlet.

"I believe the character of Hamlet may be traced to Shakspeare's deep and accurate science in mental philosophy. . . . In order to understand him, it is essential that we should reflect upon the constitution of our own minds. Man is distinguished from the brute animals in proportion as thought prevails over sense: but in the healthy processes of the mind, a balance is constantly maintained between the impressions from outward objects and the inward operations of the intellect:—for if there be an overbalance in the contemplative faculty, man thereby becomes the creature of mere meditation, and loses his natural power of action. Now one of Shakspeare's modes of creating character is, to conceive any one intellectual or moral faculty in morbid excess, and then to place himself, Shakspeare, thus mutilated or diseased, under given circumstances. In Hamlet he seems to have wished to exemplify the moral necessity of . . . an *equilibrium* between the real and the imaginary worlds. In Hamlet this balance is disturbed: his thoughts, and the images of his fancy, are far more vivid than his actual perceptions, and his very perceptions, instantly passing through the *medium* of his contemplations, acquire, as they pass, a form and a color not naturally their own. Hence we see a great, an almost enormous, intellectual activity, and a proportionate aversion to real action, consequent upon it. . . . This character Shakspeare places in circumstances, under which it is obliged to act on the spur of the moment:—Hamlet is brave and careless of death; but he vacillates from sensibility, and procrastinates from thought, and loses the power of action in the energy of resolve." [21]

The same inverse ratio Coleridge finds exemplified in Richard II, with his "continually increasing energy of thought, and as

[20] *Ib.*, p. 165-6.

[21] *Ib.*, p. 145.

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constantly diminishing power of acting," and again, his "wordy courage which only serves to betray more clearly his internal impotence." [22]

Macbeth, similarly, he finds to be "all-powerful without strength; he wishes the end, but is irresolute as to the means." [23]

And finally:

"Lady Macbeth, like all in Shakspeare, is a class individualized:—of high rank, left much alone, and feeding herself with day-dreams of ambition, she mistakes the courage of fantasy for the power of bearing the consequences of the realities of guilt. Hers is the mock fortitude of a mind deluded by ambition; she shames her husband with a superhuman audacity of fancy which she can not support, but sinks in the season of remorse, and dies in suicidal agony." [24]

* * *

In a recent article on Coleridge as a philologian,[25] Professor J. H. Hanford notes that Coleridge's characteristic weaknesses show in his work as commentator as well as elsewhere, that his textual interpretations of Shakespeare were sometimes rendered inaccurate by his philosophical interests. The same might well be said of his character analyses as such. Some of his attempts to make manifest Shakespeare's fidelity to the laws of human nature are obvious struggles to construe facts in terms of theory, and are of dubious value. In any estimate of Coleridge's psychological genius this must be granted.

Moreover, this compilation of notes that seem to have some integrating principle is in no sense evidence of any original formulation of a well defined standpoint. An attempt to get at the origins of the psychological comments quoted would lead one far and wide over the field of recognized sources of Coleridge's philosophic thought. The ideas involved could doubtless be traced back in every case to Aristotle or Leibnitz or Kant, or one or more of a dozen others that should be named. And there is little evidence that Coleridge consciously worked out the relationships involved. Granted all this, however, the notes that have been compiled seem to be significant anticipations, and go far toward justifying the eclecticism from which they result.

Vassar College. ALICE D. SNYDER.

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[22] *Ib.*, pp. 125 and 126-7.

[23] *Ib.*, p. 168.

[24] *Ib.*, p. 170.

[25] *Modern Philology.* April, 1919.

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RUNAWAYS' EYES AGAIN

Spread thy close curtain, love-performing night,
That runaways' eyes may wink, and Romeo
Leap to these arms, untalk'd of and unseen!
(*Romeo and Juliet*, III, ii, 5.)

Perhaps no apology is needed for venturing to speculate once more upon this notorious crux. In the Yale edition (1917) Professor W. H. Durham says:

"The present editor is inclined to believe that, unless the text is hopelessly corrupt, the runaways are the horses of the sun referred to above, so that the wish that they may close their eyes in sleep is another way of wishing for the coming of darkness. Among the many other readings and explanations which have been offered, perhaps the most plausible is that of Stewart, who would read 'runaway's,' and who believes the runaway to be Juliet herself, who is running away from her maiden modesty."

This last idea Stewart bases on the general situation of Juliet, and quotes *Hen. V,* (V, ii, 327):

Burg. Can you blame her then, being a maid yet rosed over with the virgin crimson of modesty, if she deny the appearance of a naked blind boy in her naked seeing self? It were, my lord, a hard condition for a maid to consign to.

K. Hen. Yet they do wink and yield, as love is blind and enforces.

Mr. Stewart also cites *All's Well,* IV, ii, 39, where Diana says "we'll forsake ourselves," that is, forsake maidenhood. Mr. Stewart insists that the phrase *runaway's eyes* is figurative:

"To regard her as a runaway merely because she went secretly to Friar Lawrence to be married proves equally futile when put to the test. For we are still left with the problem of finding out how or why, in that sense of running away, she should wish her eyes to close or wink? . . . Even the poorest of critics, with a few exceptions, have seen that the solution here is not to come from a very literal point of view. Whatever Shakespeare's meaning may be, the word has some figurative application which is more illuminating." [1]

If for the moment we accept the singular form *runaway's,* it

[1] C. D. Stewart, *Textual Difficulties in Shakespeare,* 1914, p. 7.

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makes no difference whatever (except as one prefers one or the other view) whether the word is taken literally or in Mr. Stewart's figurative sense, because in either case Juliet, looking forward to the consummation of marriage with mingled eagerness and maiden modesty, would wish for darkness to shroud her, and for the sense of darkness she would obtain by shutting her eyes—so that this particular 'problem' of the critic does not exist.

But it is much more natural to read the plural *runaways'*, for the minor reasons that the singular without either article is impossibly strained and awkward in style, and, in Mr. Stewart's or any other interpretation, more or less far-fetched. The chief reasons are more positive. As even the poorest critics have recognized. Romeo and Juliet have both run away from their respective families to be secretly married, and Juliet is now awaiting the secret visit of her husband—what could be more natural than for her to speak of herself *and Romeo* as runaways? If this is not a runaway marriage, what is the play about?

It may be asked why, if *runaways'* refer to herself and Romeo, Juliet should wish that they shut their eyes. In the circumstances it is the most natural wish in the world. Juliet is a very young and modest bride, just married, secretly and in defiance of her family, to a young man whom she loves, but has barely seen. Even long familiarity between lovers does not mitigate the first sense of strangeness after marriage, and in this case there has been no familiarity. Romeo comes as a husband, it is true, but also as a stranger. Inevitably, then, Juliet feels even more than the ordinary bride's timidity, and she not only welcomes the enveloping darkness, but desires that both she and Romeo may close their eyes, in order that the ordeal may be less trying for her. She thinks of night in several ways—it will bring her lover, it will hide her from his sight and him from her's, and it will prevent other people from knowing of his visit. Her unusual situation and her sensitiveness cause her to heap up in rapid succession her desires for every possible means of obtaining real or fancied secrecy. Hence darkness is not enough. She wishes to be hidden from outsiders ("untalk'd of and unseen"), but mainly from herself and from Romeo; for the moment she considers both herself and Romeo as belonging to the world from which she desires to hide, and if both close their eyes, neither will, as it were, be a witness of the offence done to her modesty.

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Further, this interpretation is the only one that really explains the following lines,

> Lovers can see to do their amorous rites
> By their own beauties . . .

"Which is to say," says Stewart, in support of his own view, "without eyes or the help of light." If both Romeo and Juliet are to have their eyes shut, these lines become intelligible.

Such a view is also supported by a Shakespearean passage which has not, I think, been cited in this connection, though it constitutes a parallel of striking exactness.

> Art thou asham'd to kiss? Then wink again,
> And I will wink; so shall the day seem night;
> Love keeps his revels where there are but twain.
> Be bold to play, our sport is not in sight. . . .
> (*Venus and Adonis*, 121 ff.)

It is a far cry from the wanton Venus to the chaste Juliet, but in the poem and the play the situations are precisely the same. In each case the speaker is trying to persuade a person of maiden modesty (in the one, Adonis, in the other, the speaker's self) that the performance of love's rites may be achieved with the minimum of offence to that modesty if both create a double night by shutting their eyes.

DOUGLAS BUSH.

Harvard University.

REVIEWS

Pierre de Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'humanisme,* Paris, Champion, 1921. Pp. xi, 365.

About ten years ago[1] the writer of these lines expressed regret that the author of a well-known and much used bibliographical manual seemed to ignore the value of the contribution of the Latinists of the 16th century to the development of the French Renaissance. Since that date, with the sole exception of the few

[1] Review of Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique du 16e siècle* in the *Romanic Review,* I, 1910, pp. 98-100.

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scholarly editions[2] of the works of the Latinizing poets of this epoch, little has been done to acquaint us with the extent and importance of this rich literature. And yet, notwithstanding this inexplicable attitude of indifference on the part of most scholars, M. de Nolhac has well said:

"La Pléiade, à ses débuts, fut entourée d'un monde latinisant, qui vivait sur le fonds qu'elle exploitera elle-même et puisait sa vigueur aux mêmes sources. . . . La prose latine du même temps, si riche en tous les genres et dont l'esprit français fit alors si noble usage, ne le préparait-elle pas de la même façon à goûter les *Essais* et à en assurer la diffusion?"[3]

In one of the first pages of this stimulating work there is found furthermore a succinct statement (p. 2) which, however, contains a fact of such capital importance that it deserves our immediate attention,—"cette émulation (with the Italians) n'existe pas moins dans l'usage de la langue internationale." In other words, just as Calvin polished and repolished his style in the Latin edition of the *Institutions* because, to a large extent, his ill-concealed patriotism demanded that he, as a representative of France, should not be considered by the European public as in any way inferior to the scholarly humanists of Germany or the brilliant disciples of Bembo and Speroni in Italy, so the poets, actuated by similar patriotic motives, sought to prove to the same public their equality with the masters of antiquity. No, it is a mistaken idea—to which alas! we so firmly cling,—that they who wrote in Latin in this epoch were devoid of feeling for their native land.[4] With how many false generalities is the history of literature permeated!

[2] Such as *Eclogues* of Baptista Mantuanus (1911), of Sannazaro (1914), of Andrelinus and Arnolletus (1918) issued by Professor W. P. Mustard of Johns Hopkins University, and a few other works. For a list of the principal collections of Latin verse from 1525 to 1549, cf. Chamard, *J. du Bellay*, p. 103. But, as M. de Nolhac notes (p. 5), the *Delitiae* contain the verses of 109 Latin poets born in France—a proof of their popularity.

[3] Pp. viii-ix. Cf. also p. 3: "La grande production latine ne peut être négligée et parfois, comme chez Salmon Macrin ou Théodore de Bèze, révèle de véritables talents. Même lorsqu'a commencé avec Ronsard la magnifique rénovation du lyrisme français, on voit se répandre des recueils en latin toujours plus habiles et plus variés. Aussi les contemporains qualifiés prennent-ils tout à fait au sérieux cette poésie et lui conservent-ils son rang, à côté de sa soeur cadette." And he cites Montaigne and Du Bellay in support of this statement (11, 17).

[4] Furthermore such ardent defenders of French as Du Bellay, Baïf,

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The present volume was originally intended to form a part of a vast *Histoire de l'Humanisme en France,* which the brilliant author outlined some forty years ago, and to which the late René Sturel was bringing to bear the youthful enthusiasm of his careful scholarship at the time when he made, with characteristic self-abnegation, the supreme sacrifice in behalf of his country. Truly in him was revived the patriotic spirit of the Renaissance to which his life work was devoted![5]

M. de Nolhac, who was recently elected to the Académie Française, represents in the highest sense the happy combination of the scholarly and the artistic. His power of evoking the whole tableau of the epoch with which he deals, his beautiful imagery, refinement of expression, a style so deftly polished that one is not aware of the effort it cost—in a word, this "séduction de la forme," to use the words the author applies to the "prince of poets," is especially fitting in a work devoted to the Renaissance. Indeed, his prose challenges comparison with Walter Pater or even Renan. And back of this outward charm is a solid and broad erudition which, though the minutest detail is not overlooked, never obtrudes itself into the picture. Only here and there does his enthusiasm for his subject—so characteristic of the sixteenth century—get the better of his subtle restraint. When, for example, he states that Ronsard "a renouvelé de fond en comble la matière et la forme, l'inspiration et le vocabulaire de notre poésie" (p. 6), we wonder whether he really meant to introduce the phrase "de fond en comble." Again the relations of the page Ronsard with the distinguished ambassador Lazare de Baïf and the rôle of this unknown youth at the conference of Haguenau (p. 12) is no doubt authentic in every respect, but the picture drawn by the author is so very beautiful that one cannot but wish for more documentary evidence.[6]

Belleau, the distinguished statesman Michel de l'Hospital, and the learned critic, Etienne Pasquier, whom M. de Nolhac characterizes as "le grand défenseur du français," took pride in their pleasing Latin verses.

[5] Thanks to the liberality of Mr. Edward Tuck, the Sturel library will serve as an inspiration to future students of French literature in Dartmouth College.

[6] The following typographical errors have been noted—surprisingly few, be it said, for a work requiring so much care: P. 5, note 1: 'Jahrunderts' for 'Jahrhunderts'; p. 30, note 4; '1899-99' for '1898-99'; p. 42: 'note 3, note 4' should be 'note 4, note 3'; p. 44, line 11: 'ces' for 'ces'; p. 50,

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II.

The first part of this monumental work is devoted to the education and reading of Ronsard wherein M. de Nolhac does not minimize, as many of his predecessors have done, the influence of the most human of all classical poets, Horace—to whom Ronsard turned with fervor when surfeited with his Greek erudition—and the indebtedness of the prince of poets to the advice and counsel of his contemporary, that very versatile genius, Jacques Peletier du Mans, who was later destined to compose the *Art poëtique* of the *Pléiade.* That it was in Homer that Ronsard acquired "la sagesse antique, les grandes leçons morales de l'humanité présentées sous le voile allégorique" (p. 70) is no doubt true, but in doing so the poet was only adhering to the medieval tradition yet ensconced in the very beings of the most radical of his contemporaries. And again when employing his involved periphrases and symbolistic allusions, as so brilliantly presented by M. de Nolhac (p. 92), was not Ronsard a more docile disciple of the incomprehensible Maurice Scève [7] than has heretofore been admitted? The rôle of this interesting person, whose erudition was the delight of the élite, is yet to be satisfactorily studied. But after all, such lacunae seem only trivial when one considers the vast range of the investigations of M. de Nolhac as shown in this section of his work.

The second part, dealing with the relations of Ronsard and the humanists of his time, is a model of its kind in that it reveals a critical equipment and sense of values possessed by few scholars. It is only at rare intervals that one notes even errors of detail. And in those instances most often M. de Nolhac is not himself at fault — it is rather the source from which his data have been drawn.[8]

note 1: 'duchesse of Savoy' for 'Duchess of Savoy'; p. 55, l. 10: 'Ies' for 'les'; p. 103, note 2: 'W. P. Mustard *Piscatory Eglogues*' for '*Eclogues*'; p. 143, note 3: '1653' for '1563'; p. 205, VII, p. 211, IX (there is no sect. VIII); p. 282, note 2: 'nomm' for 'nommé'; p. 283: 'sudes' for 'sur des'; 'qnelques' for 'quelques'; p. 302, note 1: 'gagetez' for 'gayetez.'

[7] For Scève, the reader may be referred to Baur, *M. S.* (Paris, 1906), reviewed by myself in the pages of this review (1908, pp. 229-231), as well as my article on *The Family of M. S.* in *PMLA.*, 1909, pp. 470-475.

[8] For example, on p. 145, note 5, following P. Hume Brown (*George Buchanan Humanist and Reformer*, Edinburgh, 1890), he states that Jean

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What a varied group they form, these friends and acquaintances of Ronsard! George Buchanan, the Scottish poet, reformer and humanist; Antonio de Gouvea, the famous Portuguese jurist; Turnèbe, professor of Greek; Lambin, the translator; Jean de Morel, the bibliophile; Michel de l'Hospital, chancellor of France; Etienne Forcadel,[9] the jurist of Béziers whom Brantôme called

de Morel "fut, en France et en Piémont, précepteur de Timoléon de Cossé, fils de Charles de Cossé-Brissac, jusqu'en 1560." Now Abbé Jugé has shown (*Jacques Peletier du Mans, 1517-1582*, Paris, 1907) that toward the close of the year 1553 Peletier entered the service of the Marshal as the preceptor of his ten-year-old son, and as a consequence published the following year (1554) his manual entitled *Enseignement de vertu au petit seigneur Timoléon de Cossé.* It is probable that the poet-mathematician continued to fill this position until his return to Paris at the end of 1557.

[9] As M. de Nolhac states (p. 191) that there is only a brief and insufficient modern study on Forcadel, (that of A. de Faniez in the *Bull. de la Soc. hist. de Béziers*, t. xiv, 1889) the following addenda to his data on this personage may be of interest: While Forcadel's biographers (La Croix du Maine, I, 182; Du Verdier, I, 495; Goujet, XI, 423-430; and others) accept without hesitation the traditional date of his death (1573), he was still alive in 1585, as shown by a document in the archives of Béziers, dated July 12, 1585. Cf. communication of M. Soucaille in *Revue des Sociétés savantes*, VIIe série, I (1879), p. 123; in 1542 he published his *Penus juris civilis ad rem alimentariam*, Lyons, M. Parmenterius, 4to, Library of Bordeaux, *Jur.* *702a (10201); besides the edition of the *Chant des Seraines* (Corrozet, Paris, 1548) noted by M. Laumonier (*Ronsard*, pp. xliii, 664) two other editions appeared the same year, one by Arnoul l'Angelier, Paris, 16mo (Catalogue Techener, May, 1889) and the other by Jean de Tournes, Lyons, 8vo, 120 pp. (Cat. Rothschild, VI); in 1549 appeared his *Necyomantia jurisperiti, sive de occulta jurisprudentia Dialogi*, Lyons, de Tournes, 4to, Library of Bordeaux, *Jur.* 578 (10236); 1550, a second edition of his *Penus juris civilis, sive de alimentis Tractatus*, etc., Lyons, de Tournes, 4to, Library of Bordeaux, *Jur.* 702b (10264); 1553, his *Cupido Iurisperitus*, Lyons, de Tournes, 4to; 1556, *Oratio Stephani Forcatuli, publici in academia Tolosana legum professoris, ex offic. Jac. Colomerii*, Toulouse; his *Lectiones aliquot juris*, given at Toulouse from 1561 to 1563, are in Ms. 204 of the Library of Carpentras (Lambert I, p. 112); in 1571 (and again in 1574) appeared his *Montmorency Gaulois, Opuscule dedié à Monsieur d'Anuille, Mareschal de France, Visroy en plusieurs Provinces: ou l'excellence de son origine, et autres gestes des François par Forcadel Iuriscons.*, 4to, 29 pp., Library of Berne, W. 5, 7e pièce; on fol. 2 vo. of which are Latin epigrams by the author; about 1575 he composed his *Ad legem fructus percipiendo de usu* which remains unpublished in Ms. 227 of the Library of Carpentras; in 1579 (repeated in 1595, Geneva, Jacques Chouet, 8vo., Catalogue Lelong, no. 3790, and

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"un grand poète latin"; Joseph Scaliger, the philologist; Jan Kochanowski, the Polish poet; Charles Utenhove,[10] of Ghent, "le plus savant étranger qui fût alors en Paris," a most remarkable polyglot; Paul Melissus, the German savant and critic, according to whom no poets writing in the German tongue were worthy of

Library of Frankfort, *Gall. gen.* Is. 322) was published his *De Gallorum imperio et philosophia libri septem*, Paris, Guill. Chaudière, 4to, Catalogue Potier, 1872, no. 2283; the same year, 1579, according to the *Bibl. Sunderlandiana* (no. 4655) was issued his *Henrico III, Francorum et Poloniae regi relata Gratia, Primo libro continetur Valesiorum Franciae regum Origo splendida . . . secundo quod foeminae illustres regnis gubernandis . . . . tertio ampliores gratias regi agens autor*, Paris, G. Chaudière, 8vo.; in 1580 appeared a second edition of the *De Gallorum Imperio* (see 1579), of which the catalogue Claudin (Dec. 1882, no. 50849) erroneously states that the author was his brother Pierre, the celebrated professor of mathematics at Paris, cf. *Bibl. Sunderlandiana*, no. 4656; he took part in a meeting of the Council of the city of Béziers, Nov. 26, 1591, cf. Seucaille, *Recherches sur les anciennes pestes ou contagions à Béziers*, 1884, p. 81; after his death his *Opera* were published by G. Chaudière, Paris, 1595, fol., *Bibl. Sunderlandiana*, nos. 4651, 4652; and in 1615 his *Opuscula varia: I. de servitutibus, II. de mora, III, de collatione bonorum, IV, de jure, authoritate et imperio regum Francorum*, Paris, R. Fouet, 4to., Library of Bordeaux, *Jur.* 703 (10265). Etienne had two brothers, François, "docteur en droictz et aduocat au siège de Béziers" who was massacred at B. in June 1604 (cf. *Rev. des Soc. Sav.*, VIIe sér., I, 1879, p. 125) and Pierre, mentioned above; and one son, Imbert, who died in 1551 (cf. *Poésie*, 1551, p. 167).

[10] *Re* Charles Utenhove or Uytenhove, the following data may serve as a supplement to those supplied by M. de Nolhac (pp. 215-218 etc.): Born at Ghent in 1536, died at Cologne, Aug. 1, 1600, cf. La Croix du Maine, I, 119, Du Verdier, I, 310; contributed Latin verses at the end of the *Ravissement d'Orithye* of B. Tagault, 1558; also French sonnet and Latin distich in the *Epithalame sur le mariage de . . . Philibert Emanuel*, by Joachim du Bellay, 1558; was author of various Greek verses of Olimpia Morata translated into Latin (pp. 87, 95) and of a Latin poem of the same rendered into Greek (p. 100) in *Olimpiae Fulviae Moratae . . . Monumenta*, 1558; *Epitaphium in mortem Herrici* (sic) *Gallorum regis christianiss. eius nominis secundi*, by *Carolum Utenhovium Gandavensum, et alios, duodecim linguis. Epitaphe sur le trespas du Roy treschrestien Henry Roy de France, II de ce nom, en douze langues*, etc., Paris, *Imprim. de Robert Estienne*, 1560, 4to, half-parchment. This is the second work of U., *seigneur de Marckeghem*, very rare, cf. catalogue Uyt, Ghent, Dec., 1880; κάρουλος Οὐδὲν ὁ Βιος, distich at beginning of Jacques Grévin's *L'Olimpe*, 1560; sonnets addressed to him by Nicolas Ellain, 1561, cf. ed. Genty, 1861, pp. 24, 62; *Ad illustrem virum D. Robertum Dudlaeum a*

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mention; Torquato Tasso; Castelvetro; Sperone Speroni—in brief, most of the leading figures of the world of scholarship and letters in Europe.

Well can M. de Nolhac conclude (p. 243) after having given this broad as well as complete survey of the intellectual interests and relationships of Ronsard: "Toute notre poésie classique s'abreuve, après lui, aux sources antiques; mais il est le seul de nos grands poètes qui soit, au sens complet et au degré le plus éminent, un grand humaniste."

The third part of this interesting study is devoted to the Latin writings of Ronsard (pp. 244-270) which have neither been brought together nor been so carefully annotated heretofore; while the fourth and last part concerns the "Cicéronien de la Brigade," Pierre de Paschal, who, notwithstanding the extravagant eulogies of his many friends, was, like his Italian counterpart, Pietro Aretino, far more of an adventurer than a poet. After sketching the audacious career of this parvenu,[11] M. de Nolhac develops his

regina Angliae comitem designatum ἑξάστιχον, and at the end 'Εξωτοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ὁ βιος, 1565, Library of the Univ. of Ghent, *album ms. de Jean Bademaker*, fol. 25; an anonymous poet dedicated to him in 1566 *Le Trophée de la parole divine victorieuse au Pays Bas*, to which U. added a satirical *huitain*. In this poem C. U. is only designated by his initials *V. C.*, but he is more clearly indicated in the text. The copy in the Library of the University of Ghent contains an *envoi* in his hand; cf. *Recueil de chansons, poèmes et pièces en vers français, relatifs aux Pays-Bas, publié par les soins de la Société des Bibliophiles de Belgique*, III, 1878, pp. 161-168; May 2, 1574, he registered as a student in the University of Heidelberg at the same time as *Nicolaus uten Hove*, cf. Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, II, 1886, p. 70; 1578, Gérard Marie d'Imbert dedicated to him one of his *sonnets exotériques*, no. 26, cf. the note of Tamizey de Larroque, p. 77; 1579-1581, Nicolas Reusner dedicated to him the 39th selection of Book III of the *Emblemata* in which U. is entitled patrician of Ghent, cf. ed. of 1581, p. 154. His son Jacques Utenhove of Ghent was registered at the Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier, Feb. 26, 1566, cf. J. E. and G. Planchon, *Guillaume Rondelet*, 1866, appendix 37; and another son, Charles, addressed, from Neuss, Aug. 31, 1580, a Latin epistle in verse to Nicolas Reusner, which is found on p. 365 of the *Emblemata* mentioned above; in 1602, the humanist Justus Lipsius addressed him an epistle which may be found in his *Epistolarum selectarum centuria miscellanea*, 1602. Charles U., Jr., died at Cologne in 1605.

[11] In his discussion of the relations between Paschal and Jean de Boysson or Boyssonné, the Toulousan jurist (p. 281 and notes), M. de Nolhac

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ingenious hypothesis (p. 325) that Paschal was the object of the much mooted satire, *La nouvelle manière de faire son profit des lettres,* published, with the *Poète courtisan,* in 1559, and which he attributes, following Clément [12] and M. Chamard,[13] to an anonymous collaboration of the author of the latter poem, Du Bellay, and the Greek scholar Turnèbe.[14] But notwithstanding the extensive erudition and cogent logic brought by M. de Nolhac to the support of his contentions, one is not only left unconvinced but feels that the ardor of the distinguished critic's enthusiasm for Ronsard has betrayed his better judgment. It is wholly inconceivable that some of the numerous ambitious friends of Paschal, who were equally jealous of the fame of the rising members of the *Pléiade,* did not inform him immediately thereof and prevent him from composing the beautiful epitaph of Du Bellay a few months later (1560). If, on the other hand, we accept the arguments of M. de Nolhac as well-founded, then all of the discredit falls on the *Docte Brigade,* for Paschal's attitude can only be characterized as one of dignified silence. No, Ronsard's and Pasquier's petulant and virulent invective can be easily explained by bitter disappointment at the astounding success of a rival whom they considered an inferior,[15] and was shared apparently by none of their friends.

seems to have overlooked the following contributions in which the correspondence of the latter is more fully utilized than in the earlier biography of Guibal (1863) mentioned by him: Mugnier, *La Vie et les ouvrages de Jean de Boyssonné* (Paris, 1897); Buche, *La Correspondance de J. de B.*, *Rev. des Lang. rom.*, 1896 et seq.; and Gerig, *Deux Lettres inédites de J. de B.*, *Rev. de la Ren.*, VII, 1906, pp. 228-232.

[12] *De Adriani Turnebi regii professoris praefationibus et poematis*, Paris, 1899, p. 9.

[13] *Joachim du Bellay*, Lille, 1900, pp. 412-418.

[14] One is therefore led to believe that M. de N. accepts M. Chamard's hypothesis that in the *Poète courtisan* du Bellay had also Paschal in mind. But this is very doubtful since this subject had been a somewhat commonplace poetic theme from the time Alain Chartier wrote his *Curial.*

[15] For example, Pasquier states that Paschal "ne sçavoit parler ny latin, ny françois" (p. 261), yet M. de Nolhac finds his Latin prose superior to that of Ronsard (p. 294), and even remarks of the letter to Bohier (p. 308) that "la thèse cicéronienne est défendue dans un style qui veut joindre l'exemple à la théorie." Furthermore he admits (p. 313) that both Ronsard and Brantôme were unjust when the former asserted that Paschal "n'avait même commencé" his historical work and the latter that

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Only a few years later (1563) Ronsard realized the unpleasant impression produced by his venomous outburst and sought a reconciliation with the unjustly assailed Paschal (p. 334). All of which goes to show that the work of M. de Nolhac would have benefited by the omission—or at least a change of the tone—of this chapter.

III.

According to Binet, the Boswell of Ronsard, the great poet was interred at St.-Côme.[16] To this day, as in Estienne Pasquier's time (1607), there is still no "marque de tombeau." When the writer of these lines visited the ruins of the famous monastery in 1921, the tomb of the great poet could not be located because of the stable enclosing it! Alas, how unlike the wish expressed so fervently in the *ode de l'élection de son sépulchre* that it be sheltered by an

"Arbre qui soit couvert
Tousjours de vert.
. . . .
Et la vigne tortisse
Mon sépulcre embellisse,
Faisant de toutes pars
Un ombre espars."

May we not hope that the admirers

"D'un, de qui l'univers
Chante les vers"

will be able to effect a realization of the ardent longing expressed in this noble poem!

JOHN L. GERIG.

Columbia University.

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he lived "dans la fourberie et amusoit le monde." Our critic is on firmer ground when he confesses (p. 298) that the kindness of Paschal "n'a laissé chez Ronsard aucun sentiment de reconnaissance." In fact, do we not have here the key to the very undignified attitude assumed by the great, but vain and ambitious, poet?

[16] Paul Laumonier, *Vie de P. de R. de Claude Binet* (*1586*), Paris, 1910, pp. 35, 186-187.

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Goethe, Geschichte eines Menschen, von EMIL LUDWIG. Stuttgart, Cotta, 1920.

The reaction against the mass of Goethe research, which in spite of separate excellence was threatening to dissect Goethe into an infinite number of infinitesimal parts, of recent years attracted various unusual writers to the problem of reconstructing the entity of Germany's richest genius. In each case the result is good only in so far as the author has the power to create a synthesis and at the same time prove that he is in command of the bulk of analytical research.

Chamberlain shows a haughty disregard for much of the important research. Even his synthesis of the Goethe figure is not so much a piece of creative work as a laborious arrangement of Goethe phenomena under a system which is rather too ingenious.

Gundolf is much more thorough a scholar. There is no doubt that he commands the Goethe literature. He handles it smoothly and easily, but he too is a slave to the theory according to which he chooses to make his synthesis. His figure of Goethe in *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist,* which also is based upon his *Urerlebnis* theory, is simple, plastic, and vivid. But in his *Goethe* (Georg Bondi, Berlin, 1918) this theory is so dogmatically and painstakingly expounded and so minutely applied that both simplicity and plasticity are lost.

Emil Ludwig is more modest and at the same time less restrained. He is a journalist and a novelist by profession. In treating historical characters he has at times been guilty of journalistic superficiality. However his *Bismarck* (Berlin, 1911) and his *Richard Dehmel* (Berlin, 1913) prove an unusual power of psychological analysis. His *Goethe, Geschichte eines Menschen* gives proof besides of real creative power and of very sound scholarship. He pictures the story of Goethe simply and intimately.

In his preface he claims to have neglected none of the philological research. Whether that is true or not, he soon proves beyond a doubt that he knows his character thoroughly, that he has lived with him from day to day, and has watched him closely whenever he expressed himself in his works, letters, diaries or conversations.

All writings of Goethe, even the works themselves, become merely means to see and portray the man himself. Whatever research is employed is used not for its own sake, but simply as a means.

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The scholar is subordinated to the novelist. With all familiarity with Goethe, the importance of the work lies in the freedom and joy with which it is created. So Goethe remains eminently human; a genius, but a frail human being battling with the obstacles of every-day life that the tradition of "the young Apollo and the old Olympian" had made us forget. It is a book that must be read before and after a study of Goethe, but never can be used as a commentary simply. Perhaps it is really valuable only for those who are really familiar with Goethe already.

Ludwig relates the story of Goethe's development chronologically. He finds that it divides itself into twelve periods. As he makes a cross section of each period he finds a specific spiritual force predominating in it which becomes the title of a chapter. These he again groups under three larger forces: genius and the demoniac for the first volume, *Erdgeist* for the second, and tragic victory for the third. At frequent intervals a characteristic portrait is reproduced and skillfully made an integral part of the story. Each chapter is also begun with a very fine bit of local color as a setting for the period to be presented.

Ludwig begins his narrative with Goethe's appearance at Leipzig, since he finds so little first hand testimony of the early Frankfurt years. Because the autobiographical material deals with Goethe's boyhood in Frankfurt only in retrospect, it becomes descriptive of the manner of retrospection to the author more than of the boyhood itself. Delightfully new suggestions arise from this method.

Nothing can be gained by calling attention to old philological controversies in connection with Ludwig's book. Such a procedure would only make of the book that which it so pleasantly avoids: one more philological contribution. Its value lies wholly in the vividness with which a character is made to live and move, who has become a legendary figure all too cumberously laden during the last quarter century with controversies, researches and sentimentalities. It is not necessary to agree or disagree with Ludwig as one is almost constantly forced to do with Chamberlain or Gundolf. Ludwig takes Goethe off the dissecting table and makes him move again. You have a new familiarity with him and a new courage to come into contact with him and make up your mind about him anew.

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The much discussed polarity of Goethe, the classical force of the severe genius at the one pole and the restless urge of the demoniac at the other, resolves itself into the human mystery of an unusual personality. Ludwig merely watches these forces meet and merge and then recede again; not schematically, but merely in the course of an attempt to keep a close watch on an unusual character as he moves and acts, or escapes from the consequences of his acts only to draw the clearer conclusions from them at a distance.

When Goethe writes Ludwig merely watches him trying to express himself, and gives no further discussion of the product than such a process carries with it. Often there are interesting side lights. Presenting Goethe at work on Götz, the author writes:

"But where has he seen a picture of this moral heroic Adelheit? A new characteristic of his writing: just as masculine and feminine elements mingle in him—and genius demands and almost assures such a mixture—so Goethe is to be found in his feminine characters no less, and often more, than in his men. Yes, at times it takes two women to picture the polarity of his own being with increased subtlety. Thus he reflects himself in Adelheit more than in Götz. In the pleasing didactic manner of his old age he later expresses this by saying, that in writing the play he had fallen in love with Adelheit until Götz crowded her out."

It is this kind of touch, or the picture Ludwig draws of Friederike of whom he makes an episode pure and simple until an old man recreates her in a mood of sentimental reminiscence, or the pathetic picture of Frau von Stein, or the tragic, all-too-human Christiane, or the careful and delightful reconstruction of Goethe's contact with Napoleon, but most of all the never ending battle of the opposites in Goethe himself, which make the book refreshing and suggestive. Decidedly the book is best just as it was evidently conceived by the author: not as a first introduction to Goethe but as a momentary suspension from controversies and as an attempt at an intimate lingering with the very human but very extraordinary man behind his work.

When Ludwig deduces, or rather sees, principles basic to Goethe's character, they are as simple as the method that leads him to find them. Speaking of Goethe's researches in science he says:

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"Goethe's researches in every single case describe the same mystic cycle as his creative writing or his acts. The eyes see the opportunity, the genius perceives universals, the individual draws the conclusion. The lyric poet, minister, scientific investigator, constantly takes his course from observation through vision to law. It merely depends upon the extent of the difficulties of the matter at hand, whether the course takes minutes or years. Like in Leonardo and in Kepler the chance phenomenon rises to a vision and from the vision develops the form; 'for I had the same experience with these phenomena as with my poems: I did not make them but they made me.' Not different forms of perception set free the gifts in Goethe; it is the same soul which in the same very personal way projects itself upon events and phenomena. Haughtily like Faust he turns to the symbol of the macrocosm to feel himself a god, humbly like St. Francis he loses himself in his microcosm to feel God within himself."

The least that can be said of Ludwig's book, is that it is interesting and suggestive. The best that can be said for it, is that the author to a marked degree has fulfilled his purpose; slowly to unfold the landscapes of the soul of Goethe from youth to old age; to be accurate in every real sense, but vivid and plastic like a poet.

O. Manthey-Zorn.

Amherst College.

Minor Poets of the Caroline Period. Edited by George Saintsbury. Vol. III. Clarendon Press, 1921.

Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century. Edited, with an Essay, by H. J. C. Grierson, Clarendon Press, 1921.

"About the beginning of the seventeenth century, appeared a race of writers that may be called the metaphysical poets." This sentence, from Johnson's Life of Cowley, marks the beginning of a critical dispute which has raged intermittently ever since the *Lives of the Poets* was first published, in 1779. It was not written hastily (for Johnson told Boswell[1] that he considered the life of

[1] *Boswell*, II, 341 (Everyman edition). Boswell remarks that Johnson has "discovered to us, as it were, a new planet in the poetical hemisphere." If Johnson's use of "metaphysical" is puzzling, what shall we say of Boswell's use of "hemisphere"?

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Cowley his best, on account of the description of the metaphysical poets), yet the very term by which Johnson introduced his discussion has been censured,[2] and the whole "metaphysical school" has lately been almost contemptuously waved aside by no less a student of Donne than Mr. Edmund Gosse,[3] who says that critics have "mixed up such incongruous figures as Carew and Cowley in the sterility of a so-called and wholly suppositious 'Metaphysical School." These are very bitter words, and so far as they deprecate the term "metaphysical," very ineffectual ones. To abandon the designation at this late date would be merely confusing, for even before Johnson the term was current in the special sense in which Johnson used it.[4]

What was this special sense? So good a Johnsonian as Dr. Birbeck Hill confesses[5] to a little difficulty at this point. And perhaps the real question is, rather, what the term was understood to mean—irrespective of Johnson's intention—and what it means today. Here a dilemma confronts us, for the term is used very vaguely. Does it mean "introspective," "psychological"? Yes, though probably that was not just what Johnson meant. Does it mean "far-fetched"? Yes again, that above all, but . . . the truth is that from Johnson down critics have used the term "metaphysical" loosely to mean "involved (whether in thought or in phrasing) and showing the influence of John Donne," without much attempt to isolate and define that influence.

[2] *E. g.*, by Southey, and later by Professor Courthope. More recently still Professor Edward Bliss Reed has said (*English Lyrical Poetry*, p. 241) "Dr. Johnson was . . . misleading when he applied the term 'metaphysical' to this trait of Donne's mind." (*i. e.*, ability to detect curious analogies.)

[3] *London Times*, Oct. 12, 1919.

[4] As is satisfactorily shown by A. H. Nethercot in *Modern Language Notes* for January, 1922. Grierson had already pointed out the same fact in the introduction to his edition of Donne (ii. viii), but Mr. Nethercot has added some significant quotations. His article and the introduction to Grierson's Donne should be read together. (*The Poems of John Donne. Edited from the old editions and numerous manuscripts, with introductions and commentary.* By Herbert J. C. Grierson, ii. vol. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1912.) The prefatory essay in this is the best essay I know on Donne, and the introduction to Professor Grierson's new volume is the best essay on the metaphysical poets in general.

[5] In his edition of *Lives of the Poets*, I, 67.

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Thomas Warton, writing six years after the publication of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets,* speaks[6] of Cowley's "metaphysical conceits, all the unnatural extravagances of his English poetry." This is not so enlightening as it might appear at first sight. If "unnatural extravagance" is the badge of metaphysical poetry, how are we to distinguish it from Euphuism? from sentimentalism? from symbolism? for all of these fashions in poetry exhibit "unnatural extravagance" in one form or another. Again, when Professor Saintsbury declares[7] all of Dryden's poetry to be metaphysical, on the ground that from first to last "he is the servant of misguiding or rightly guiding fantasy," where in the world of criticism are we? The implication seems to be that fantasy is fantasy, whether "misguiding" or "rightly guiding," and that fantastic poetry is metaphysical poetry. It is not likely that Professor Saintsbury would accept this interpretation of his dictum, but what other sense can his words bear? Professor Courthope[8] after calling Crashaw "a typical poet of the metaphysical school," proceeds to accept Pope's description[9] of that poet, as follows, "Only pretty conceptions, fine metaphors, glittering expressions,[10] and something of a neat cast of verse"—words which only a superficial critic would apply to Cowley, and which none, I hope, would apply to Donne. Now if this is what it is to be "a typical poet of the metaphysical school," what becomes of Dr. Johnson's account? And is the school any longer the school of Donne? A final instance of critical carelessness may be allowed to show in what fluid state discussion of our school subsists even today. Miss Eloise Robinson, in her recent edition of the minor poems of Joseph Beaumont,[11] says, "What most surely . . . marks Beaumont as belonging to the school of Donne is the religious temper of his poetry." And she assigns Traherne to the same school for the same reason. Plainly, redefinition is necessary.

Ample material for a reëxamination of the whole question may

[6] *Milton's Poems,* p. xv.

[7] *Caroline Poets,* I, xiii.

[8] *Pope's Works,* ed. Elwin-Courthope, v, 63.

[9] *Ibid.* (Cites Pope's letter to Cromwell, Dec. 17, 1710.

[10] Cf. Johnson's emphatic statement that the metaphysical poets were "careless of their diction."

[11] *The Minor Poems of Joseph Beaumont, D. D.,* p. xxx.

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be conveniently found—and that for the first time—in two volumes which have just appeared, Professor Grierson's *Metaphysical Lyrics of the Seventeenth Century,* and Professor Saintsbury's *Caroline Poets,* Vol. III. It is worth noting at the outset that neither editor shows the slightest disposition to reject the term "metaphysical"; Professor Grierson defends it, and Professor Saintsbury uses it without apology, as a matter of course.[12] But their anthologies are quite different in purpose. Professor Grierson has tried to make a true anthology—to choose, that is, only the flower, the quintessence of metaphysical poetry; Professor Saintsbury, on the other hand, has sought to present[13] "a *corpus* of 'metaphysical' poetry of the less easily accessible class." In these two volumes, then, we find the best and the worst, Donne and Cleveland, the wheat and the chaff, the apotheosis and the *reductio ad absurdum.*

Yet so sharp an antithesis does injustice to Professor Saintsbury's volume. It overlooks, for instance, the fact that one important name figures in both his list and Professor Grierson's. That is the name of Henry King. I have elsewhere[14] maintained that King, and not Cowley,[15] should be regarded as the true inheritor of Donne's poetic mantle, so far as it had an inheritor; and no doubt King would have been so regarded long since, if better known. Hannah's edition[16] of his poems has long been out of print, and the edition of Professor Lawrence Mason, published in 1914, though favorably known to scholars, did not have the fortune to appear on the crest of the present interest[17] in Donne.

[12] In an unpublished dissertation (in Harvard College Library) I have followed a similar course even to my choice of title. (*The Metaphysical Poets: John Donne and his School.*)

[13] *Caroline Poets,* III, 4.

[14] In the unpublished dissertation already referred to.

[15] v. Johnson's *Life of Cowley.*

[16] London, 1843.

[17] Professor W. L. Phelps says that this interest is now wider than at any time since the mid-seventeenth century (v. his *The Advance of English Poetry in the Twentieth Century.* London, Geo. Allen & Unwin, 1920). Note also, as illustrating the interest in Donne and his influence, the appearance in 1919 of Mr. H. J. Massingham's delightful *Treasury of Seventeenth Century English Verse* (in Macmillan's Golden Treasury Series), Mr. Gregory Smith's *Ben Jonson* (in the English Men of Letters series), and Mr. Pearsall Smith's *Donne's Sermons: Selected Passages, with an Essay* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press).

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The first remark to make about the inclusion of King in these two anthologies is that the most famous of the poems ascribed to him—"Tell me no more how fair she is"—, though printed both by Grierson and by Saintsbury, is questioned by both. Grierson says merely,[18] "This may not be King's, but there is no good reason for disfranchising him." Saintsbury includes it apparently on the sound principle that one should not surprise the reader.[19] He says, however,[20] "it may be frankly and at once admitted that [King] has nothing exactly to match it." Hannah did not include the poem in his 1843 edition. Mr. Massingham printed it in his Golden Treasury anthology of seventeenth century lyrics, but said,[21] "it is true neither to King's manner nor his mood, and suggests him only in its calm excellence of form." I do not think the poem is King's, but I rejoice that all three of these contemporary editors have continued to print it; the exclusion would be a thought too nice. But is "calm excellence of form" a trait of King's? In general, no doubt it is. Saintsbury speaks[22] of King's "good taste, freedom from mawkishness, melody, and enough poetical essence" to escape mediocrity, and says of an Alexandrine intruded in one poem,[23] "An irregular line is so very rare in King that one suspects an error." Elsewhere he makes a very amusing and characteristic defence[24] of the following ill rhyme:

> Whilst dull to write, and to do more unmeet,
> I, as the night invites me, fall asleep.

But rhyme is a detail. If "calm excellence of form," "freedom from mawkishness," and "melody" were King's only qualities, I should not call him a son of John Donne, and I do not believe that Grierson and Saintsbury would have admitted him to the ranks of the "metaphysicals." He combined these qualities with fantasy and with power; though the power is less than Donne's, it is of the same kind. It is shown better than anywhere else in

[18] P. 226.

[19] Anatole France, *L'Ile des Pingouins*, p. iv. "Le lecteur n'aime pas à être surpris."

[20] P. 164. Cf. the note on p. 273.

[21] P. 383.

[22] P. 183, note.

[23] P. 204, note.

[24] P. 179. "This outrageous assonance may have been meant in character—the poet being too much 'in the arms of Porpus' to notice it."

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King's most famous long poem, *The Exequy*. Though this has passages that are weak through affectation, surely Grierson and Saintsbury are right in giving the entire poem, and Quiller-Couch was wrong when in the Oxford Book he omitted (for instance) the following lines, among others:

> [I languish out, not live, the day] [25]
> Using no other exercise
> But what I practice with mine eyes:
> By which wet glasses I find out
> How lazily time creeps about
> To one that mourns: this, onely this
> My exercise and business is:
> So I compute the weary houres
> With sighs dissolved into showrres.
> Nor wonder if my time go thus
> Backward and most preposterous.

To say that this is unnatural is to claim over-much knowledge of the poet's mind. It may have been, it probably was, quite natural[26] to him. King was steeped in the poetry of Donne, and Donne's influence is almost omnipresent in King's poetry.[27] This can not be proved, for the reason that King is not a plagiarist,[28] but a poet. Collecting parallel passages is an amusing game, but a dangerous one too. Those who are ill acquainted with Donne must take my statements on faith, if they will; those who know him will hear the echo of his voice in many a stanza of King's. They will hear it in[29]

> "With this cast rag of my mortality
> Let all my faults and errors buried be.
> And as my cere-cloth rots, so may kind fate

---

[25] This line is in the Oxford Book. I quote it for context merely.

[26] Just as the classical allusions in *Lycidas* were natural to Milton. It is possible to consider *Lycidas* a frigid performance without accepting Johnson's implication that it is insincere.

[27] He was Donne's friend and the executor of his will, and he wrote a verse epitaph on him.

[28] Though there is justice in Saintsbury's remark (p. 180) that *The Surrender* and *The Legacy* "might as well be exercises in the school of King's great friend and master, Donne."

[29] *The Legacy*, Saintsbury, p. 181.

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> Those worst acts of my life incinerate.
> He shall in story fill a glorious room
> Whose ashes and whose sins sleep in one tomb."

They will hear it in [30]

> "Go then, best soul, and, where you must appear,
> Restore the day to that dull hemisphere."

They will hear it again, harsh this time, but unmistakable, in such a line as [31]

> "Keep station, Nature, and rest, Heaven, sure. . ."

King's lines are usually more mellifluous than this, but Jacobean mortuary poetry was often as deficient in music as in clarity.[32]

It may be said, by the way, that a good essay on the elegies and eulogies of the seventeenth century is still wanting; possibly Professor Grierson or Professor Saintsbury will yet write it. Grierson notes in his introductory essay [33] a verbal correspondence between Cleveland's poem on the death of Edward King and Milton's *Lycidas;* he might have added that in funeral collections of the period poet after poet echoed and reëchoed the same word, phrase, or conceit, until a given volume—or *tombeau,* as Saintsbury would call it—becomes a mere exercise-book.[34] But Saintsbury remarks, what Grierson also implies, that a comparison between Milton's poem and Cleveland's will bring out "the difference of ephemeral and eternal style in verse."

That Flatman and Whiting do not appear in Grierson's volume is understandable enough; I doubt if anyone (other than Professor Saintsbury and his printer) will nowadays read Flatman very carefully, though he did write one line [35] famous enough to have been frequently misquoted. And Saintsbury himself admits [36]

[30] *The Departure. An Elegy.* Saintsbury, p. 204.

[31] *An Elegy upon Prince Henry's Death.* Saintsbury, p. 216.

[32] Jonson told Drummond that Donne "wrote that Epitaph on Prince Henry . . . to match Sir. Ed. Herbert in obscureness." (*Conversations,* VII.) MS. Harl. 3910 in the British Museum has a good version of Herbert's poem on the death of Prince Henry.

[33] P. lv.

[34] Cf. such a collection as *Jonsonus Virbius,* or *Lachrymae Musarum,* or the Edward King volume.

[35] Saintsbury, 392. "But Princes . . .
Never submit to Fate, but only disappear."

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

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that Flatman is "imperfect, disappointing . . . only half aneled with the sacred unction." As for Whiting, there is certainly no sacred unction about him; he is curious in every sense, including that of the bookseller's catalogue. *The Pleasing History of Albino and Bellama* would have pleased Lord Byron in subject and style (in both it suggests *Don Juan*), and Mrs. Malaprop in its diction, of which Saintsbury remarks,[37] "He [Whiting] would almost be worth republishing for this alone." The propriety of this observation becomes evident when we consider such Whitingisms as *indod, trutinate, priorist, blough, phrentezy, goddy, vowel-plasters, satonisco*—but perhaps this is enough to explain Saintsbury's note on *bean-manors,*[38] "This makes excellent sense, but is not, perhaps, on that account more likely here." He is unfair, however, when he says of another line, "I have kept *ante* because I do not know whether it is for *aunt* or *ant.* Neither seems to give much sense." A glance at the context will show that "the ante" means simply "the former"; perhaps Saintsbury distrusted this as being too perspicuous for Whiting.

Such puzzles are rarer in Grierson's volume, for here we are dealing with the greater metaphysical manner, not the less. The difficulties are of a nobler sort. The finest of all metaphysical poems, Donne's *Ecstasy,* is here—what seventeenth-century singer did not know it and study its Platonism of love?—and a few pages further is the best[39] of the many imitations of it, Lord Herbert of Cherbury's[40] *Ode upon a Question moved, whether Love should continue forever?* A close comparison of these two poems is an object lesson in metaphysical poetry; the rules of rhetoric seem reversed, and that type of writing most forceful which is least clear. Thus, Donne's

> But as all severall soules containe
> Mixture of things, they know not what,
> Love, these mixt soules, doth mixe againe,
> And makes both one, each this and that

becomes in Herbert's hands

> So when from hence we shall be gone,
> And be no more, nor you, nor I,
> As one another's mystery,
> Each shall be both, yet both but one.

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[37] *Ibid.*, p. 442.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 450.
[39] Grierson, p. xxxvi.
[40] Grierson, p. 28.

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What has happened? a gain in clearness, unquestionably, but—something is wanting. Yet both Donne and Lord Herbert of Cherbury are metaphysicals. So are any and all of their contemporaries who show themselves to be subtle, novel, and fantastic, and at the same time "subjective," introspective, and unnatural. Whether they are "naturalist," whether they are religious, whether (like Lord Herbert in his anticipation of the *In Memoriam* metre) they are metrically smooth—all these are minor questions. But finally, to quote again from Dr. Johnson's Life of Cowley, "Critical remarks are not easily understood without examples"; and all the critical remarks which have ever been made about the metaphysical poets can now be adequately tested by any one who will first read diligently these two excellent selections.

Both books are admirable in format, but that goes without saying of Clarendon Press books. Professor Grierson's is uniform with Mr. Pearsall Smith's selection from Donne's sermons.

BEN C. CLOUGH.

Brown University.

CORRESPONDENCE

AN ENGLISH IMITATOR OF FAVART: ISAAC BICKERSTAFFE

The *Sultan or a Peep into the Seraglio,* a farce in two acts, was staged with success at Drury Lane on December 12, 1775, and soon became a favorite play of the more provincial repertory at Dublin and at Edinburgh.[1] The author, Isaac Bickerstaffe, who must be distinguished from the actor of the same name,[2] wrote the play in France, for, three years before its first representation, he had been forced to cross the Channel on account of a scandalous affair on which historians insist but little.[3] He stayed in France for a long time, possibly for twenty or more years. It is worthy of note that *The Sultan* is but a paraphrase, in several scenes almost a literal translation, of a well-known French Vaudeville, the *Trois Sultanes*

[1] Cf. *A Collection of the most esteemed Farces and Entertainments.* Edinburgh, 1792, Vol. I; J. Knight, *David Garrick*, 1894, p. 261.

[2] On Bickerstaffe, the actor, see Genest's *Some account of the English Stage. . . .* Vol. II and III. Isaac Bickerstaffe is also the pseudonym of Steele and Addison.

[3] On Isaac Bickerstaffe, the playwright, see: *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.* Articles "Bickerstaffe" and "Dibdin"; *Biographia Dramatica*, 1912; J. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

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by Favart (1761). It is not difficult to guess how Bickerstaffe became acquainted with the French Play. He had been for several years the literary factotum of Garrick, who, in his turn, was a close friend of Favart and had an extensive correspondence with him.[4] Moreover, Bickerstaffe, living in France, must have been aware of the lasting success of the *Trois Sultanes* at Paris, where it is sometimes staged even now.[5]

It seems astonishing that this imitation, which amounts in certain scenes almost to plagiarism, was not discovered at the time. Garrick may not have been ignorant of it, for he knew Favart and his works. His silence can be explained by the fact that Bickerstaffe was, at that time, very unhappy and in great need of financial help. Bickerstaffe's letter to him of June 22, 1772, which implores his help and forgiveness, has rightly been called "one of the saddest of human documents."[6] Garrick may have desired to help him by staging his adaptation of the *Trois Sultanes*, notwithstanding its lack of originality. On the other hand, it is also possible that Garrick was entirely indifferent to the source of a play as long as it was a success with the public.

It has been suggested that Bickerstaffe's play is based upon Favart's source,[7] the story of *Soliman II*, one of Marmontel's *Contes Moraux*, of which two English versions had appeared, in 1764 and in 1768. But, since *The Sultan* contains a number of changes which Favart made when he adapted the prose story to the stage, and since a number of lines are found in it in which the very words of Favart are reproduced, it is clear that Bickerstaffe did not make use of Marmontel's story. A few examples will be sufficient to substantiate this: Favart introduced into the *Trois Sultanes* such changes as were demanded by theatrical effectiveness. He gave, for instance, to the Sultan a picturesque Turkish pipe, of which no trace is found in Marmontel's text. This detail, which must have added a note of caricature to the gallant Sultan's conduct, has been faithfully reproduced by Bickerstaffe, as well as Favart's scene in which Soliman invites Roxelane to smoke with him. She throws the pipe away, to the great delight of the theater-goers. Bickerstaffe has taken this scene over. The scene of the banquet in *The Sultan* is copied from scene XII of Act III of the *Trois Sultanes*. Favart introduced into his play an "écuyer tranchant," who does not appear in Marmontel's story. He is found, too, in Bickerstaffe's imitation. In a word, in almost every

[4] Cf. Franck Hedgcock, *David Garrick and His French Friends*, pp. 363 and 294; Favart, *Mémoires et Correspondance*, 1808.

[5] Acted in Paris as late as 1910.

[6] *Dict. of Nat. Biog. Art.* "Bickerstaffe" and J. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[7] Cf. Max Freund, *Die moralischen Erzählungen Marmontels*, 1905, p. 73; Martha P. Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century*, 1908, p. 204.

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respect in which Favart's play differs from its source, Bickerstaffe has imitated it. The reason for it is easily found: Favart's sense of which scenes would please the audience was finely developed and Bickerstaffe was desirous of following in the wake of his success.

As examples of Bickerstaffe's translation, I cite the following lines from the two plays:

> Va dire à ton Sultan, réplique cette belle,
> Que je ne prends point de sorbet[8]
> Et que mes pieds n'ont point de poussière.

Go tell your master, I have no dust on my feet, and that I don't like Sherbet.

> Au lieu d'avoir pour émissaire
> Ce prétendu monsieur que je ne puis souffrir,
> Prenez un officier, jeune, bien fait, aimable,
> Qui vienne les matins consulter nos désirs,
> Et nous faire un plan agréable
> De jeux, de fêtes et de plaisirs.
> Pourquoi de cent barreaux vos fenêtres couvertes?
> C'est de fleurs qu'il faut les garnir!
> Et que le bonheur seul empêche d'en sortir. . . .

Bickerstaffe here has changed the order of his translation, but he remains close to Favart's text:

Let your window-bars be taken down. Let the doors of the Seraglio be thrown open. Let inclination alone keep your women within it; and instead of that ugly odious creature there, send a handsome, smart, young officer to us every morning, one that will treat us like ladies and lay out the pleasure of the day.

An exhaustive list of further imitations is hardly necessary. Bickerstaffe's only original addition consists in the transformation of Roxelane from a French into an English slave, but this change of nationality has not the slightest influence upon the heroine's manners and actions: she remains the free and happy Parisian girl of Favart, who "with that little cocked up nose" changes the century-old customs of the Turkish Empire and marries the most inconstant of Sultans. This adaptation shows that Favart's success was not exclusively limited to his country and that his *Vaudevilles*—even in the inferior adaptation of Bickerstaffe—were popular in England.

René Guiet.

University of Illinois.

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[8] Marmontel in this particular instance says *tea* and not *sherbet*. Bickerstaffe follows here Favart's change.

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Scogan's *Quem Quaeritis* and Till Eulenspiegel

In *MLN.* xxxvii, 289 ff., Professor Willard Farnham has reprinted and discussed Scogan's tale of the Easter play, the eighth jest in the 1613 edition of *Scoggins Iestes,* stating that "with some assurance we can guess that this tale of the priest and his one-eyed lemman describes an English play." He considers the claim of this 1613 edition to be 'translated out of French' a fiction, and states "that Scogan's jest makes very probable the existence in England, say during the early fifteenth century, of such a version as is described, but even if the setting is French, this slovenly told little story is full of interest."

However this jest of Scogan, as other readers of the *MLN.* have doubtless recognized, is taken from Till Eulenspiegel. Friedrich W. D. Brie has pointed out in his *Eulenspiegel in England* (*Palaestra,* Vol. xxvii, 1903) that eight of the jests of the 1913 edition of Scogan, and in fact eight consecutive ones, numbers seven to fourteen inclusive, including this the eighth, are from Till Eulenspiegel. An examination of these, such as Brie has made, shows that their source is William Copland's *Howlglass,* the English translation of Till Eulenspiegel made about 1560. The only important alteration in the story in Scogan is the introduction of a pronounced anti-Catholic sentiment, not found in its source.

So far as I know, this jest has not been found in any earlier source than the earliest preserved edition of Till Eulenspiegel, the German edition published at Strassburg in 1515. It is found, with Eulenspiegel as hero, in a German Meistersang, belonging apparently to about the middle of the sixteenth century (reprinted in Lappenberg's *Ulenspiegel,* p. 233). In view of the fact that many of the abundant medieval jests about priests and monks doubtless originated and circulated in clerical circles, one is tempted to conjecture that this one had a clerical origin and was possibly first told in Latin. It is clearly not of English origin, and there is no evidence of French origin.

The interest of this *Quem quaeritis* jest to students of the early drama was pointed out by Lappenberg as early as 1854 in his *Ulenspiegel.* In the English literature concerning the religious drama, the jest was first related, so far as I know, by Karl Pearson in 1897 in his study of the German Passion Play, published in his *Chances of Death,* Vol. ii, p. 246 f. The woodcut of this story, with its temporary sepulchre and its fighting participants, I have recently reproduced, from the edition of 1515, in a study of *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy, with special reference to the Liturgic Drama* (p. 64[b]). (Reviewed in *MLN.* June, 1922.)

Neil C. Brooks.

University of Illinois.

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ENGL. *bless* = LAT. *benedicere*

Für engl. *bless* hat wohl kein Etymologe diese Gleichung gewagt; ich wage es, eine solche aufzustellen und zu begründen. Die Herleitung aus dem germ. Wurzelverb *blôtan,* 'opfern' ist für den christlichen Wortinhalt von *bless* höchst unwahrscheinlich. Auch Zusammenhang mit germ. *blôd,* 'Blut,' ist ganz unsicher. Dem spätnordhumbr. *blædsan* ist kein Gewicht beizulegen, da für *æ* blosse Lautsubstitution bei dem Übergang des Wortes aus einer Sprache oder Mundart in eine andere vorliegen kann. Das Verb erscheint im Frühangls. des *Vesp. Psalters* als *bledsian, gebledsian,* mit der Ableitung *bledsung,* und zwar sehr häufig (z. B. III, 9 *bledsung,* V, 13 *bledsas* in meinem *Angls. Lesebuch*[4], S. 19, 21): wäre echtes *ǽ* (*ô* + *i*-Umlaut) für das Urengl. anzunehmen, so würde der *Vesp. Psalter* regelmässig *oe* schreiben, und das kommt niemals vor. Vgl. Bülbring *Aengl. Elementarbuch* § 339. Ich vermute Übergang von lat. *benedicere* in *b(e)ledicere,* und verweise auf den Tausch von *l* mit *n* in nhd. *schleunig,* mhd. *sliunec,* aus ahd. *sniumo.* So zeigt auch lat. *meretricem* im Romanischen die Nebenformen *meletricem* und *menetricem.* Der Übergang von *l* zu *n* spielt bekanntlich in der Geschichte der deutschen Worte *Himmel Kümmel* und *sammeln* eine grosse Rolle. Das Problem solcher Übergänge hat Horn zum Gegenstand eifriger Nachforschungen gemacht.

Bei dem nahen Anklang von angls. *bledsian* an den Gegensatz *cúrsian* darf man vielleicht an die Möglichkeit gegenseitiger Beeinflussung in Bezug auf das *s*-Suffix denken. Zwar kennt man das letzte Etymon von angls. *cúrsian* nicht, aber dass es zunächst aus altir. *cúrsagaim,* 'ich fluche,' stammt, weiss man schon lange: ich habe seit der 2. Aufl. meines *Angls. Leseb.* 1897, diesen Zusammenhang auch in der *English Etymology,* S. 53 und in *Pauls Grundriss,* I, 929 vertreten. Da fällt es nun auf, dass lat. *bene dico* in altir. *bendachaim* steckt, wodurch zugleich Zusammenhang mit angls. *blessian* nahegelegt wird.

Begrifflich empfiehlt sich dieser Zusammenhang von drei christlichen Worten ganz von selbst, und wir gewinnen aus lat. *benedicere* einerseits und angls. *bledsian* anderseits eine Mittelform *bled(i)sôn* mit Vertretung der mlat. *z*-Aussprache in *dicere* durch *s.* Dafür braucht Anlehnung an *cúrsian* nicht direkt beteiligt zu sein, aber die Möglichkeit wird man doch zugeben müssen. Dass das mittlere *i* der Grdf. *bledisôn* keinen *i*-Umlaut von *e* zu *i* veranlasst hat, bleibt zwar eine Schwierigkeit, braucht aber bei einem verhältnismässig späten christlichen Lehnbegriff doch nicht abzuschrecken. Ich empfehle die Nachprüfung meiner Deutung allen Kennern.

F. KLUGE.

Freiburg, Baden.

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"Under the Sonne he loketh"

Professor C. Alphonso Smith has offered (*MLN.* XXXVII, pp. 120-121) an interesting explanation of Chaucer's phrase "Under the sonne he loketh." He holds that it means: "all around the horizon," and, in support he quotes two passages from American versions of ballads, in which the words "looked all under the sun" have clearly the meaning of: "Looked from East to West, from North to South." Professor Klaeber has pointed out that similar constructions occur in Old English (*MLN.* XXXVII, p. 376). Professor Tatlock differentiates between Chaucer's "under the sonne," and the "all under the sun" of the ballads. He believes that Chaucer's words must be taken literally: Theseus looked in the direction of the early morning-sun.

It seems of interest, in this connection, to call attention to an example of the phrase in an early Flemish ballad: *Mi Adel en Hir Alewijn* [1] a poem of 246 verses, deeply influenced by the *Gudrun.*[2] Professor G. Kalff dates it from the 13th or 14th century.

Vs. 112-16:

Als ik aan de fonteine kwam,
'k Keek in den Oosten en in den Westen,
Maar onder de zonne was 't allerbeste.
Wat zag ik onder de zonne blinken?
't Was een pelgrim die mij wenkte.

When I arrived at the fountain,
I looked to the East and to the West,
But under the sun was by far the best.
What did I see shining under the sun?
It was a pilgrim who hailed me.

The appearance of the phrase "looked . . . under the sun" in old Flemish, confirms Professor Klaeber's remark that it is based on old Germanic idiom. On the other hand, in the Flemish song, it does not seem to be a synonyme for "looked to the East and to the West"; it is contrasted with this expression:

I looked to the East and to the West,
But under the sun. . . .

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK.

University of Minnesota.

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[1] Published first by Lootens and Feys in *Chants populaires flamands avec les airs notés . . . . recueillis à Bruges*, 1879, p. 66.

[2] For a discussion of this influence, see G. Kalff, *Het Lied in de Middeleeuwen*, 1884, pp. 93, 105.

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"*Under the Sonne*"

In view of the present interest in the phrase "under the sun," it may be worth while to call attention to another Anglo-Saxon example:

> Arās þā tōgēnes, Gode þancade,
> þæs ðe hīe onsunde ǣfre mōston
> gesēon under sunnan, *Andreas,* 1011-3.

Professor Klaeber has mentioned briefly the parallel in "under swegle" (*M. L. N.* XXXVII, pp. 376-7); but I think one might fail to realize from his casual reference how close the similarity in this case really is. Just before the passage that I have quoted above occurs the following:

> Hē þǣr āna sæt
> geohðum gēomor in þām gnornhofe;
> geseh þā under swegle swǣsne gefēran,
> hālig hāligne; hyht wæs genīwad, 1007-10.

This phrase was frequently used: *Andreas,* l. 98; *Beowulf,* 1078, 1197; *Genesis,* 1414 (a doubtful case); *Crist,* 502; *Elene,* 75; *Phoenix,* 186, 199, 467. As usual, Professor Klaeber's note covers practically the whole ground; but it seems to me interesting to point out that, as the passages in the *Andreas* show, the phrases were almost interchangeable, and in connection with this fact to remember that "swegl" sometimes means specifically the "sun" (for example, at least as early as *Guthlac B,* 1304; cf. *Exodus,* 105). Cf. also: *under swegles begong, under swegles gang, under swegles hlēo.*

HOWARD R. PATCH.

Smith College.

BRIEF MENTION

The Story of Glaucus in Keats's Endymion, by H. Clement Notcutt, Professor of English in the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa (Printed for the Author by the South African Electric Printing Co., Capetown, 1921. 20 pp.). In the 'brief mention' of *An Interpretation of Keats's Endymion, MLN.* XXXV, 316-320, the assumed allegorical significance of the story of Glaucus was singled out as one of the prominent features of Professor Notcutt's suggestive essay. It was assumed that "the figure of Glaucus and the story of his adventures, which fill nearly the whole of the third book of the poem," are employed by the poet with definite reference to the meaning and purpose of the poem as an organic whole. Professor Notcutt now reports that his interpretation of this feature, as first published, has been accepted by some critics, that others have not been convinced by it, but prefer to continue to believe that the poet "had no definite mean-

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ing in his mind in writing this story; which amounts to saying that Keats, in the middle of what he was trying to make a great poem, allowed himself to wander from the point, and to indulge for pages at a time in writing irrelevant nonsense that had no bearing upon anything in particular." Even so discerning a critic as Professor Oliver Elton, in *Mod. Lang. Review* XV, 417, patronizingly envies Professor Notcutt's "liberty of dreaming within the dream of Keats," tho he cannot follow him far, and prefers to continue in the belief that the poet must be assumed to have been content "to draw fantastic pictures for their own sake and without a hidden meaning." He indicates his view of the proposed interpretation of the story of Glaucus with merely a summary of it couched in that form of surprise that does not admit of serious consideration: "the history of Glaucus in book III is an emblem of the struggles of romantic poetry during the eighteenth century. Circe, who for a time misled Glaucus, means Pope; her victims (Notcutt, p. 59; *Endymion,* III, 513 ff.) are the victims in the *Dunciad;* and the treasures that Glaucus seizes from the old man are Percy's *Reliques,* nothing less."

Professor Notcutt has persisted in his conviction that the poet must have had a definite and recognizable purpose in his rendering of the story of Glaucus. He now offers a fresh presentation of the argument previously put forward, the ground of his contention being that "Keats was a thinker as well as a singer, and to suppose that he would have allowed himself to fill up a poem of this kind with mere idle dreaming, having no point or sense, seems neither fair to the poet nor critically sound."

The argument rests on the assumption "that Circe is intended to represent Pope," and Professor Notcutt has now an answer to the question, How did the poet come to select this mode of figuring his disapproval of neo-classicism? From the *Bathos* "it may be seen," he declares, "that the identification did not originate with Keats, but with no less an authority than Pope himself!" He turns to that portion of the *Bathos* (Elwin and Courthope, X, 361 f.) in which Pope has symbolized his victims, designating them by the initial letters of their names, under the names and characteristics "of animals of some sort or other." This chapter, Warton observed, gave special offence, which Pope tried in vain to palliate by declaring that the initial letters "were placed at random, and meant no particular writers." This convinced no one. He had, Professor Notcutt says, "transformed his victims after the manner of Circe," and in the next chapter makes clear that this legend was in his mind; in other words, the inference is plain that he had consciously played the rôle of Circe, for the legend is in his mind when he ridicules a couplet from Broom. In that couplet Phœbus takes his way thru the monsters of the Zodiac, and Pope is ready with the comment: "The author's pencil, like the wand of Circe,

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turns all into monsters at a stroke." Upon that evidence, Professor Notcutt concludes that "It seems sufficiently evident that we have here the origin of the Circe episode in *Endymion*" (p. 12).

If it be agreed, for the sake of argument, that it has thus been shown what suggested to Keats his employment of the legend, the next step, legitimated by literary practice, is to grant the poet freedom and independence in the adaptation of the legend to the purpose of his poem. He could not be required to be as faithful to the transmitted details of the legend as to the meaning the legend is employed to typify. And surely the legend as found in Ovid (Keats's principal source) does not obviously bear the stamp of an effective symbol of what Keats is assumed to have had in mind. The symbol must have been suggested to the poet thru some special observation or other; and this establishes a strong presumption in favor of Professor Notcutt's inference from Pope's *Bathos*.

How can it be believed that the legend of Glaucus, as it dominates so large a portion of the poem, does not definitely admit of an interpretation that makes clear some prominent aspect of the purpose of the poem? That belief, which is still favored by otherwise discerning minds,—well, for inherent improbability, where is it matched in literary criticism? Moreover, is not the key-note of the true interpretation sounded in the introductory lines of the third book, in which influences are described as having "not one tinge of sanctuary splendor"? There is thus a two-fold basic assumption in support of Professor Notcutt's argument.

The *Interpretation* (1919) is supplemented by the pamphlet now under consideration chiefly by "four leading points where Keats has introduced original elements into it" [the classical story of Glaucus], examined "with a view to seeing what light they may throw on the purpose underlying this part of the poem." Before taking up these points it is noticed that the poet "has made no use of the quaint and picturesque account of the way in which Glaucus came to win the freedom of the sea." This omission must indicate that the poet had "some meaning to express with which the incident could not be related." The view is thus confirmed that the legend is in other respects handled freely to symbolize a definite meaning, coherent in all its parts.

The first "leading point" is the observation, with fresh emphasis, that while, in the earlier part of the story, Glaucus is like Endymion in his striving after an ideal, his subsequent deflection from the true path devised by the poet cannot have been invented at random; it must be purposeful. This "divergence of their stories suggests that while the later poetic movement (represented by Endymion) remained faithful to the ideal that inspired it, the earlier (for which Glaucus stands) had been seduced from the loftiness of purpose that had at first inspired it, and had followed

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lower and less worthy aims." This deflection is, in Keats's judgment, true of the pseudo-classic school. It follows that the punishment inflicted upon Glaucus, again "invented by Keats in wilful disregard of the statement of Ovid that Circe could do no such thing, was the punishment that fell upon English poetry as the direct result of yielding to these enticements: it lost all poetic force, and fell into decrepitude." The story of Glaucus thus revised, says the author, "forms a very effective pictorial representation of the view that was held and proclaimed by Keats and others who were associated with him in the new poetical movement."

Secondly the poet has modified the story with respect to the vengeance wreaked upon Scylla by Circe. Standing for "a poetical ideal" of which for a time the influence is suspended, Scylla is put into "a deathlike trance in which her beauty is not marred, and from which she is eventually restored to life." Obviously this modification of the story is ingeniously devised "to suit the meaning that was to be conveyed."

The third 'point' is pivotal. If it is to be assumed, as reported above, that Keats obtained from Pope himself the suggestion that led to the exhibition of Pope in the guise of Circe, it becomes reasonable to hold that the poet having first seized upon this central feature proceeded from it to conform the legend of Glaucus as a whole to his purpose. When one considers that legend as a whole, putting together the details from Ovid and Homer, certain outstanding features of it do not at a glance suggest a possible adaptation to the poem; on the contrary those features seem to make such a figured use next to impossible. The poet's procedure in this case might therefore be supposed to represent an aspect of the tenet *durior lectio;* but that aspect must be restricted to characterize the poet's ingenuity in employing the legend after it was suggested to him by a look into Pope's *Bathos* and *Dunciad.* The conduct of Pope towards his victims was as unusual in character as the 'fantastic' conduct of Circe towards her victims, and Pope himself, as has been noticed, indirectly suggested the analogy. At this 'point' it is accordingly argued in some detail that Circe of the poem represents Pope. The argument is ingenious but not fancifully forced; it is rather so clear and direct that one is strongly inclined to pronounce it conclusive. It deserves unbiassed consideration.

If the preceding steps in the argument be approved, the closing incidents in the poet's adaptation of the legend will not appear incredible in the light of the evidence already disclosed of his resourceful power of invention in sustaining the dominant figure of this portion of the poem. To complete the figure Glaucus must be restored to youthful vigor, and Scylla must be awakened from sleep and restored to the effective influence of her beauty. These

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incidents of course imply the decline of the power of Circe. For this sequel Keats had to depart altogether from his classical authorities and rely upon "pure invention." The interpretation runs thus: English poetry (Glaucus) had become impotent under the influence of Pope (Circe) but a new life now began to pulse thru its veins, and so the poet invents the account of the restoration of Glaucus. Sitting one day on a rock, Glaucus saw a vessel coming "from the horizon's brink" (which "stands for the ballad literature that had come down from the earlier centuries, and in which men were beginning to take a new interest"). The vessel as it came nearer was wrecked in a tempest, and Glaucus still feeble because of the curse of Circe, was unable to save "any of those who cried for help. As he was lamenting his inability to rescue them there emerged from the waters at his feet an old man's hand, grasping a scroll and a wand. He laid hold of these, and even caught the old man's finger, but it slipped through his enfeebled grasp, and the last survivor of the wreck perished. The scroll however was saved. Glaucus read it with rapt attention, and found in it a promise of redemption."

As to the scroll, Professor Notcutt's interpretation shall again be submitted to the judgment of the readers of this periodical. The vessel signifying the old ballad literature, "the wrecking of the ship and the 'gulphing' of all on board, represent the disappearance of the great mass of the ballads, and the complete oblivion that has overtaken their authors." The scroll that was saved signifies "the famous manuscript out of which [Percy's] *Reliques* grew. Just as Percy was barely in time to save it from destruction, so the scroll was with difficulty, and only at the last moment, rescued from the waves; and as the unknown transcriber of the manuscript sank into oblivion, so the hand that held out the scroll to Glaucus slipped through his grasp, and the unknown benefactor sank out of sight."

The deliverance of Glaucus is effected by Endymion, "the spirit of the new poetry," who greeted Glaucus in the cry (III, 713), "We are twin brothers in this destiny!" Endymion, scattering in the face of Glaucus some pieces of the scroll, restored him to youthful vigour; and then, 'showering these powerful fragments' on Scylla and on the files of seemingly dead bodies [representing the older poets], brought them back to life. Thus was accomplished the revival of poetry."

This second study strengthens the first, but there is necessarily considerable repetition that would have been avoided, with great advantage, if what is now added had been taken up in a revised edition of the *Interpretation*. This revision is also desirable because it would enable Professor Notcutt to discuss those details which have been withheld in sketching the main features of his argument.

J. W. B.

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H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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GOLDSMITH AND VOLTAIRE'S *ESSAI SUR LES MŒURS*

In view of the interest which Goldsmith displayed from the beginning in the reading and writing of history,[1] it was natural that he should share in the enthusiasm which Voltaire's *Histoire universelle*—later to be known as the *Essai sur les Mœurs*—aroused among English readers on its appearance in 1753-1754.[2] In August, 1757, he contributed to the *Monthly Review* a long notice of the Geneva edition of 1756.[3] Though he did not hesitate to point out shortcomings, he yet found much in the work to praise. "It would be superfluous," he wrote, "to add our commendation of those pieces, which, even in their imperfect state, have deservedly gained the approbation of the public. Voltaire's beauties as a writer are many and obvious; his faults few, and those well concealed under the dazzle of his abilities." [4]

[1] See *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, London, 1884-1886, I, 337; IV, 53-54, 233, 254, 257, 275, 304, 342, 388, 461-62; V, 7-59, 129-42.

[2] *The British Museum Catalogue* lists three translations of the work between 1754 and 1759. It was uniformly greeted with approval by the critical press; see, for example, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXV (1755), 99; the *Monthly Review*, XVII (1757), 360; the *Critical Review*, XVIII (1764), 20; the *Dublin Magazine* (1764), pp. 589-91; the *Universal Museum* (1788), pp. 186-89. Concerning its popularity with the general reading public, see Crane, "The Diffusion of Voltaire's Writings in England, 1750-1800," to appear shortly in *Modern Philology*.

[3] XVII, 154-64; reprinted by Gibbs, IV, 277-82. The seven volumes of the edition of 1756 comprised, besides the *Essai* proper, the *Siècle de Louis XIV* and a portion of what was later known as the *Siècle de Louis XV*, the whole extending to the year 1756.

[4] *Works*, ed. Gibbs, IV, 280.

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That this was Goldsmith's settled opinion of the *Essai* he made clear two years later in a short passage in his *Memoirs of M. de Voltaire:* "It was here [at Cirey], and for her [Mme du Châtelet's] use, that he drew up that system of Universal History, which, whatever may be its fidelity, is certainly a fine specimen of the solidity of his judgment, and his intimate acquaintance with human nature." [5] And we may perhaps see a further expression of his regard for the work in the fact that he inserted in the *Bee* for October 13, 1759, a letter of Voltaire to Thieriot, one of the principal themes of which was the impartiality, love of truth, and zeal for human happiness displayed in the *Essai*.[6]

The fruits of this interest appeared most clearly—though the fact seems not to have been noticed by students of Goldsmith—in the lucid and engaging, if not very profound, narrative of English history from the beginnings to the accession of George III which Newbery published anonymously in 1764 under the title of *An History of England, in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to his Son.*[7]

Goldsmith's procedure in writing this work is thus described by his friend Cooke in a series of reminiscences contributed to the *European Magazine* in 1793:[8]

His manner of compiling this History was as follows:—he first read in a morning, from Hume, Rapin, and sometimes Kennet, as much as he designed for one letter, marking down the passages referred to on a sheet of paper, with remarks. He then rode or walked out with a friend or two, . . . and when he went up to bed took up his books and paper with him, where he generally wrote the chapter, or the best part of it, before he went to rest. This latter exercise cost him very little trouble, he said; for having all his materials ready for him, he wrote it with as much facility as a common letter.

In one respect—the enumeration of Goldsmith's sources—this account is incomplete: to the histories listed by Cooke should be

[5] *Ibid.*, IV, 39.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, 340-41.

[7] 2 vols., 12mo. Sixteen of the letters are reprinted by Gibbs, V, 251-347. For the proof of Goldsmith's authorship, see Gibbs, I, 482, and V, 250.

[8] XXIV, 94; quoted by Gibbs, V, 168n, and by Dobson, *Life of Goldsmith*, London, 1888, p. 91.

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added the *Essai sur les Mœurs,* apparently in the enlarged form which had been the basis of his article in the *Monthly Review.*[9]

To a compiler like Goldsmith, writing rapidly and desirous of retaining only the essentials of his subject, the task of condensing the crowded narratives of Rapin or Hume[10] must often have seemed a highly ungrateful one. In such moments it was probably something of a relief to be able to turn to the succinct and pointed summaries of English history contained in the pages of Voltaire. Whatever his motive, it is certain that he kept the *Essai* at hand during the whole of the time he was engaged in writing the *History,* and borrowed from it material for twenty-seven of his sixty-nine letters, including his accounts of the character of Alfred the Great,[11] of the Hundred Years War,[12] of the Wars of the Roses,[13] of the reign of Henry VII,[14] of Henry VIII and the beginnings of the Reformation,[15] of Mary Queen of Scots and the condition of England under Elizabeth,[16] of James I,[17] of the Civil War,[18] of the state of society under Charles II,[19] of the Revolution of 1688,[20] of William III,[21] of the War of the Spanish Succession,[22] and of the voyage of Captain Anson.[23] As he was writing in part at least for immature readers,[24] he was naturally most attracted by what was after all the least original or characteristic

[9] See above, note 3, and cf. notes 20-23, below.

[10] We have not thought it necessary to make an exhaustive examination of Goldsmith's use of these writers, but from a considerable number of tests made here and there in the *History* it would appear that he relied chiefly on Rapin, probably (in view of the similarities of phrasing) in the English version of N. Tindal (London, 1725-1731; five editions by 1759). For examples of his borrowings, see the passages cited in notes 27, 29, 31, 34, 36, below.

[11] *History,* I, 41-42. Cf. *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* [Moland edition], Paris, 1877, etc., XI, 310-11. All references to Voltaire are to this edition.

[12] I, 125-36, 163-74. Cf. XII, 13-28, 39-52.

[13] I, 175-206. Cf. XII, 205-15.

[14] I, 214-15. Cf. XII, 216.

[15] I, 238-57. Cf. XII, 287-319.

[16] I, 275-98. Cf. XII, 485-98.

[17] I, 303-07. Cf. XIII, 53-55.

[18] II, 8-55. Cf. XIII, 58-81.

[19] II, 61, 68-69. Cf. XIII, 86, 92.

[20] II, 73-80. Cf. XIV, 297-98.

[21] II, 82-89. Cf. XIV, 302, 342.

[22] II, 91-110. Cf. XIV, 354-411.

[23] II, 157-61. Cf. XV, 312-19.

[24] See his note "to the Public" in the "new edition" of 1770 (Gibbs, V, 254): ". . . though the book is written to men, it will be a proper guide for the instruction of boys." Cf. the *Critical Review,* XVIII (1764), 111, and the *Monthly Review,* XXXI (1764), 248.

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element in the *Essai*, the narratives of wars, revolutions, and political and religious struggles; but he did not altogether neglect Voltaire's general reflections (though he avoided on the whole those of too marked an anti-clerical tendency), his portraits of individuals, or his descriptions of states of civilization. His general method was to translate, with varying degrees of literalness, such passages in the *Essai* as fitted the plan of the particular letter he was writing or as seemed to him valuable for their turns of phrase, and to insert them into his pages along with his own reflections or with material from other sources. A typical example of the mosaic-work which frequently resulted from this procedure may be seen in the following passage from his account of Mary Queen of Scots.[25] The expressions italicized came from Voltaire; most of the others represented an equally literal reproduction of scattered sentences in Rapin:

This was but a temporary check upon Mary's power; *she resumed her authority,*[26] by the influence of her charms upon the Earl her husband, who gave up the murderers of Rizzio to her resentment, but they had previously escaped into England.[27] *One criminal engagement, however, was scarcely got over, when Mary fell into a second:*[28] the Earl of Bothwell now began to hold the same place in her affections that Rizzio had formerly possessed.[29] *This new amour was attended with still more terrible consequences than the former; her husband fell a victim to it. His life was first attempted by poison, but the strength of his constitution saved him for a short time,*[30] only to fall by a more violent death: he was strangled by night, the house in which the fact was committed being blown up with gun-powder, in order to persuade the

[25] *History*, I, 284-86.

[26] Voltaire, XII, 495: "La reine reprit bientôt son autorité. . ."

[27] This clause is a paraphrase of a page in Rapin (*History of England*, tr. by N. Tindal, 5th ed., London, 1760, VII, 265).

[28] Voltaire, XII, 495: "La reine . . . prit un nouvel engagement avec un comte de Bothwell."

[29] Rapin, VII, 266: "Now began the earl of Bothwell to hold in the queen's affection the place Rizzio had possessed."

[30] Voltaire, XII, 495: "Ces nouvelles amours produisirent la mort du roi son époux (1567): on prétend qu'il fut d'abord empoisonné, et que son tempérament eut la force de résister au poison. . ."

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people that his death was accidental; but his shirt not being singed, and his slippers found near him, together with blue marks round his neck, soon confirmed the suspicion of his real murder.[31] *His body was buried near that of Rizzio, among the Scottish Kings.*[32]

All orders of the state, the whole body of people, accused Bothwell of this assassination,[33] and at last demanded justice upon him from the Queen, for the late murder, openly arraigning him of the guilt. In this universal demand for justice, the Queen, deaf to the murmurs of her people, deaf to the voice of decency, married the murderer of her husband, and prevailed upon him to divorce his former wife to make way for this fatal alliance.[34]

Bothwell was possessed of all the insolence which attends great crimes: he assembled the principal Lords of the state, and compelled them to sign an instrument,[35] purporting, that they judged it the Queen's interest to marry Bothwell, as he had lain with her against her will.[36] *These transactions excited the whole kingdom of Scotland to resistance, and Mary, abandoned by her followers,*

[31] Rapin, VII, 285-86: "However, the king was strangled that night. . . Then fire was set to some barrels of powder placed in the room where the queen's bed was, and the house was blown up. The people who came running in at the noise, were told at first, that the violence of the gunpowder had thrown the king into the garden. But as his slippers were found by him, as his shirt was not singed by the fire, and as some black and blue marks were seen round his neck, the people were not so credulous."

[32] Voltaire, XII, 495: ". . . on enterra son côrps auprès de celui de Rizzio dans le tombeau de la maison royale." Rapin (VII, 286) mentions the fact in similar language.

[33] Voltaire, XII, 495: "Tous les ordres de l'État, tout le peuple, accusèrent Bothwell de l'assassinat. . ."

[34] A paraphrase of Rapin, VII, 287-89. Note the following expressions: "Mean while, the people *murmured* exceedingly that there was no enquiry concerning the king's death, of which they openly accused the earl of Bothwell. These *murmurs*. . ." "Though she had believed him innocent, it was renouncing *the laws of decency*. . ."

[35] Voltaire, XII, 495: "Bothwell eut toute l'insolence qui suit les grands crimes. Il assembla les principaux seigneurs, et leur fit signer un écrit . . ."

[36] Rapin, VII, 290: "a paper, the purport whereof was, 'That they judged it was much the queen's interest to marry Bothwell, he having many friends in Lothian and upon the borders, which would cause good order to be kept. And then the queen could not but marry him, seeing he had run away and lain with her against her will.'"

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was obliged to give herself up as a prisoner to the confederacy. Bothwell fled to the Orkney islands.[37]

Often, however, as in the following example, Goldsmith adopted the simpler expedient of transferring whole paragraphs of Voltaire to his pages without any interpolations from other sources:

GOLDSMITH, I, 238

In this dispute it was the fate of Henry VIII. to be one of the champions. His father, who had given him the education of a scholar, permitted him to be instructed in school divinity, which then composed the learning of the times. He was, therefore, willing to give the world a demonstration of his abilities in this respect, and desired the Pope's permission to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden to be read under pain of excommunication. Having readily obtained this request, the King, from St. Thomas Aquinas, defended the seven sacraments, and shewed some skill in school divinity, tho' it is thought that Wolsey had the chief hand in directing him. A book being thus finished in haste, it was sent to Rome for the Pope's approbation: the Pope, ravished with its eloquence and depth, compared the work to that of St. Augustine or St. Jerome, and gave Henry the title of *Defender of the Faith*, little suspecting that Henry was soon going to be one of the most terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had yet experienced.

VOLTAIRE, XII, 287-88

La bizarre destinée qui se joue de ce monde voulut que le roi d'Angleterre Henri VIII entrât dans la dispute. Son père l'avait fait instruire dans les vaines et absurdes sciences de ce temps-là. L'esprit du jeune Henri, ardent et impétueux, s'était nourri avidement des subtilités de l'école. Il voulut écrire contre Luther; mais auparavant il fit demander à Léon X la permission de lire les livres de cet hérésiarque, dont la lecture était interdite sous peine d'excommunication. Léon X accorda la permission. Le roi écrit; il commente saint Thomas; il défend sept sacrements contre Luther, qui alors en admettait trois, lesquels bientôt se réduisirent à deux. Le livre s'achève à la hâte: on l'envoie à Rome. Le pape, ravi, compare ce livre, que personne ne lit aujourd'hui, aux écrits des Augustin et des Jérôme. Il donna le titre de *défenseur de la foi* au roi Henri et à ses successeurs: et à qui le donnait-il? à celui qui devait être quelques années après le plus sanglant ennemi de Rome.[38]

[37] Voltaire, XII, 496: "Ces attentats soulevèrent l'Écosse. Marie, abandonnée de son armée, fut obligée de se rendre aux confédérés. Bothwell s'enfuit dans les îles Orcades. . ."

[38] Voltaire's source here would appear to have been Rapin. Cf. Tindal's translation, *ed. cit.*, VI, 183-184.

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All of Goldsmith's borrowings from Voltaire in the *History of* 1764 conformed to one or the other of these two types; in none of them did he take the least pains to make the task of identifying his source difficult for a curious reader.[39] He did, however, translate with a certain degree of freedom in matters of detail, often giving a turn of his own to a sentence or phrase, and frequently omitting entirely characteristic elements of Voltaire's exposition, such as his occasional remarks on the credibility of testimony[40] or on the significance of certain facts for general history.[41] With regard to style, he seems to have made no attempt whatever to preserve the distinctive qualities of Voltaire's prose—his fondness for "petites phrases" which "trottent, courent les unes après les autres, détachées," his rejection of "toutes ces lourdes façons d'exprimer les dépendances logiques, et de matérialiser, par des mots-crampons, les rapports des idées," his reduction to a minimum of "conjonctions, relatifs, et tous autres termes de coordination et subordination."[42] On the contrary, he translated habitually into his own easy and flowing style, fusing two or more of Voltaire's short sentences into one, amplifying phrases into clauses, inserting connective and explanatory elements, and in general slowing up perceptibly the light and rapid movement of his source. To the illustrations of these tendencies contained in the passages quoted above, we may add the following:

GOLDSMITH, I, 307	VOLTAIRE, XIII, 55
This nobleman was the first who was ever created a Duke in England, without being allied to the royal family: it may be reckoned among the most capricious circumstances	Il fut le premier gentilhomme qui fut duc en Angleterre sans être parent ou allié des rois. C'était un de ces caprices de l'esprit humain, qu'un roi théologien, écrivant sur

[39] Such formulae as "says a foreign writer" (I, 277) and "as a fine writer remarks" (II, 21), both occurring in passages translated from the *Essai*, indicate perhaps a certain uneasiness on his part as to the legitimacy of his procedure.

[40] Note, for example, his omissions (I, 130, 286) of Voltaire's discussions of the use of cannon at Crecy (XII, 18-19) and of the authenticity of the Bothwell letters (XII, 496).

[41] A case in point is his omission from the account of Rizzio (I, 283) of Voltaire's remark concerning the diffusion of Italian music in Europe during the sixteenth century (XII, 494).

[42] G. Lanson, *L'art de la prose*, Paris, 1909, p. 155.

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of this reign, that a King, who was bred a scholar, should chuse, for his favourites, the most illiterate of his courtiers; that he, who trembled at a drawn sword, should lavish favours on one who promised to be the hero of a romance.

la controverse, se livrât sans réserve à un héros de roman.

II, 14

The house of commons could not be induced to treat the Scotch, who were of the same principles, and contended for the same cause, as their enemies. They looked upon them as friends and brothers, who only rose to teach them how to defend their privileges.

XIII, 60

La chambre des communes ne regardait pas les Écossais comme des ennemis, mais commes des frères qui lui enseignaient à défendre ses privilèges.

II, 53

Every nation with whom the English had any connection, now courted their Protector's alliance. Among the number France solicited his aid against Spain. . .

XIII, 80

Toutes les nations courtisèrent à l'envi le protecteur. La France rechercha son alliance contre l'Espagne. . .

Enough has been said perhaps to exhibit the amount and character of Goldsmith's indebtedness to the *Essai sur les Mœurs* for the material of his narrative. It is more difficult to determine to what extent, if at all, his *History* was influenced by Voltaire's in the more general matters of interpretation and method. Without pressing the point too far, we may call attention to certain resemblances between the two works which may well be significant. In the first place, among the frequent passages of reflection and comment scattered through Goldsmith's pages, a considerable number developed themes already treated in the *Essai*. In both works we find the same scornful attitude toward the medieval clergy,[43] the same distrust of republican institutions,[44] the same sympathy with the aspirations of the middle classes,[45] the same hatred of wars,

[43] *History*, I, 36, 59, 83, 87, 91, 157-58, 235. Cf. Voltaire, XI, *passim*; XIV, 158.

[44] *History*, II, 8, 16. Cf. Voltaire, XIII, 178.

[45] *History* I, 79, 107, 113, 139-42, 199, 223. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 22, 68-71; XIII, 91-93.

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conquests, and all "arts of increasing human calamity,"[46] the same commendation of monarchs who had devoted themselves to the task of civilizing their peoples,[47] the same realistic conception of the nature of savages,[48] the same skepticism regarding the value of overseas colonies.[49] No doubt many of these ideas were commonplaces of mid-eighteenth-century thought; in view, however, of the intimate acquaintance which Goldsmith had evidently formed with the *Essai* by 1764, it is only reasonable to attribute the frequency of their occurrence in his *History* to the influence of Voltaire. In the second place, it is noteworthy that the conception of the purpose and content of historical writing realized in Goldsmith's two volumes had much in common with that which found expression in the *Essai sur les Mœurs*.[50] His intention, as he stated it in his opening letter, was to write "not the history of kings, but of man."[51] In pursuing this aim he reduced to the minimum accounts of battles and campaigns,[52] multiplied "philosophical" reflections,[53] and gave a large place to non-political and non-military matters—to the condition and progress of trade and commerce, of manners, of literature, of the human spirit in general.[54] To do this was of course to conceive history as Voltaire had conceived it; and though the example of Hume may have counted for something in the general result, the analogies between

[46] *History*, I, 21-22, 91-92, 198-99, 213; II, 241-42, 245. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 22; XIV, 525-26.

[47] *History*, I, 41-42, 62-65, 67-68, 208-25, 299-309. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 491-93, 551-54; XIV, 243, 497.

[48] *History*, I, 15, 18. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 387-90, 424, and G. Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, Paris, 1913, pp. 367-73.

[49] *History*, II, 231, 234, 241-42. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 405, 407, 412, 417.

[50] On Voltaire's intentions in the *Essai* and on the significance of the work for the history of historiography, see G. Lanson, *Voltaire*, Paris, 1910, pp. 121-32, and Ed. Fueter, *Histoire de l'historiographie moderne*, traduit de l'allemand par Émile Jeanmaire, Paris, 1914, pp. 435-50.

[51] *History*, I, 5.

[52] See I, 111, 128-29; II, 26, 218, 245, 246-47. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 18, 53; XIV, 158-59.

[53] See the references given in notes 43-49, above.

[54] The most important passages are the following: I, 13-18, 31-32, 36-37, 48, 113, 130-31, 136, 169, 181, 206-07, 223-24, 295-99; II, 68-69, 130-33, 137-41, 152-53, 191-94, 226. Cf. Voltaire, XII, 53-74, 130-52, 241-50; XIV, 155-59, 497-564; XV, 430-35, besides numerous shorter passages.

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Goldsmith's treatment of the development of civilization and Voltaire's were numerous and specific enough[55] to make it at least probable that in this respect, as in others, the *History* drew inspiration from the *Essai.*

In 1769, as a result of the success of his *Roman History,* Goldsmith was engaged by T. Davies to prepare a larger history of England.[56] The work appeared in 1771 in four volumes octavo under the title of *The History of England, from the Earliest Times to the death of George II.*[57] From the point of view of the present study, its importance is slight. Goldsmith, it is true, incorporated into his new work the greater part of the substance of his earlier history, including inevitably a large number of the passages translated from Voltaire. But he treated the old material with great freedom, revising its expression in nearly all cases,[58] fusing it with

[55] Goldsmith's account of the Black Death (I, 130-31) and part of his description of the economic life and culture of England under Elizabeth (I, 295-98) were translated from Voltaire (XII, 21-22, 485-86). His letter on the writers of the Augustan Age (II, 137-41; Gibbs, V, 343-47), though it was preceded and prepared by a similar essay originally published in the *Literary Magazine* for May, 1758, and reprinted in the *Bee* for November 24, 1759 (Gibbs, II, 443-52, 456; IV, 514-15), bears a striking resemblance in general method to Voltaire's chapter on the writers of the age of Louis XIV (XIV, 539-55).

[56] See Gibbs, V, 166n.

[57] We have used "The second edition, corrected," London, 1774.

[58] The following parallels will give some idea of his revision in its least radical form:

1771, III, 225	1764, II, 9
"The flame of sedition in Scotland, passed from city to city, while the puritans formed a *Covenant*, to support and defend their opinions; and resolved to establish their doctrines, or overturn the state. On the other hand, the court was determined to establish the liturgy of the church of England; and both sides being obstinate in opinion, those sanguinary measures were soon begun in Scotland, which had hitherto been only talked of among the English."	"The sedition past from city to city; the Calvinists formed a league, as if all the laws, divine and human, were infringed; while the desire in the court party of supporting their commands, and, in the people, of defending their religion, soon excited, actually, in Scotland, those dangers which in England were, as yet, only apprehended."

Cf. Voltaire, XIII, 59: "La sédition passa de ville en ville. Les presby-

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new material borrowed for the most part, it would seem, from Hume,[59] and omitting or abridging most of the matter in the earlier work that bore on the history of literature and civilization. As a result of these processes, coupled with the fact that he made no fresh borrowings from the *Essai,* the traces of Voltaire's influence in his second history of England were faint indeed.

A word finally on the significance of the facts established in this article. The borrowings from Voltaire which we have pointed out in the *History* of 1764 do not perhaps teach us anything concerning Goldsmith's general methods of work that we might not have learned already from recent studies on the sources of the *Bee* and of the *Citizen of the World.*[60] They do, however, throw some light on two other matters which are not entirely unimportant. In the first place, they constitute a new and extensive body of material in which we may study, with some hope of attaining illuminating results, the detailed reactions of Goldsmith's mind to the thought and style of Voltaire; and in the second place, they add to our still somewhat scanty knowledge of the diffusion and action of Voltaire's histories in eighteenth-century England by revealing Goldsmith, whose two histories enjoyed a popular success which lasted well into the nineteenth century,[61] as one of the

tériens firent une ligue, comme s'il s'était agi du renversement de toutes les lois divines et humaines. D'un côté cette passion si naturelle aux grands de soutenir leurs enterprises, et do l'autre la fureur populaire, excitèrent une guerre civile en Écosse."

[59] He names as his chief sources (Preface, I, vi) Rapin, Carte, Smollett, and Hume, but he adds: "I have particularly taken Hume for my guide, as far as he goes; and it is but justice to say, that wherever I was obliged to abridge his work I did it with reluctance, as I scarce cut out a line that did not contain a beauty." A very incomplete examination of the text confirms this admission. See *History,* III, 80-99, 112-31 (cf. Hume, *The History of England,* Boston, 1854, III, 439-40, 446-51, 455-57, 467-90; IV, 44-81); III, 175 (cf. Hume, IV, 273); III, 163-71 (cf. Hume, IV, 242-48); III, 177-79 (cf. Hume, IV, 279-80, 282).

[60] See A. J. Barnouw, "Goldsmith's Indebtedness to Justus Van Effen," *Modern Language Review,* VIII (1913), 314-23, and R. S. Crane and H. J. Smith, "A French Influence on Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World,*" *Modern Philology,* XIX (1921), 83-92.

[61] On the success of the *History* of 1764, see Goldsmith's note "To the Public" in the "new edition" of 1770 (Gibbs, V, 252-53) and the *Euro-*

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channels through which the substance and attitude of the *Essai sur les Mœurs* penetrated into the consciousness of the English public.

RONALD S. CRANE and JAMES H. WARNER.

Northwestern University.

PROPHECIES BY STENDHAL

That Henri Beyle—Stendhal—made certain prophecies is fairly well known. Virtually every writer on Stendhal for the last fifty years has cited his famous statement that he would be understood about 1880. The circumstances under which that prophecy was made are, however, not generally understood, and the citation is frequently misquoted. It goes back to Stendhal's letter written to Balzac from Civita-Vecchia on October 30, 1840. In that letter the author of *Le Rouge et Le Noir* three times refers to this date. His first statement runs: "*Je pensais n'être pas lu avant 1880.*"[1] A little later we read: "*Je songe que j'aurai peut-être quelque succès vers 1860 ou 80;*".[2] The reason why Stendhal believed he would be read and understood at this time is fairly plain. He always detested the declamatory and eloquent tone of much that was written in his own day and seemed to look forward with confidence to the time when Verlaine would write "*Prends l'éloquence et tords-lui son cou.*" So we find him saying: "*Tous les coquins politiques ayant un ton déclamatoire et éloquent, l'on en sera rassasié en 1880. Alors peut-être on lira* LA CHARTREUSE."[3] This was not a fleeting notion of Stendhal's, for he returns to it again in a letter to M. Désiré Laverdant on July 18, 1841: "*Ou je me trompe fort, ou la prolixité de nos grands prosateurs ne sera que de l'ennui pour 1880.*"[4] This, then, is the reason why he believed he would be appreciated around 1880.

pean Magazine*, XXIV (1793), 94. The *British Museum Catalogue* mentions six editions before 1821, and the list is evidently incomplete (see Gibbs, v, 250). An eleventh edition of the *History* of 1771 appeared in 1819 (copy in the Library of Congress).

[1] *Correspondence de Stendhal*, Paris, 1908; III, 257.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, 261.

[3] *Ibid.*, III, 261.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, 279.

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It is not, however, generally known that this indulgence in prophecy amounts in Stendhal almost to a *manie*. One thing which is remarkable in these prophecies is that they are made in nearly every case with a definite year in view. So, for instance, writing on December 1, 1817, he says:

"De manière que, de tout ce qu'on fait en literature en France, il n'y aura de bon que le point où on en arrivera en 1838." [5]

In a letter written March 21, 1818, he discusses the political situation of France after the final defeat of Napoleon. In spite of France's financial difficulties, it is curious to note that Beyle's prophecy is optimistic, even though it does involve bankruptcy in 1830:

"Au reste, la France sera bientôt le pays le plus heureux de l'Europe sans aucune comparaison. Ce qu'on paye aux *alliés* ne signifie rien. Nous ferons une bonne banqueroute des deux tiers en 1830." [6]

In matters of politics he does not confine himself to France but deals with the future of Italy as well. So we find him writing, for instance, on January 3, 1818:

"Retenez ce trait pour l'Italie de 1848. Les nobles y auront (et je m'en réjouis) l'influence réelle et constitutionnelle de richesses immenses." [7]

About a month later, April 22, 1818, he prophecies as follows:

"Quelle bonne chose que les mémoires d'un homme non dupé et qui a entrevu les choses! C'est, je crois, le seul genre d'ouvrages que l'on lira en 1850. On lira huit hommes de génie car il n'y a guère plus; ensuite du Saint-Simon, du Bezenval et du Duclos toujours: on en tire le jus de la connaissance de l'homme." [8]

Not infrequently he dips far more deeply into the future, as we see in the following reference to *Père Goriot's* lasting qualities:

"Le même esprit ne dure que deux cents ans; en 1978, Voltaire sera Voiture; mais le *Père Goriot* sera toujours le *Père Goriot*." [9]

It is not my purpose here to make a catalogue of this curious series of prophecies with which Stendhal's autobiographical writings and letters are filled. I do wish, however, to call attention

[5] *Ibid.*, II, 41.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, 60.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, 48.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, 73.
[9] *Ibid.*, III, 260.

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to one which he makes and which according to him was to be fulfilled in the year nineteen-twenty-two. It occurs in *De l'Amour,* first published in 1821. In discussing certain phenomena connected with his idea of *cristallisation,* he takes up the case of the psychological change in the man who falls in love:

"Du moment qu'il aime, l'homme le plus sage ne voit aucun objet *tel qu'il est.* Il s'exagère en moins ses propres avantages, et en plus les moindres faveurs de l'objet aimé. Les craintes et les espoirs prennent à l'instant quelque chose de *romanesque* (de Wayward). Il n'attribue plus rien au hasard; il perd le sentiment de la probabilité; une chose imaginée est une chose existante pour l'effet sur son bonheur." [10]

Evidently the causes of this phenomenon are beyond even Stendhal's keen powers of analysis. With his extraordinary faith in the future of science, he, however, feels certain that the problem will in time be scientifically explained and he sets down as a challenge to physiologists, or perhaps rather to experimental psychologists of our time, the following note:

"Il y a une cause physique, un commencement de folie, une affluence du sang au cerveau, un désordre dans les nerfs et dans le centre cerebral. Voir le courage éphémère des cerfs et la couleur des pensées d'un *soprano.* En 1922, la physiologie nous donnera la description de la partie physique de ce phénomène." [11]

In connection with his use of the word *physiologie,* it should be remembered that at the time of Stendhal's writing (1821) psychology had not been established as a distinct subject of study. In Sainte-Beuve's writing of the twenties—indeed, later—one still finds the word *physiologie* used where we should now almost certainly use *psychologie.* There are a number of passages in which Stendhal seems to be forecasting the developments of experimental psychology, and it is undoubtedly from them that he would now expect an explanation of the phenomenon he records. It would be interesting to hear from the psychologists as to whether in 1922 they are in a position to fulfill this prophecy.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

Princeton University.

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[10] *De l'Amour,* Calmann-Levy, Paris, 1891, p. 25.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 25, note.

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SHAKESPEARE'S 'BROOM-GROVES'

In Shakespeare's *Tempest,* iv, 1, 66, the First Folio reading is,

> thy broome-groues,
> Whose shadow the dismissed Batchelor loues,
> Being lasse-lorne.

Here many readers have felt a certain botanical difficulty—in the part played by the broom, as affording a shadow for the 'lass-lorn bachelor.' Some editors change the text, to 'brown groves.' Others find aid and comfort in the fact that there are various kinds of 'broom,' in various parts of the world. And, indeed, in this highly classical masque it may not be absolutely necessary to limit the poet's imagination to the flora of Elizabethan England. But even if one is to think only of the English broom, the fancy is not so utterly strange. Why not cite the high authority of Wordsworth? In his *Peter Bell,* 259, he writes,

> When Peter on some April morn,
> Beneath the broom or budding thorn,
> Made the warm earth his lazy bed.

In his pastoral dialogue *The Oak and the Broom* the Oak says to the Broom,

> For you and your green twigs decoy
> The little witless shepherd-boy
> To come and slumber in your bower.

And the Broom says in her reply,

> When grass is chill with rain or dew,
> Beneath my shade the mother-ewe
> Lies with her infant lamb.

But there is another difficulty in this passage—in the unusual expression 'broom-groves.' This is sometimes explained as meaning groves where the broom flourishes, but it probably means simply clumps of broom. The use of 'grove' for 'clump' may not be very common in prose, but it is surely possible in poetry. Compare Milton, *P. L.,* iv, 982,

> and began to hem him round
> With ported spears, as thick as when a field
> Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends
> Her bearded grove of ears which way the wind
> Sways them;

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Pope's *Iliad,* ii, 181,

> And as on corn when western gusts descend,
> Before the blasts the lofty harvests bend;
> Thus o'er the field the moving host appears,
> With nodding plumes and groves of waving spears;

and Pope's *Windsor Forest,* 364,

> And groves of lances glitter on the Rhine.

Milton has 'groves of coral,' *P. L.*, vii, 404; Tennyson has a 'flowering grove of grasses,' *Guinevere,* 33; and Wordsworth has even an 'ivy grove,' *Peter Bell,* 855,

> A little chapel stands alone
> With greenest ivy overgrown,
> And tufted with an ivy grove—

a passage which should perhaps be compared with Spenser, *F. Q.*, vi, 5, 35,

> And nigh thereto a little Chappell stoode,
> Which being all with Yuy ouerspred,
> Deckt all the roofe, and shadowing the roode,
> Seem'd like a groue faire braunched ouer hed.

Ruskin has a 'grove of bayonets,' even in prose, *Praeterita,* iii, 2, 49; and Ben Jonson has 'that tall grove, your hair,' *Underwoods,* xxxvi.

Before leaving this passage of a highly classical masque, it may be interesting to quote a Latin line in which a similar difficulty seems to have been felt. In Calpurnius, *Ecl.* i, 5, 'Corydon' says, "Do you see how the cattle have stretched themselves under the broom"—

> Molle sub hirsuta latus explicuere genista?

This is apparently the best reading, though some Mss., and some editors, make the cattle stretch themselves comfortably on the broom—

> Molliter hirsuta latus explicuere genista.

That is, some copyist, or some editor, may have been troubled at the thought of cattle lying in the shade of the broom, and changed the text. But the context shows what Calpurnius had in mind; for the same speaker goes on: "Why do not we also retire under the shade? Why do we shelter our sunburnt faces with only a cap?"—

> Nos quoque vicinis cur non succedimus umbris?
> Torrida cur solo defendimus ora galero?

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In Virgil's *Georgics,* ii, 434, the 'genista' seems to afford shelter for shepherds. This has been identified with the Spanish broom (*Spartium iunceum*), which "grows to the height of eight feet."

W. P. MUSTARD.

Johns Hopkins University.

EVALUATIONS OF LIFE IN HEINRICH VON KLEIST'S LETTERS

Heinrich von Kleist's unhappy life and tragic death lend unusual interest to a consideration of his views on life as expressed in his correspondence[1] which records the varied moods, the hopes and disillusionment occasioned by his struggles and disappointments. Naturally enough, the intensity of Kleist's emotional temperament, the passionate zeal and the consuming ardor with which he flung himself into his undertakings result in a wide gamut of changing moods, ranging from brightest optimism to blackest despair. Moreover, his evaluations of life are just as varied as are the emotions that give rise to them. Until early in the year 1801 life seems full of promise and of latent possibilities which merely need a stimulus to cause them to burst forth into a splendor that will insure happiness. After that, with the exception of comparatively few optimistic expressions, the general mood reflected in Kleist's remarks on life is a somber one. At a time when his *Lebensanschauung* has been shaken in its very foundations life looms up as extremely discordant with irreconcilable elements standing out sharply; changefulness is but too apparent and there seems to be nothing permanent or enduring to which he can cling. Kleist's passionate struggle to win fame in the field of drama, his despair over the fate of Prussia menaced by Napoleon, and the failure of his family to understand and appreciate him are all reflected in his estimates of life. Kleist's varied statements will be enumerated in chronological order against a background of events in his life which prompted them.

[1] *H. v. Kleist's Briefe. Im Verein mit Georg Minde-Pouet und Reinhold Steig herausgegeben von* Erich Schmidt. Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig und Wien, 1904/05. The following references are to page and line of this edition.

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The keynote of some of the earlier optimistic evaluations of Kleist is sounded in the following autograph, the earliest recorded word from his pen, dated in 1792: Geschöpfe, die den Werth ihres Daseins empfinden, die ins Vergangene froh zurückblicken, das Gegenwärtige geniessen, und in der Zukunft Himmel über Himmel in unbegrenzter Aussicht entdecken; Menschen, die sich mit allgemeiner Freundschaft lieben, deren Glück durch das Glück ihrer Nebengeschöpfe vervielfacht wird, die in der Vollkommenheit unaufhörlich wachsen,—o wie selig sind sie! (442, 3). At the beginning of the year 1800 in the early days of his courtship of Wilhelmine von Zenge Kleist views life with optimistic expectancy: Daher hat überhaupt das Leben ein so hohes, ja das höchste Interesse, weil es gleichsam eine grosse Reise ist und weil jeder Augenblick etwas Neues herbeiführt, uns eine neue Ansicht zeigt oder eine neue Aussicht eröffnet (61, 29). This is the time in Kleist's life that may be characterized by his words: Wer einst an den Brüsten des Glücks den goldnen Traum des Lebens träumte (62, 24), for it is a period during which he firmly expected to win a full measure of happiness. This confidence in finding happiness is reflected in repeated emphasis [2] upon life here in the present over against idle speculation upon a future life, speculation which he considers merely an obstacle to fulfilling one's purpose on this earth. Yet even in this period Kleist is aware of the fitfulness and restlessness of life: Wir werden uns in diesem unruhigen Leben so selten unsrer bewusst—die Gedanken und die Empfindungen verhallen wie ein Flötenton im Orkane — so manche Erfahrung geht ungenutzt verloren (157, 15). Nevertheless his youthful optimism sees an ever present ray of happiness in life, one that is symbolized by the sun and by the rainbow (160, 20). Hence it is not surprising that at this time in referring back to his trip to Würzburg he shudders at the very thought of being torn away by death from all that is dear to him (160, 8), so strong are his hopes and interests in life. Love alone, he writes to Wilhelmine, makes life sweet (177, 32). Thus this early period of Kleist's life is one of wholesome enthusiasm, of joy in life, of expectancy dominated by the conviction that man must concern himself primarily with life here and now, and must actively engage in carving out his own good fortune and happiness.

[2] 127, 32; 128, 36; 129, 22; 129, 36.

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A letter of February 1801 reveals a morose state of mind in Kleist that is entirely at variance with the general mood depicted thus far. In part this moroseness grows out of indecision about his life's work, out of feeling himself forced by outward circumstances into the life of a government official against all his inclinations. He cannot make up his mind to accept such office because in the life it entails he sees nothing but servility, loss of individuality, deference and yielding to the opinion of his superiors. In society he feels shy, embarrassed, ill at ease and constrained to be what he is not. He realizes that he is endowed with a penetrating insight into character that fills him with loathing at the emptiness and pettiness of the human heart. At the same time another disturbing factor has come into Kleist's life which makes life appear very complex and changing and leaves him casting about despairingly in search of something to comfort and steady him: Selbst die Säule, an welcher ich mich sonst in dem Strudel des Lebens hielt, wankt—Ich meine, die Liebe zu den Wissenschaften. . . . Liebe Ulrike, es ist ein bekannter Gemeinplatz, dass das Leben ein schweres Spiel sei; und warum ist es schwer? Weil man beständig und immer von Neuem eine Karte ziehen soll und doch nicht weiss, was Trumpf ist; ich meine darum, weil man beständig und immer von Neuem handeln soll und doch nicht weiss, was recht ist (198, 6). Kleist's shaken confidence in the attainment of knowledge as his aim in life gives rise to an inclination to live in the future, in hoping for whatever development time may bring, though he admits: Aber ist es nicht eine Unart nie den Augenblick der Gegenwart ergreifen zu können, sondern immer in der Zukunft zu leben? — Und doch, wer wendet sein Herz nicht gern der Zukunft zu, wie die Blumen ihre Kelche der Sonne? (199, 2). Kleist's disillusionment over knowledge as the guiding force in life reaches its climax in his reading of Kant. Not being carefully schooled in philosophy, he struggled in vain with the Kantian philosophy which seemed to him to demonstrate the futility of trying to arrive at truth. With his faith in absolute knowledge and ultimate truth shattered, his goal as voiced in the motto *Wahrheit und Bildung* is beyond reach. Life now is restless (207, 15) and discordant and causes him to yearn for the peace and quiet toward which all creation and all the planets are striving (214, 34). Kleist's inability to reduce his chaotic emotions and

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desires to harmony vents itself in the words: Ach, es ist ekelhaft, zu leben (228, 1). The changefulness of life is strongly apparent to Kleist during this period of despondency: Aber zu schnell wechseln die Erscheinungen im Leben und zu eng ist das Herz, sie alle zu umfassen, und immer die vergangnen schwinden, Platz zu machen den neuen—Zuletzt ekelt dem Herzen vor den neuen, und matt giebt es sich Eindrücken hin, deren Vergänglichkeit es vorempfindet—(234, 26). Expectancy has thus given way to a feeling of nausea, of loathing at the thought of the multiplicity of new impressions that life brings. Yet in this same letter, even though prepared for the worst, he still hopes for a change in his fortune, for he says: Freude giebt es ja doch auf jedem Lebenswege, selbst das Bitterste ist doch auf kurze Augenblicke süss (238, 30). Nevertheless, his advice is to expect little from this life if one would avoid tears (239, 8). Life is dark, mysterious and its purpose is hidden from man (240, 23; 243, 26). Kleist finds nothing more loathesome than the fear of death (244, 25) and adds:

> Das Leben ist das einzige Eigenthum, das nur dann etwas werth ist, wenn wir es nicht achten. Verächtlich ist es, wenn wir es nicht leicht fallen lassen können, und nur der kann es zu grossen Zwecken nutzen, der es leicht und freudig wegwerfen könnte. Wer es mit Sorgfalt liebt, moralisch todt ist er schon, denn seine höchste Lebenskraft, nämlich es opfern zu können, modert, indessen er es pflegt. Und doch—o wie unbeschreiblich ist der Wille, der über uns waltet! Dieses räthselhafte Ding, das wir besitzen, wir wissen nicht von wem, das uns fortführt, wir wissen nicht wohin, das unser Eigenthum ist, wir wissen nicht, ob wir darüber schalten dürfen, eine Habe, die nichts werth ist, wenn sie uns etwas werth ist, ein Ding, wie ein Wiederspruch, flach und tief, öde und reich, würdig und verächtlich, vieldeutig und unergründlich, ein Ding, das jeder wegwerfen mögte, wie ein unverständliches Buch, sind wir nicht durch ein Naturgesetz gezwungen es zu lieben? Wir müssen vor der Vernichtung beben, die doch nicht so qualvoll sein kann, als oft das Dasein, und indessen Mancher das traurige Geschenk des Lebens beweint, muss er es durch Essen und Trinken ernähren und die Flamme vor dem Erlöschen hüten, die ihn weder erleuchtet, noch erwärmt.

Kleist's inability to fathom life is manifest again in the statement (249, 4) that man needs a lifetime to learn how to live and that human reason does not suffice to comprehend life nor the purpose of existence. His skepticism of all moral values grows

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out of the incomprehensibility of life and reaches its height in the momentary assertion of a hedonistic view of life: Ja, unsinnig ist es, wenn wir nicht grade für die Quadratruthe leben, auf welcher, und für den Augenblick, in welchem wir uns befinden. Geniessen! Das ist der Preis des Lebens! Ja, wahrlich, wenn wir seiner niemals froh werden, können wir nicht mit Recht den Schöpfer fragen, warum gabst Du es mir? (250, 13). The contradictoriness which Kleist sees in life is present also in this letter, for he continues: Lebensgenuss seinen Geschöpfen zu geben, das ist die Verpflichtung des Himmels; die Verpflichtung des Menschen ist es, ihn zu verdienen. Ja, es liegt eine Schuld auf den Menschen etwas Gutes zu thun, verstehe mich recht, ohne figürlich zu reden, schlechthin zu thun. While seeking a quiet country place in Switzerland Kleist writes that he needs peace and rest more than he does life (271, 5); he finds body and soul in contradiction with each other and yet loath to part company. During his retirement on the Aarinsel near Thun in 1802 while writing *Die Familie Schroffenstein* Kleist expresses the fear of dying (287, 7)—a strange fear—before having completed his work. Yet this is not because he values life for its own sake, since he assures his sister Ulrike (287, 20) that he has no other desire than to die as soon as he has produced three things: a child, a fine poem and a great deed. His evaluation of life at that time is this: Denn das Leben hat doch immer nichts Erhabeneres, als nur dieses, dass man es erhaben wegwerfen kann (287, 23). A few months later during an illness of several weeks Kleist writes that he is praying to God for death (289, 28).

Four years later, in August 1806, Kleist's letter to his friend Rühle von Lilienstern contains less pessimistic reference to life and death:

Komm lass uns etwas Gutes thun und dabei sterben! Einen der Millionen Tode, die wir schon gestorben sind, und noch sterben werden. Es ist, als ob wir aus einem Zimmer in das andere gehen. Sieh, die Welt kommt mir vor, wie eingeschachtelt; das kleine ist dem grossen ähnlich. So wie der Schlaf, in dem wir uns erholen, etwa ein Viertel oder Drittel der Zeit dauert, da wir uns, im Wachen, ermüden, so wird, denke ich, der Tod, und aus einem ähnlichen Grunde, ein Viertel oder Drittel des Lebens dauern. . . . Und vielleicht giebt es für eine ganze Gruppe von Leben noch einen eignen Tod, wie hier für eine Gruppe von Durchwachungen

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(Tagen) einen. Nun wieder zurück zum Leben! So lange das dauert, werd ich jetzt Trauerspiele und Lustspiele machen (327, 3).

In spite of adversities growing out of unfortunate financial conditions and out of the distressing political situation Kleist writes to his sister Ulrike in July 1809 that where there is life there must always be hope (392, 11). Again in August 1811 he writes optimistically: Das Leben, das vor mir ganz öde liegt, gewinnt mit einem Male eine wunderbare herrliche Aussicht, und es regen sich Kräfte in mir, die ich ganz erstorben glaubte. Alsdann will ich meinem Herzen ganz und gar, wo es mich hinführt, folgen, und schlechterdings auf nichts Rücksicht nehmen, als auf meine eigene innerliche Befriedigung (430, 6). But on November 9 he writes to Marie von Kleist: Nur so viel wisse, . . . dass ich sterbe, weil mir auf Erden nichts mehr zu lernen und zu erwerben übrig bleibt (433, 8). And on the following day Kleist writes to her: Aber ich schwöre Dir, es ist mir ganz unmöglich länger zu leben; meine Seele ist so wund, dass mir, ich möchte fast sagen, wenn ich die Nase aus dem Fenster stecke, das Tageslicht wehe thut, das mir darauf schimmert (433, 25). This same letter sums up Kleist's reasons for ending his life. Misunderstood and unappreciated by his family, he is branded as a useless member of society and unworthy of sympathy. Having become extremely sensitive, he would rather die ten times over than to suffer such treatment again which poisons his past and robs him of the joy he had hoped for from the future. The humiliation of Prussia by Napoleon, Kleist's disapproval of the conduct of his king and a feeling of aversion toward humankind all fall heavily into the balance and cause him to rejoice at having found a companion ready to meet death with him. In an ecstatic mood he writes: Du wirst begreifen, dass meine ganze jauchzende Sorge nur sein kann, einen Abgrund tief genug zu finden, um mit ihr hinab zu stürzen (435, 15). And again: Ach, ich versichre Dich, ich bin ganz seelig. Morgens und Abends knie ich nieder, was ich nie gekonnt habe, und bete zu Gott; ich kann ihm mein Leben, das allerqualvollste, das je ein Mensch geführt hat, jetzo danken, weil er es mir durch den . . . wollüstigsten aller Tode vergütigt (435, 24). He terms the world *eine wunderlichc Einrichtung* (436, 30) and asserts that he cares nothing for its joys (437, 4). On the morning of his death Kleist's final words to his sister Ulrike

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summing up his reckoning with life were: Die Wahrheit ist, dass mir auf Erden nicht zu helfen war. Und nun lebe wohl; möge dir der Himmel einen Tod schenken, nur halb an Freude und unaussprechlicher Heiterkeit, dem meinigen gleich: das ist der herzlichste und innigste Wunsch, den ich für dich aufzubringen weiss (440, 10).

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL.

Ohio Wesleyan University.

L'ALLEGRO 45-48

On the line in *L'Allegro,* "Then to come, in spite of sorrow," and its context Masson remarks, "This passage has been strangely misconstrued by some commentators." Whereupon he makes merry with the suggestion put forward by certain of them that it is the lark that comes to the window and bids good morrow; he prefers to think that "It is L'Allegro, the cheerful youth (Milton himself, we may suppose) that comes to the window and salutes people"—from the outside. Verity, who mentions those conjectures and two others, namely, that it is "the poet who goes to the window and bids the world in general good morning," and that "it is Mirth who is to come to the poet's window," is himself "afraid that the lark must be meant"; then, finding such behaviour on the part of a lark "entirely untrue to nature," Verity fathers Milton's alleged ineptitude upon Sylvester. Moody leans to the opinion that "Mr. Masson cuts the knot," yet suggests finally that "the reader is at liberty to choose."

If the reader is at liberty to choose, why should he not believe that it is Dawn that comes to the window? The construction in that case undoubtedly brings about a false parallelism that would be abhorrent to Macaulay; aside from the discord of infinitives, "to live—to hear—to come," there are no insuperable difficulties. The infinitives are discordant only to the formally schooled modern ear. If the word "immediately" (or, "subsequently") be put in the place of "then" and the passage be written as prose, "Till the dappled Dawn doth rise, immediately (or, subsequently) to come, in spite of sorrow, and at my window bid good-morrow," any syntactical roughness tends to disappear. In the sonnet *To*

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Mr. Lawrence is to be found, for comparison, a similar construction,

> What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,
> Of Attic taste, with wine, whence we may rise
> To hear the lute well touched, . . .

The backbone of the extended sentence in *L'Allegro* would then be, "admit me—to live—to hear—oft listening—sometimes walking"; and, since hearing and listening are the same thing, the change from infinitive to participle would be less abrupt in this instance than in the supposed connection, "to come—oft listening." In short, such syntactical awkwardness as there may be in the immediate relation of "rise" with "to come" is of no weight as compared with the logical scruples which the commentators mentioned have expressed concerning all of the other readings.

On the score of poetical fitness there can surely be no objection to the Dawn's coming to the window. This is Milton's classical way of describing the phenomenon that Tennyson deals with in the line, "The casement slowly grows a glimmering square." No one is troubled by the personification of Dawn, or of Morn in a later clause. Here, however, Dawn and Morn seem to personify distinct phases of the morning; the actual sunrise appears to be a third phase—"Where the great Sun begins his state." Perhaps the latter two of these phases are recorded in the *allegro* movement of the Fourth Book of *Paradise Lost,* the vespers of Eve,

> Sweet is the breath of Morn, her rising sweet,
> With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the Sun,
> When first on this delightful land he spreads
> His orient beams . . .

In *L'Allegro,* if the matin triad be allowed, it may then be conjectured that Dawn rises first, straightway to come to the window; the youth lies in bed for a while or perhaps is moving about his room as he hears, at a somewhat later hour,

> how the hounds and horn
> Cheerly rouse the slumbering Morn;

and then he walks abroad in the early sunlight. This exact sequence, however, need by no means be insisted upon in justifying the poetical appropriateness of the Dawn's morning salutation. The reader may be the more inclined to give Dawn her due if he

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considers the structure, the thought, the poetical bearing of another passage in *Paradise Lost* (xi, 133-45),

> Meanwhile,
> To resalute the World with sacred light,
> Leucothea waked . . .

Johnson, captious enough, makes no alarums and excursions about the disputed construction in *L'Allegro;* the chances are that he was not conscious of a problem, since in his gloss of the passage he almost echoes the vexed turn of phrase. In his words the cheerful man "walks not unseen to observe the glory of the rising sun, or listen to the singing milkmaid, and view the labours of the ploughman and the mower." If the coming of Dawn will save Milton from grammatical durance, from ornithological heresies, or from puerile dependence upon Sylvester, she should be permitted to bid him good morrow, no matter how many hereditary semi-colons with flaming swords may lurk about the tendrils of the vine to dispute her access to the poet's window.

S. B. Hustvedt.

University of California, Southern Branch.

CHURCHYARD AND MARLOWE

Thomas Churchyard's "tragedy" of *Shore's Wife,* first printed in the 1563 quarto of the *Mirror for Magistrates,* is admittedly the best work of that interesting but rather obscure Elizabethan. Mr. A. H. Bullen describes it[1] as "a smoothly written copy of verses," but adds that "it has been absurdly overrated." Doubtless Bullen had in mind the high favor this piece enjoyed in its own time or shortly after, for it is clear that Churchyard's work in general was half forgotten and half contemned within but a few years after his death in 1604.[2] Certainly it would seem that Churchyard has found but few readers since then; otherwise it would be difficult to account for the fact that no one seems to have noticed a certain passage in *Shore's Wife* which establishes an interesting link between that piece and another tragedy,—one that

[1] In his article on Churchyard in *DNB.*

[2] See Drayton's lines quoted below, p. 92.

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requires no quotation marks. This second piece, written some twenty-five years after the appearance of *Shore's Wife,* is none other than Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus.*[3]

One of the chief causes of Jane Shore's downfall, as Churchyard has it, was the "forced mariage" into which her family and friends had led her while she was too young to know her own mind. Her story thereafter, she says, illustrates "what lothed liues do come where loue doth lacke."[4] Finally, in the twenty-fourth stanza of the poem, Churchyard makes her sum up this part of her case as follows:

> The lesse defame redounds to my disprayse,
> I was entiste by traynes, and trapt by trust:
> Though in my powre remayned yeas, and nayes,
> Unto my frends yet needs consent I must,
> In euery thing, yea, lawfull or vniust:
> They *brake the bowes* and shakte the tree by sleight,
> And *bent the wand that mought haue growne full streight.*[5]

So far as I am aware, no commentator hitherto has noted the obvious similarity between the lines I have italicized and the famous closing apostrophe of Marlowe's *Faustus:*

> *Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight*
> *And burned is Apollo's laurel-bough*
> That sometime grew within this learned man.
> Faustus is gone: regard his hellish fall,
> Whose fiendful fortune may exhort the wise
> Only to wonder at unlawful things. . . .

I have quoted the latter end of this passage merely to call attention to the fact that, in addition to the opening reminiscence of figure and phrase, the whole of it is conceived in the characteristic moralizing strain of the *Mirror.* There is always the possibility, of course, that parallels such as these may find their source in a literary commonplace, but I know of none that would account for the very close verbal similarity between the two passages.

Aside from this there would seem, at first sight, to be little to connect the dull pedestrian vein of Churchyard in particular, and of the *Mirror* in general, with the brave translunary things of

[3] Written *ca.* 1588, printed 1604.

[4] *Shore's Wife,* stanza 22, *A Mirror for Magistrates,* ed. Haslewood, 1815, II, 466.

[5] *Id.,* II, 467.

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Marlowe's verse. It is to be remembered, however, that the *Mirror* enjoyed a steady popularity and influence until well into James I's time.[6] Specifically, it is quite possible that Marlowe owed it something more than this casual reminiscence from *Shore's Wife.* Thus, the *Mirror's* brief sketch of the downfall of Sir Roger Mortimer[7]—the Young Mortimer of Marlowe's *Edward II*—may have aroused in him a youthful interest in this sad story of the deaths of kings, though it is clear that when Marlowe came to write the play he used Holinshed and other chroniclers as his immediate sources.[8]

However this may have been, there is every reason to believe that Marlowe could hardly have helped knowing *Shore's Wife.* That poem may have been overrated in its day; in any case it could not have won the golden opinions it did if it had not been well known. A familiar passage from Thomas Nashe is particularly apposite here. In his *Strange Newes of the Intercepting Certaine Letters* (1593), Nashe refers to an old quarrel between himself and Churchyard, only to brush it out of the way with a generous tribute. "Mr. Churchyard," he writes, "I love you vnfainedly, and admire your aged Muse, *that may well be grandmother to our grandeloquentest Poets at this present:*

Sanctum & venerabile vetus omne Poema.

Shore's wife is yong, though you be stept in yeares; in her shall you liue when you are dead."[9] Who could resist the temptation to italicize the passage about "our grandeloquentest Poets"? Surely, if Nashe had actually had Marlowe in mind, he could hardly have improved upon his phrasing.

[6] Cf. *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 198.

[7] In the story of "The Two Rogers, surnamed Mortimer," first printed in the 1571 quarto of the *Mirror;* Haslewood, II, 23.

[8] Cf. Schelling (*The English Chronicle Play*, p. 36) on the *Mirror:*—"Although from its meditative and elegiac character it is unlikely that it was often employed as an immediate source, the influence of such a work in choice of subject . . . cannot but have been exceedingly great." Fleay (*Drama*, I, 17) hints at some connection between the *Mirror* story and *Edward II.* Comparison of the two shows clearly, however, that the earlier "tragedy" could hardly have influenced Marlowe other than "in choice of subject." See also the editions of *Edward II* by O. W. Tancock, p. xvii, and by W. D. Briggs, p. ciii.

[9] McKerrow's *Nashe*, I, 309.

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In his epistle to Henry Reynolds (printed 1627), Drayton held that Churchyard was "not inspired with brave fire"; that if he (and George Gascoigne) had

> Liv'd but a little longer, they had seene
> Their works before them to have buried beene.

In one sense Nashe would seem to have been the truer prophet. At all events, it is a striking instance of the assimilative and reminiscent powers of the creative imagination that Marlowe should have echoed so closely the figure and the phrase of Churchyard in writing his noble epitaph for Faustus—and, prophetically, for himself.

ALWIN THALER.

The University of California.

WILLIAM HEREBERT AND CHAUCER'S *PRIORESSES TALE*

The student of medieval sources, after assembling the incomplete materials which survive, usually finds himself compelled to construct an hypothetical version from which the existing documents may be supposed to derive. Such hypothetical sources satisfy the rational desire for orderly literary development; and for the investigator they have the further advantage that no objector is able to disprove their existence. Rarely, however, does the constructor of hypothetical sources have the good fortune to find his theories confirmed by actual documents. It was, therefore, with the liveliest satisfaction that the present writer came upon a brief Latin note in Phillipps MS. 8336 which affords important confirmation of the hypothetical version laboriously constructed as the probable source for Chaucer's *Prioresses Tale*.[1]

A comparison, in the study referred to, of some thirty analogues of the Tale told by the Prioress disclosed the fact that a special group (Group C) had been affected by the story of Hugh of Lincoln and had borrowed from this source the funeral scene and the tragical ending. Moreover, there was reason to believe

[1] Carleton Brown, *A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady told by Chaucer's Prioress.* Chaucer Soc., 2nd Ser. 45. London 1910.

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that this modification of the original form of the miracle made its appearance before the end of the thirteenth century. It was noted further that four of the versions of Group C agree with Chaucer's form of the story in the following particulars which are not met with outside this special sub-group: (1) The anthem sung by the little martyr was *Alma redemptoris mater* instead of *Gaude Maria* as in the earlier versions of the miracle; (2) Our Lady, coming to the body of the little clerk as it lay in the jakes, placed in his mouth either a lily, a white stone, a gem, or a grain; and, through this object placed in his mouth, he was enabled to sing, and continued to sing until the object was finally removed.

The conclusion toward which the agreement of these versions pointed was stated in the following words:

> The comparison of the four "magical object" versions, therefore, furnishes evidence, amounting almost to demonstration, that there existed a common original from which these closely-related versions derived. This common original, now, was in all probability a Latin version written in England.[2]

Although justified, perhaps, on logical grounds, this hypothesis was rendered less satisfactory by the late date of the versions in question, none of which is earlier than the *Prioresses Tale*, and some of which are much later.[3] For this reason the testimony of Friar William Herebert, who died in the year 1333, is particularly welcome.

Phillipps MS. 8336 contains a series of metrical translations to which Herebert's name is attached, and which apparently were written in the MS. by his own hand. Among them is a version of *Alma redemptoris mater* (fol. 205b), to which is added the following note:

> Hic nota de filio vidue qui semper eundo ad scolas et redeundo de scolis consueuit istam antiphonam decantare; propter quod a iudeis per quos transitum fecit 'puer marie' dicebatur. quem ipsi tandem occiderunt et in cloacam proiecerunt, qui tamen a cantu non cessauit, &c.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

[3] The Vernon MS. was not written before 1385; Sidney Sussex MS. 95 was written in 1409; the composition of the *Fortalicium Fidei* is assigned to 1459; and Trinity Camb. MS. O. 9. 38 belongs to the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century.

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The outline of the miracle here given is exasperatingly meagre. It was intended, of course, merely to call to mind a pulpit illustration well suited to the context. The miracle itself, as the "&c" clearly shows, was one which was familiar. One may regret that Friar Herebert did not include mention of the object which Our Lady placed in the mouth of the little martyr, but the omission of this detail is not surprising in such a brief and incomplete outline.

So far as it goes, the story agrees perfectly with the narrative of the Prioress. And it gives us positive assurance that the form of the miracle represented by the "*Alma redemptoris* sub-group," of which heretofore the earliest known examples have been Chaucer's version and the poem in the Vernon MS., was already recorded as a well-known story more than half a century before the *Prioresses Tale* was composed.

CARLETON BROWN.

Bryn Mawr College.

"FORTUNA MAIOR"

But whan the cok, commune astrologer.
Gan on his brest to bete, and after crowe,
And Lucifer, the dayes messager,
Gan for to ryse, and out hir bemes throwe;
And estward roos, to him that coude it knowe,
Fortuna maior.

Troilus, III, 1415 ff.

In his explanation of this Chaucerian passage Skeat is, I think, following G. Douglas into partial error. Says he: "*Lucifer*, the morning star, the planet Venus. *Fortuna maior*, the planet Jupiter. Mars and Saturn were supposed to have an *evil* influence; the Sun, Mercury, and Moon, had no great influence either way; whilst Jupiter and Venus had a good influence, and were therefore called, respectively, *Fortuna maior* and *Fortuna minor*."[1] The application of these epithets to Jupiter and Venus, respectively, becomes general only after Chaucer's time; the earlier astrologers apparently know no such nomenclature.

For example, in one edition of Alchabitius I find the planets described in part as follows: Saturnus est masculinus, malus,

[1] Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, II, 482. He is here quoting from an astrological note found in the works of Gavin Douglas, ed. Small, II, 288.

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diurnus . . . Jupiter est fortuna, masculus, diurnus . . . Mars masculinus, nocturnus, malus . . . Sol per aspectum fortuna . . . Venus fortuna, foemina, nocturna . . . Mercurius commixtus, masculinus, diurnus . . . Luna fortuna, foemina, nocturna . . ."[2] It will be seen that the "infortunes" are Saturn and Mars; Sun and Mercury are "fortunes" or "infortunes" according to the company they keep; and Venus, Moon, and Jupiter are "fortunes". In another edition of Alchabitius, however, we do indeed find the characterization, "Jupiter fortuna maior, masculus, diurnus . . .", though Venus is simply, "fortuna, foemina, diurnus", and Moon "fortuna, nocturna . . ."[3] It is only as late as 1677 that I find the classification to be as Skeat says: "For *Jupiter* is naturally benevolent, good and friendly to Man and is *Fortuna Major,* and Venus is *Fortuna Minor,* and Mercury and Sol are indifferent, but Saturn and Mars are enemies to the Nature of Man . . . and Saturn is *Infortuna Major,* and Mars is *Infortuna Minor.*"[4] But Chaucer could scarcely have known such a characterization.

In fact, the *fortuna maior* of Chaucer probably has nothing to do with the planets "fortune" or "infortune." It is rather the name, I believe, of one of the sixteen figures in the astrological science of geomancy. As Skeat has already shown, each of these figures has a name, belongs to an "element," possesses a Zodiacal sign, and is attributed to a planet.[5] Now *Fortuna maior* is in form *even-even-odd-odd,*[6] has as its element, earth; sign, Leo; planet, Sun. *Fortuna minor*—in form *odd-odd-even-even*—is also attributed to the Sun. Regarding the relative importance of these two geometric figures and their relation to the Sun, Henry Corne-

[2] *Libellus Ysagogicus* Abdilazi . . . qui dicitvr Alchabitius, Venetiis, 1491, sig. bb, ff. See also Albohazen Haly filii Abenragel *Libri de iudiciis astrorum,* Basileae, 1551, "Venus est . . . nocturna, fortunata . . .; Jvpiter est temperatus, fortuna per aspectum. . .," p. 10; Guido Bonatus, *De astronomia tractatus X,* Basileae, 1550, "Jupiter est fortuna, masculinus, etc. . .; Venus est fortuna. . .," col. 108.

[3] *Introductorium Alchabitii Arabici ad Suentiam iudicialem astronomiae,* Venetiis, 1473.

[4] Richard Saunders, *The Astrological Judgment and Practice of Physic,* London, 1677, General Judgments, p. 47.

[5] *Op. cit.,* v, 82; *The Academy,* March 2, 1889.

[6] See Skeat, v, 82, for method of forming the figures.

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lius Agrippa says: "Fortuna maior atque minor solem referentes; sed prima solem diurnum & in dignitatibus suis constitutum; altera autem nocturnum, vel in minoribus dignitatibus constitutum."[7] That is to say, *fortuna maior* is the diurnal geomantic figure of the Sun and may, therefore, be said to represent that planet in his splendor and glory.

With this explanation Chaucer's allusion becomes clear. On the morning after Troilus and Creseyde have had their first night together, the lovers hear that astrologer, the cock, crowing in prophecy of day-break; Lucifer, the day's messenger, rises and throws out her beams; and after that there comes up in the East *Fortuna maior.* The *Fortuna maior,* therefore, that rises on this sorrowful morning—"to him that coude it knowe"[8]—is neither more nor less than the Sun.

WALTER CLYDE CURRY.

Vanderbilt University.

[7] *In Geomanticam disciplinam lectura,* in *Opera,* Lugduni, 1531, p. 407. There follows (pp. 412-425) an account of the various figures in the twelve astrological houses; for the significance of *Fortuna maior* in any house, see pp. 412-13. Agrippa's work on geomancy—Skeat seems to have known only the table of figures in cap. 48, lib. II of the *De occulta philosophia,* in *Opera,* pp. 225-6—is apparently based on the *Liber scientie arlienalis de judiciis geomansie* ab Alpharino filio Abrahe Judeo editus et a Platone de Hebreico sermone in Latinum translatus, in MS. Arundel 66, British Museum, where *fortuna maior* in the twelve houses may be found in fol. 269. MS. Harl. 2404 contains two other tracts on geomancy: (1) Haec est Geomancia Indëana, que vocatur Filia Astronomie; quam fecit vnus Sapientum Indie; (2) Geomancia Indëana. MS. Harl. 4166 contains one other tract. The translation of a work on geomancy by Gerardus Cremonensis may be found in MS. Sloane 310, fol. 15b; published in the *Opera* of Agrippa, pp. 559-573; and translated into French, *Geomancie Astronomique de Gerard de Cremone,* by Sieur de Salerne, Paris, 1679. An English translation of Agrippa's work is contained in *Henry Cornelius Agrippa, His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy,* by Robert Turner, London, 1655. Cf. also Le Sieur de Peruchio, *La Chiromance, la Phisionomie, et la Geomance,* Paris, 1657, in which he gives the significance of *fortuna maior* in nativities, p. 195; and Richard Saunders, *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie,* etc., London, 1653, p. 156.

[8] Judging from this remark aside and from the fact that in attributing "Puella" and "Rubeus" to Mars (C. T., A, 2045) when it should be "Puer" and "Rubeus," I should say that Chaucer's knowledge of geomancy was extremely limited and inaccurate. See my article, "Astrologising the Gods," in a forthcoming number of *Anglia.*

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A NORTHERN FRAGMENT OF *THE LIFE OF ST. GEORGE*

The University of Minnesota MS. Z. 822, N. 81 (formerly Phillips 8122) contains a hitherto unprinted fragment of the Life of St. George. The body of this MS., as is well known, contains a *Northern Homily Collection* written in a hand of the beginning of the fifteenth century. The St. George fragment appears as an insertion at the very end of the MS., following an insertion of the Life of St. Anne. It is in the same hand as the remainder of the MS. and was originally, so far as I can judge, a complete version of the St. George legend; but several leaves have been torn away at the end of the book, leaving a fragment of only 130 lines of the Life of St. George. It is interesting as a variant text, in the northern dialect, of the Life of St. George found in the *South English Legendary.*

The source of this fragment, as one would expect, is Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea.* Beginning with the first paragraph of the legend as it is recorded in the *Legenda Aurea,* the author follows his source sentence by sentence.[1] The end of the fragment comes with "rex autem in honorem beatae Mariae et beati Georgii ecclesiam mirae magnitudinis construxit," at the bottom of page 261 of the original.

De S*ancto* Georgio

f. 215b Saynt george þe gude knyght: a hayly ma*n* was he
Geten & borne i*n* þe lande: of capodse full fre
All fals godds he forsoke: and toke crystyndome
He lufede wele Ih*es*u cryste: & a haly ma*n* become
Þis hayly ma*n* come on a tyme: i*n* tyll a contre
In þe p*ro*vynce of lyby: þor was a gret cyte
Gylona þe cyte hyght: als we fynde in story
A gret water þ*er* was: rennand faste þ*er* by
And i*n* þe grevys of þe banke: ryght nerhand þe toune
Þor had wonned many a day: a wonder fowle dragone
He was both vggely & grete: and so lothely to se
Armed me*n* when þai hy*m* se: away for ferd wald fle
In þ*at* contre wyd abowte: he dyde sorow enoghe

[1] Reference is to the 1890 edition of *Legenda Aurea,* by Dr. Th. Graesse. The *Life of Saint George* begins on page 260.

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& w*i*t þe wynd of hys mowth: many a ma*n* he sloghe
To þe walles of þe cite: ylke a day he wente
& thorow þe blaste of hys mowth: many a ma*n* þ*er* he schente
Þe cytesyns toke þe rede: when þy herd were stede
Þis dragon spared noþer beste no ma*n*: no day to he wer fede
Þai ordand emang þam all: ylke a day to take
Two schepe to gyffe hy*m* to hys mete: hys males for to slake
So lang þai fede hy*m* w*i*t þ*er* schepe: þ*at* þai began to fayle
Þe kynge of þe cite & all þe folke: þ*er*of toke consayle
Ffor þ*er* bestes & þ*er* schepe: wer nerhand owt spend
Of þe folke bud þam nede: vnto þis dragone send
Ffor þi þai all at one assent: þai ordand thoru þe town
Of þe childer ylke a day one: to send to þis foule dragon
W*i*t a schep whyles þai myghte laste: & þ*er*to wer þai sworne
Ryche me*n* childer ne pur: þ*at* none suld be for borne
Bot ylke a day kavell to caste: & whame so it fell tyll
He & hys schepe sulde be sende forthe: þis dragon for to styll
Knafe ne mayden sparde þai none: to wham þe kavell fell
Elles had þai all bene forlorne: w*i*t þis dragon off hell
So lang tyme þai vsede thys: þ*at* dole yt was to se
Þ*at* þe childer began to faile: faste in þat cite
A day as þai kavell caste: ffor þ*er* was lefte bot foyne
Apon þe kyngs doghter yt fell: & he hade bot his one
And thorw hys awne ordynance: & all me*n* of þe town*e*
Hys doghter was forjugeide: to þis dragone
Þen made þe kynge srow enoghe: to þa*m* he mad hys mone
Lettys my doghter he sayd leve: sen I haue bot hyr one
Halfe my kyngdome I sall ȝow gyfe: w*i*t castell & w*i*t towre
& als mekyll as ȝhe wyll take: of golde & of tresovr
f. 216a Þai answerd all w*i*t one voce: syr kynge þu spekys fro noght
For þu sall hald þe ordyna*n*ce: þ*at* þi selfe has wroght
& owr childer er all spende: & þu walde now hafe þine

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Bot þu do do als we hafe doyne: we sall neuer fyne
To we hafe byrnte þi palas: & þi selfe also
Þan begane þe kynge: to grone & grete all for wo
& to hys doghter he sayde: allas my frely fode
Þ*at* a fowl dragon: sall drynke þi ge*n*tyll blode
What sall I do or say: or what tyme sall I se
Þ*at* þu to kynge or kyngs son: sulde rychly spowsed be
Vnto þe folke doylefully: w*i*t sory herte gan he pr*a*y
Þ*at* he myght hafe hyr vnlyfe: vnto þe aghtande day
Þai g*ra*unted hy*m* for he was kynge: to aghten dayes wer gon
Þe dragon to þe walles come: & sloghe þen many one
Whe*n* þe dayes wer passede owte: þe folke i*n* full grete tene
Come to þe kynge & sayde: þe folke dyed vp clene
All i*n* defawte of hys doghter: þ*at* he held so lange
For þi hyr bude be lyfe: vnto þe dragon gange
Þe kynge saghe no nodyr boite: hys handis gon he wrynge
& on hys doghter gerte he do: rych qwenes clethynge
& hailsed hyr full sore gretand: and sayde petusly
I wende hafe norische þ*erin* my hall: knyghts of þi body
I wende I sulde w*i*t myrth: hafe bede to þe weddynge
& calde to þi bridell: pr*i*nce duke and kynge
Þi hall to dygh*t* w*i*t clothes of golde: & many of ryche ston
& all maner of mynstralsy: to her w*i*t in þ*er* wone
& þu apon þi hede suld have had: full ryall crowne
Now þu gose sweloghede to be: of a fowle dragone
Whe*n* he for sorow of hys herte: wordes myght speke no mo
He blyssyd hyr & kyssed hyr ofte: & forth he lete hyr go
To þe ȝete þai hyr lede: and soyne scho was pute owte
& well toward þis dragon: in herte scho had gret dowte
Als gode walde þen it befell: sayn george co*m* þ*er* rydande
& saw þ*at* woma*n* þ*at* was so fayr: for ferde stode gretande
Damsell q*uod* george: why grets þu tell me I þe pr*a*y
Lefe ȝonge ma*n* scho sayd: haste þe fast away
Or elles þu mon be lefe: here w*i*t me be ded
Tell me fyrste q*uod* george: whame þu byds i*n* þis stede
& have no dred þu swete thynge: for I sall note lefe þe
To wyte all þi myschefe: yfe any helpe may be

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þe folke apon þe walles stod: full thyke about þe toun
To se how þis maydyn suld be: swalughed w*it* þe dragon
f. 216b Whar eftyr loke ȝonde folke q*uod* george: why wonder þai one þe
To wytte what þis bemenes: w*it* her sall I be
Certe sir q*uod* scho þen: ffull wele p*er*save I nowe
þat þu erte a worthy mane: & herdy herte has þu
Bot lefe ȝonge ma*n* why comets þu: to dee her w*it* me
Take þi hors belyfe scho sayd: & faste hythen þu fle
He sayd be hy*m* þ*at* ys my lorde: hythen sall I noȝt go
To þu hase me told: þe cause of all þi wo
þis maydy*n* tolde hy*m* þen: hyr car*e* ylke a dele
Drede noght q*uod* gorge: I sall þe wonge full wele
Thorw myght of ih*es*u cryste: nay syr scho sayd I rede
Bettyr it ys þ*at* þu fle: þen we boythe be dede
Als þei þus to(gyder spake?) :[2] þis fowll dragon þen
Begane to lyfte vp hys hede: & ryse vp of hys den
þe maydyn whoke for ferde: & bade þ*at* george suld fle
Bot george vmstrode hys hors: agayn þis beste rode he
& hy*m* be to toke to ih*es*u c*ry*ste: & blyssyde hy*m* w*it* hys hande
Agayne þe dragon w*it* herdy herte: faste he come rydande
& a sper to hy*m* sete: & hytte hy*m* full ryghte
& to þe erth he bar hy*m* down: als a hardy knyght
He gafe hy*m* many a depe wonde: & refte hy*m* all hys myght
þe folke þat on þe walles lay: þai saghe þis wonder syghte
George to þ*at* maydy*n* sayde: when he had doyn þis dede
Knyte þi gyrdyll abowte hys neke: & luke þu hafe na drede
When yt was doyn abowte hys neke: þen rose þis full dragon
And als a meke honde he folued hyr: furth i*n*to þe towne
George & þis maydyn als: in to þe cyte wente
þe folke saghe þis dragon come: þai wende all hade bene schent
& fled aboute as mad me*n*: & sayde allas þis day
We er dede ylke a man: we may noght skape away
Sayne george apon þam cryde: & bade þam hafe no drede

[2] The Ms. is defective and the reading uncertain at this point.

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No maner of herme he may do ȝow: to fle yt ys no nede
For why my lorde jh*esus*: send me to þis towne
To delyuer ȝow I wys: of þis foull dragone
Turnes ȝow all þ*er*for to cryste: & baptisede þ*at* ȝe be
& þen sall I þis dragon sla: þ*at* ȝe all may se
Þe kynge & all hys folke: for soke þ*er* mavmētry
& crystend wer ilkon: & troede in gode haly
& þen george þis nobyll knyght: hys gude swerde out droghe
And þer befor all þe folke: þis foull dragon he sloghe
viij oxen þai knyte to hy*m*: & drew hy*m* oute of towne
Ffer intyll a mekyll felde: & þ*er* þai caste hy*m* downe
xx^{ti} m^{t} men þ*at* day wer crystende: [3] als we i*n* story rede
W*i*touten wome*n* & chylder: thoru þis haly dede
Þe kynge garte rayse a fair kyrke: & craftly yt dyghte
Yn þe hono*ur* of owr swete lorde: & sayn george þe knyght

In copying this fragment, I have followed the MS. in omitting punctuation. I have retained the scribe's indication of the caesura in the middle of each verse and have added only the usual verbal expansions indicated in the text.

Des Moines University. ROSCOE E. PARKER.

REVIEWS

Handbuch der englisch-amerikanischen Kultur. Herausgegeben von WILHELM DIBELIUS.—OTTO BAUMGARTEN: Religiöses u. Kirchliches Leben in England. 122 pp.—HERMANN LEVY: Die englische Wirtschaft. 153 pp.—B. G. Teubner, Leipzig u. Berlin, 1922.

Das *Handbuch* will eine Übersicht über den angelsächsischen Kulturkreis geben, "allen wissenschaftlichen Ansprüchen genügen, gleichzeitig aber auch im besten Sinne des Wortes populär sein." Es will in erster Linie dem Universitätsunterricht dienen, aber nicht nur dem Philologen, sondern ebenso sehr dem Nationalökonomen, Juristen und Theologen; darüber hinaus will es allen denen zur Anregung dienen, die fremde Kultur und die eigene Art

[3] The realing of the *Legenda Aurea* at this point is as follows: ". . . . xx milia exceptis parvlis et mulieribus." (p. 261).

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vergleichend studieren möchten. Ob man im Rahmen eines *Handbuchs* zugleich wissenschaftlich und populär sein darf, ist eine grosse Frage. Methodisch wertvoll ist jedenfalls das Bemühen, durch eine Erweiterung der Sprach- und Literatur- zu einer Kulturwissenschaft, wie sie der frühere preussische Kultusminister Becker verschiedentlich geplant hat und die letzten Philologentage sie nachdrücklich fordern, den gesamten neusprachlichen Unterricht zu erneuen und den Forderungen des modernen Lebens anzupassen. In dieser Hinsicht berührt sich das *Handbuch* mit meiner Forderung in *Amerikakunde* (Angelsachsen-Verlag, Bremen, 1921).

Baumgarten benutzt "die Methode der Idealtypen" im Sinne von Burckhardts Kulturgeschichte, um der englischen Durchschnittsfrömmigkeit im staatskirchlichen und im kleinkirchlichen Typus näher zu kommen. Er unterscheidet weiter einen hochkirchlichen, einen evangelikalen, einen breitkirchlichen Typus innerhalb des Staatskirchentums, einen methodistischen, puritanischen, lebensreformerischen, chiliastischen Typus innerhalb des Freikirchentums und endlich ausserhalb der Kirchenorganisation den christlich-sozialen und den ästhetisch-religiösen Typus. Über den theologischen Teil und auch den öfter störenden Predigerton soll hier nichts gesagt werden. Dem Literarhistoriker fällt die Kenntnis und geschickte Verwendung der englischen Literatur von Scott bis Maclaren und Mrs. H. Ward auf, wenn er auch dabei Samuel Butler und H. G. Wells vermisst. Das Hauptergebnis von Baumgartens Schrift sind geistreiche Vergleiche deutscher und englischer Verhältnisse, die besonders dem Kenner beider Seiten von Wert sind.

Levy betrachtet in 6 Abschnitten: Die Grundlagen der britischen Wirtschaftsentwicklung, England als Handelsmacht, Den englischen Industriestaat und seine Probleme, Die Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft und ihrer Probleme, Die soziale Bewegung, Neubritische Wirtschaftspolitik. Wie in der vorigen Schrift ist auch hier der geschichtliche Teil nicht immer einwandfrei, dagegen ist das Bemühen verdienstlich, gerade dem modernen sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Organismus Grossbritannien gerecht zu werden. Besonders anregend ist die Ausdeutung des *Final Report of the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy after the War*

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vom Jahre 1918. Eine vergleichende Betrachtung englischer und nordamerikanischer Verhältnisse und Probleme hätte manches noch klarer gemacht.

Ein abschliessendes Urteil erlauben diese beiden Teile des *Handbuchs* noch nicht.

F. SCHOENEMANN.

Münster i. W.

Infinitive Constructions in Old Spanish. By WILFRED A. BEARDSLEY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1921. xiv + 279 pp.

This Columbia dissertation presents a systematic and easily handled compilation of the infinitive usage in certain Old Spanish texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, namely, the *Cid,* the poems of Berceo, the *Alixandre,* and the *Crónica General.* The value of the work as a scholarly treatise is seriously impaired by the fact that the author was unaware of the existence of a similar study, that of Gustaf Liljequist, whose *Infinitiven i det fornspanska lagspråket* was published in vol. 22 of the *Acta Universitatis Lundensis* (*Lunds Universitets Års-skrift,* Lund, 1885-1886, fascicule III, pp. 1-110) and duly listed in the bibliographical supplement of the *ZRPh* for the year 1887 (vol. XI, p. 107).

Beardsley's work covers substantially the same ground as that of Liljequist, although there is no actual duplication of material, since Liljequist's examples are taken entirely from the legal literature of the thirteenth century, the *Fuero Juzgo,* the *Siete Partidas,* and the *Opúsculos Legales* of Alfonso X. The results obtained by Beardsley, or rather, the types of constructions found by him, do not differ from those already given by Liljequist, whose material is, on the whole, even more varied and abundant than the plentiful examples adduced by Beardsley.

The latter might possibly have secured greater variety of material within the same chronological period by selecting among his texts a prose work earlier than the *Crónica General* (such as the *Libro de los engannos*) or other standard texts in verse, for example, the *Apolonio* and the *Fernán González.* The advantage gained by concentrating upon the work of a single author, Berceo,

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is offset by the necessity of using, except for the *Sacrificio de la Misa* and the *Santo Domingo de Silos,* the unreliable edition of Janer.

Both Beardsley and Liljequist arrange their material in the two conventional groups, (1) the direct or "pure" infinitive and (2) the prepositional infinitive, the latter group being subdivided according to the individual prepositions. This scheme, although logical and convenient, fails to bring out to best advantage the most salient characteristic of infinitive usage in Old Spanish, namely, the great variety of constructions found after governing elements, especially verbs, which in modern Spanish are followed by a fixed type of infinitive construction. For example, we find *començar* and *merescer* both construed with *de, a,* and the direct infinitive; *acordarse* and *trabaiarse* are followed by *de, a, en, por,* and the direct infinitive. The arrangement primarily according to the preposition makes it difficult for the reader to keep in mind all the constructions after a single verb, and occasionally causes some needless repetition (*e. g.,* pp. 25 and 180 in Beardsley). Beardsley chooses this arrangement in preference to one based primarily on the syntactical relationship between the infinitive and its governing element, because (p. xii) "it relates itself more readily to the facts of the modern language, the infinitive being generally thought of . . . as a dependent of its prepositional concomitant."

Liljequist lists the following types of constructions not mentioned in the Columbia dissertation: (1) The infinitive with *de* denoting 'origin' (p. 50): *esto nol vernie sinon de seer mucho fablador SP* I, 5, 47; also found after *acaesçer* and *reçebir.* None of Beardsley's examples showing the *de* of 'separation' or 'cause' (pp. 131-136) can be regarded as clearly belonging to the category of 'origin.'—(2) The subject-infinitive with *en* (p. 67): *grave cosa es en caer en perjuro ED* III, 8, a; *nol abonda en creer que sera el otro salvo SP* I, 4, 79. Liljequist rightly considers this a development of the locative *ser en* = 'estar en, consistir en,' the great bulk of his examples occurring after *ser.* This use as subject-infinitive causes the infinitive in *en* also to be found occasionally as the subject of verb locutions: *habemos por derecho en loar la su honra SD* I, 3, 5 (cf. the very frequent *de*-infinitive in these uses: *desaguisada cosa es de fazer fuerza SP* I, 18, 10; *tenemos*

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por derecho de mostrar las razones ED II, 1, 9). It may be added that the *en*-infinitive in these uses probably provides the model for an occasional *en que* clause of the following types: *bien deuemos creer que fue juyzio de Dios en que tu mereçiste dexar la locura de los ydolos Cron Gen* 188a, 15; *el rey . . . touo por bien al copero en que nol negara la verdad Grande e General Estoria,* VIII, 9—excerpt published by Menéndez Pidal.[1]—(3) The subject-infinitive with *por,* after *ser* and a noun containing an implication of cause or purpose (p. 78): *la nuestra entencion fue e nuestro trabaio por defender la cosa, FJ* XII, 2, 1. All but a few of the examples show apposition to a preceding phrase containing *por: por dos razones, la una por ganar perdon SP* I, 4, 69.—(4) The subject-infinitive with *para,*[2] used similarly to that with *por* (p. 88): *sea en escogencia del demandador para poder demandar aquella cosa SP* III, 7, 15; *la una* (razón del casamiento) *es para facer fijos SP* IV, 2, a. The subject-infinitive with *para* is used after verbs other than *ser,* particularly the uni-personals: *a el conviene mas que a otro para toller el desacuerdo SP* III, 19, 3. The analogical confusion which undoubtedly causes such constructions is seen most clearly in the following: *abondal para probar la razon por dos testigos SP* III, 18, 117.—(5) The treatment of the infinitive with subject (pp. 105-110) is much fuller and more carefully arranged than that of Beardsley. He gives examples, not only of the direct infinitive and the *de*-infinitive in such usage, as does Beardsley (pp. 256-261), but also of the infinitive in *en, por, para,* and *sin: la penitencia es en dolerse home de los pecados SP* I, 10, 15; *por non caer en pena el nin aquel a quien fiaba, quiere pagar SP* V, 12, 14; *el meester de los vozeros es muy provechoso para seer mejor librados los pleitos ED* IV, 9, a; *son dados por los perlados sin confesarseles los homes SP* I, 4, 93. He mistakenly regards this whole construction as a survival of the Latin accusative and infinitive, whereas Beardsley very justly remarks (p. 257): "For the sake of emphasis, or to avoid ambiguity, the subject pronouns were employed with ordinary finite verb forms. What more simple than using the same pronoun for the same purpose with the infini-

[1] *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos,* VI, 1902, pp. 347-361.

[2] Liljequist's texts, published in 1807, 1815, and 1836, do not show both *pora* and *para,* as do those of Beardsley; in the former, the manuscript readings were uniformly rendered *para.*

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tive?" This explanation need not be restricted to pronouns; besides, it seems to be a more simple and direct way of looking at the phenomenon than that of Diez, who regards the infinitive clause as being substituted for a clause with a finite verb (*Gr.*, III, p. 946).

Liljequist's study contains a minimum of explanatory discussion, the author's chief concern being the systematic presentation of his material. The general characteristics of each category are stated clearly and concisely, and his remarks are, with but few exceptions, well taken. His introductory statement with regard to the use of the various prepositions with the infinitive (pp. 26-28) is almost a model summary of the situation. In Beardsley's work, on the other hand, much space is devoted to his syntactical analysis, which is, on the whole, rather prolix and inconclusive, adding little to our knowledge of the essential nature of infinitive constructions. In the discussion of the individual categories, however, the following points, chiefly of a chronological nature, come to light and may justly be regarded as contributions to the subject:

(1) The *de*-infinitive as subject (*guisado es de fincar uos assy Cron* 609a, 30) and as object of verb locutions (*auien en costunbre de dexar los cabellos creçer Cron* 90a, 13) is found much more frequently in the *Crónica General* than in the other texts and is quite uncommon in the *Cid* (pp. 99-104; 137-142). The usefulness of this evidence on chronology is somewhat impaired by the failure to distinguish between those parts of the *Crónica* which differ in date.—(2) The locution *penssar de* with the infinitive, so frequent in the *Cid* (*pienssan de aguijar Cid* 10), seems to have been dying out in the *Crónica* (pp. 117-120). Although he accepts for the French Luker's[3] theory of the ellipsis of a finite form of *penser de* as the basis of the "historical infinitive," Beardsley wisely refrains (p. 118) from extending this theory to the Spanish, where he finds (p. 85) but one example of that type of infinitive (*Mil* 889). No explanation of this construction is attempted, nor is there any reference to Cuervo's[4] or Meyer-Lübke's[5] treatment thereof.—(3) A marked increase in the use

[3] *The Use of the Infinitive instead of a Finite Verb in French*, New York, 1916.

[4] *Notas* to Bello's Grammar, § 70.

[5] *Grammaire*, III, § 529.

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of *pora* as compared with that of *por* is found for the *Crónica General* as against the situation in the *Cid,* where *pora* occurs but sporadically (p. 221).—(4) In the case of the infinitive with subject (*guisado es de fincar uos assy*), the *Crónica* employs these types much more abundantly than the *Cid* (p. 258). —(5) The expressions of the type *no lo puiera olbidar Cid* 1444, *vayamos caualgar* 1505, *pienssanse de armar* 1135, and *tornos a sonrisar* 298, of which Menéndez Pidal (*Cantar,* II, §§ 160, 161) says that "llegan á ser casi perífrasis inútil" are found to show an inceptive force and a vividness not present in the simple verb (pp. 37, 76, 118, 135, 165). *Vayamos caualgar* is compared with the French *allons chanter* (in contrast to *chantons*) and *no lo quiera olbidar* to *veuillez ne pas l'oublier.*—(6) The treatment of the infinitive governed by *auer, auer de,* and *auer a* (pp. 23-30; 179-190) is interesting, suggestive, and perhaps the best section in the entire book. On pp. 185-186 he takes up the question of the *vocal embebida* (*entro ala iglesia al Criador rogar SDom* 425, *ante començo el la açada buscar SDom* 726) and, unlike Fitz-gerald, he—correctly enough—does not consider absorption of the *a* as operative in such cases, since both *entrar* and *començar* may be followed by the direct infinitive in Old Spanish.

At times Beardsley does not seem to utilize his material to the fullest extent. For example, in the chapter entitled (somewhat equivocally) the "Infinitive as Substantive," we note that, in direct contrast to the situation in modern Spanish, the types *al tirar de la lança Cid* 3686 and *ell fincar de los ynoios Cron* 680a, 46 are much more common than the corresponding examples without *de* (p. 12). This might have prompted an examination of the important question whether in Old Spanish the infinitive is more frequently used with predominant noun value than in the modern speech. It might be remarked here that throughout the book (especially on pp. 13-14) there seems to be some confusion as to which of the two criteria, meaning or construction, determines the relative noun or verb value of the infinitive.[6] The following distinctions have not always been clearly kept in mind: the infinitive, being the *nomen actionis,* is essentially a noun and is

[6] On p. 74 this confusion of thought leads to a misinterpretation of the quotation from Lachmund, *Über den Gebrauch des reinen und präpositionalen Infinitivs im Altfranzösischen.*

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always construed as such with reference to the elements in the sentence upon which it depends, in spite of the fact that, having acquired verb content, it frequently takes verb modifiers: subject, object, etc. The verb content of the infinitive is, in general, predominant when it has verb modifiers, and the noun content when it has noun modifiers (article, adjective, etc.), but, from the standpoint of its own construction in the sentence, the infinitive never ceases to be essentially a noun.

In this connection the treatment of the infinitive contained in the Bello-Cuervo grammar would have been found helpful, but Beardsley apparently makes little, if any, use of that work, although it is included in his bibliography. Since he states (p. xiii) that one of the aims of his study is "to aid in the comprehension of modern phenomena in the light of their origin and historical relations," it is a bit surprising to find no comparison made between the status of the infinitive construction in Old Spanish and that in the modern speech, for which the Bello-Cuervo treatment would have provided a satisfactory basis. On the contrary, Beardsley often checks up the situation in his texts with that found by Otto [7] for the Portuguese of Camões.

The chief value of Beardsley's study lies in the comprehensive index with which it is equipped. This feature, together with the pleasing and effective arrangement of the printed page, in which rubrics, discussion, and examples are carefully differentiated typographically, renders the book convenient for ordinary reference purposes.

F. Courtney Tarr.

Princeton University.

L'Abbé de Saint-Réal. Etude sur les rapports de l'Histoire et du Roman au XVII^e^ Siècle. Par Gustave Dulong. Paris: Champion, 1921. Tome I, 372 pages; Tome II, *Notes et Documents,* 175 pages.

Students of historical fiction are deeply indebted to M. Dulong for his admirable exposition and illustration of the conditions under which the genre developed in France. The work is done

[7] *Der portugiesische Infinitiv bei Camões, RF.* vi, 1889, pp. 299-394.

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in the best French traditions of thoroughness and readability. Every point, large or small, bearing on the subject, receives exhaustive treatment, yet the clearness and unity of the whole are never sacrificed.

A short introduction deals with the rise of conscious historical writing in the sixteenth century. The *Zeitgeist* led, on the one hand, to an attempted imitation of the ancient historians, and tended to make of history a literary genre embellished with moral dissertations; on the other, to a partisan interpretation of the past. The few self-effacing scholars who sought only the faithful editing of texts and the bare truth were ignored in favor of Paul-Emile and his disciples. At times M. D.'s judgment of the early historians seems over severe and we need to recall that Sainte-Beuve found much to admire in portions of Mézeray's work. But M. D.'s thesis required him to point out faults rather than attempt a complete estimate.

The first volume is divided into three parts: 1°. (a) Theories and practice of seventeenth century historical composition. (b) History as used by the novelists before 1670. 2°. Life and work of Saint-Réal. 3°. (a) Pseudo-historical works and historical fiction from 1670 to 1700. (b) A survey of the eighteenth century attitude toward Saint-Réal. The second volume contains correspondence of or concerning Saint-Réal, a bibliography of his works, a study of dramatic adaptations of the Dom Carlos story from Otway to Verhaeren, and an index.

The theories and practice of historical writing in the seventeenth century were those of the earlier humanists. History was considered as a province of eloquence; hence it required artistic form and admitted special pleading; as an adjunct of philosophy it implied moral teaching. "Le goût de l'analyse morale . . . induit (l'historien littérateur) à interpréter des actes qu'il connaît mal, à reconstituer, au gré de sa fantaisie, les antécédents moraux d'événements dont les sources authentiques ne donnent qu'un brut exposé. Et très vite l'on en arrive ainsi au roman." Historical fiction begins in France with *l'Astrée*. A review of the contributions by historical novelists leads to Saint-Réal who accomplished the complete fusion of history and fiction.

The biography of Saint-Réal (1643 or '44-1692) is established with remarkable completeness from his correspondence and from

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scattered documents. Probably no part of M. D.'s work required more minute research. Four of Saint-Réal's works are analysed in detail, the rest passed rapidly in review. His first significant essay, *De l'Usage de l'Histoire* (1671) defines history as an "anatomie spirituelle des actions humaines," thus assigning to it the rôle which his contemporaries attributed to all art. Nowhere, he declares, can the human heart be better studied than in history. The book which most nearly conforms to the ideas here expressed is *Cesarion* (1684), but traces may be found in two more famous works, *Dom Carlos* (1672) and *La Conjuration des Espagnols contre la République de Venise* (1674). The first is responsible for the vulgarisation of the legend of Don Carlos' love for his step-mother, Elisabeth of France, and their taking off by order of Phillip II; the second, a highly dramatic account of an obscure conspiracy in 1618 which may never have existed outside the nervous brains of the Venetian councillors. Both works were written to flatter the hostile policy of Louis XIV toward Spain. M. D. compares both with the sources used by the author and subjects these sources to a critical examination. The result is a clear exposition of Saint-Réal's contribution to historical fiction. He invented little, but he is never concerned with the veracity of his sources. He used now one, now another to draw from them a coherent and living narrative. He sought not historical truth but human truth and verisimilitude based on an extensive knowledge of the period concerned. His imagination filled up the lacunas in his documents. In writing *Dom Carlos* "il avait fait choix de personnages historiques comme de types particulièrement représentatifs de cette espèce humaine dont il importait, selon lui, d'apprendre à connaître les caractères moraux essentiels." In conclusion, M. D. says: "Le roman historique, selon la formule de Saint-Réal, c'est simplement l'histoire simplifiée et allégée d'une part, d'autre part complétée et arrangée en vue de l'effet littéraire et de l'intérêt dramatique." *Dom Carlos* bears the sub-title *nouvelle historique; La Conjuration* casts aside the traditional form of the novel and pretends to be a serious historical work. For such it passed among the writer's contemporaries and among the majority of readers in the eighteenth century; its inaccuracies, when pointed out by critics, were easily pardoned in favor of its form. Voltaire repeatedly hailed Saint-Réal as the French Sallust.

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His essential conformity to the neo-classic ideal kept his reputation alive.

Direct influence of Saint-Réal on subsequent novelists cannot be shown, and M. D. is not inclined to exaggerate it. "Saint-Réal ne compte, dans la foule des petits romanciers de la fin du XVII[e] siècle, aucun disciple authentique." A number of *nouvelles historiques* are passed in review, among them *La Princesse de Clèves,* which is treated only as an unsatisfactory representation of the court of Henry II. But Mme de La Fayette has herself indicated, in a letter to Lescheraine, that it is rather a picture of her own time. A few pages are given to the *Mémoires de M. L. C. D. R.* of Gatien de Courtilz in order to show a new trend in fiction, but the real originality of this writer—the injection of a spirit of picaresque satire into the historical novel—is not made clear.

The study of the chief dramatic adaptations of the Don Carlos story is masterly. Relations of the plays to each other and to the novel of Saint-Réal are examined in detail. Most interesting is the suggestion that *Mithridate* may owe something to Saint-Réal, as it is possible that Racine had heard *Dom Carlos* read in manuscript. The omission of Nuñez de Arce's *El Haz de Leña* is regrettable, especially as this play would seem to meet M. D.'s own ideal of a legitimate treatment of the subject. A Don Carlos drama usually ascribed to-day to Ximénez de Enciso is ascribed to Montalván.[1]

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE.

Reed College.

Modern Czech Poetry: Selected Texts with Translations and an Introduction by P. Selver. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920. xv + 79 pp.

We have heard much, of late, concerning the political history of Czecho-Slovakia, its new birth of freedom, its constitution, interesting and unusual in so many points, and the great wave of patriotic pride which is now drawing its people back to the rejuvenated homeland from all parts of the world. But little has been

[1] For the authorship of this play, see *La Revue Hispanique*, XXVI, p. 447, note 12.

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said of the literary renaissance which began long before the political reawakening was possible, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and has been developing steadily ever since.

In the little book compiled by P. Selver, we get a glimpse of what that literary development has attained in poetry at least. It is a small, slim volume containing selections from seven of the best known Bohemian poets of the day,—merely a taste to whet the American appetite! The original text and the English translation are placed on opposite pages, this arrangement having been made (says the compiler) merely to combine literary and linguistic interests, not to make out of the book a philological work. And to those who have even a smattering of the language this should be a distinct advantage, for, tho the translations are admirable, lyric poetry suffers more than any other form of literature from change of dress. It is hard enough at best for a mind reared in Western surroundings and steeped in Western habits of thought fully to grasp Slavonic moods and emotions, the subjective matter so vital a part of lyric poetry. And the Czechs are Slavs; their poetry is full of the melancholy dreams, strange fancies, and sudden, unexpected passions characteristic of Slavonic peoples. It speaks well, therefore, for the translator as well as the poets, that so many of these poems stir the English speaking reader to a real appreciation of their beauty and worth.

The selections from Jaroslav Vrchlický are more in number than those of the other poets in the book, and rightly so, for, besides being a most gifted and prolific writer, he has been called the father of modern Czech poetry. Born in Louny, Vrchlický (pseudonym for Emil Frida) was educated at Prague, and became, later, Professor of Modern European Literature in that university. His influence on Bohemian letters was enormous, for he translated continuously from the best works of the West, and turned the tide of appreciation and imitation from the overpowering German neighbors to French, Italian, and other more distant nations. In original verse, too, he proved a voluminous and influential writer, introducing many new metres into the native prosody, and constantly encouraging national poetic self-expression. He died in 1912, leaving a large literary heritage of which, perhaps, the most widely known are three books of poems: *A Year in The South, Pilgrimages to Eldorado* and *Sonnets of a Recluse.* One

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of the most beautiful little lyrics in *Modern Czech Poetry* is taken from the first named of these three.

LANDSCAPE

On the bare fields the trees in straggling rows
Earthward their leafless branches have outspread:
The roofs are darkened by a flock of crows,
Dusk from their wings upon the world is shed.

The sky-line's fringe in sudden redness blazed,—
It gleams with orange hues that slowly die:
Haply an angel's golden robe; he raised
Day in his arms and bore it back on high.

Quite different from Vrchlický is J. S. Machar, one of the most prominent Czech writers of the day. He is a realist, and, unlike the typical Slav poets, his most characteristic work is rebellious, satirical, and unorthodox. The seven selections from his books printed in this little anthology show a melancholy, passionate spirit, brooding rather than active.

More quiet and contemplative are the poems of Antonín Sova, full of the beauty of hills and fields, orchards and vineyards.

BY RIVERSIDES

I love moist eve by riversides
That shells abundantly adorn,
When coolness from them gently glides
And from afar white foam is borne.

I cherish there the birches most
And willows where the shadows crowd;
Shrill crickets, flies,—a dancing host,
And distant towns in fading shroud.

Fishermen there entrance my sight
In sluggish skiff that hazes veil,
Afloat mid' eve's decaying light,
When in blue mists red sunsets fail.

And when the eventide has sunk,
And on the stream the moon is reeling,
That rover of the night time, drunk
With bluish haze from waters stealing,

My rhythmic tunes I love to lace
'Mid memories and wistful thought,

4

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While wavelets plash with muffled grace
And all my spirit is distraught.

Here, we think, is a simple soul at peace with the world but when we turn a few pages we find *Eternal Unrest,* and other poems of question and longing. His later work, we are told, shows an inner struggle which harmonizes ill with the calm beauty of the country-scenes he loved most to depict.

The four other poets represented in Selver's little book are: Petr Bezruč, Otakar Březina, Otakar Theer and Karel Toman. The first of these is famous for a single book about a single group of people. The book is *Silesian Songs,* the people the German-oppressed Czechs of the Teschen region, but his poem, *The Pitman* is for all time and all people. It is a piece of realism (too long to quote), strong, intense, with a rugged metre and pictures that are stamped indelibly on the imagination as one reads. It is like one of Rodin's figures done in words instead of marble.

Březina is difficult to understand. Selver in his introduction calls him a baffling figure and the word is apt. A veil of mystery and melancholy shrouds his strange images and descriptions. Perhaps he is peculiarly Slavic; at any rate, he seems much more remote and foreign to the Western mind than any of the other poets so far noted.

Toman and Theer, if the few selections given of each are truly characteristic, are very much alike. They both tend toward the purely subjective mood, and are rather charming and elusive. *The Sun-Dial* by Toman presents a vivid, detailed picture and well wrought emotion.

THE SUN-DIAL

A house in ruins. On the crannied walls
  Moss gluttonously crawls
And lichens in a spongy rabble.

The yard is rank with nettle-thickets
  And toad-flax. In the poisoned water-pit
Rats have a drinking lair.
  A sickly apple tree, by lightning split,
Knows not if it bloomed e'er.

  When days are clear, the whistling finches
Invade the rubble. Beaming, sunlit days
Liven the dial's arc that fronts the place,

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And freakishly and gayly on its face
Time's shadow dances
And to the sky recites in words of gloom:
Sine sole nihil sum.

For all is mask.

All in all the little book is worthy of thought and study. The short introduction is admirable, and if the poems selected are samples and not the cream of modern Czech poetry, we shall look for another anthology and the "more detailed account" promised in the introductory pages, without delay.

MRS. ELEANORE MYERS JEWETT.

Clifton Springs, N. Y.

The Influence of Walter Scott on the Novels of Theodor Fontane, by L. A. SHEARS, Ph. D. New York. Columbia University Press, 1922. 82 pp.

Bertha E. Trebeins Columbia-Dissertation von 1916 über *Theodor Fontane as a Critic of the Drama* war eine ebenso vorzügliche wie nötige Leistung. Nun untersucht Shears' Dissertation eine andere Seite des Fontaneschen Schaffens, nämlich Scotts Einfluss, ähnlich anerkennenswert. Wo Wandrey in seinem umfassenden Buch über den Dichter (1919) behaglich über den Abgrund von Quellenuntersuchungen wandelt, da sieht Shears ein interessantes Problem und versucht, ihm so gut es geht beizukommen. Leicht ist es nicht, wie jeder Kenner Fontanes weiss: man spürt bei ihm das Wesen Scottscher Romantik sehr oft, ohne es greifen zu können. Am ertragreichsten ist noch der Vergleich von *Waverley* und *Vor dem Sturm,* wobei freilich die Abwesenheit einer gründlichen Analyse dieses Fontaneschen Romans als neue Schwierigkeit erscheint.

Der Verfasser betrachtet in 5 Abschnitten: Fontane's early interest in English literature, the journalist and England, Fontane's conception of the historical novel, with particular reference to Scott, influences of the Waverley Novels on Fontane's *Vor dem Sturm* und minor influences of Scott in motive and technique. Alles ist kurz und knapp und in wesentlichen Zügen dargestellt, und die Ergebnisse der Arbeit sind nicht unbeträchtlich. Sehr gut ist z. B. Fontanes Aufsatz über Alexis ausgewertet. Der Dichter

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bewunderte allgemein Scotts Stil und Dialogführung und verriet in *Vor dem Sturm* Scotts Einfluss bei seinem passiven Helden, seinen Frauen und manchem in der Fabel. Hoppenmarieken gehört zum Geschlecht der Meg Merrilies (*Guy Mannering*) und der Etie Ochiltree (*Antiquary*), Seidentopf zu Oldbuck (*Antiquary*). Aber auch andere Geschichten Fontanes zeigen Scotts Einfluss, z. B. Mathilde Möhring und Jeanie Deans (*Heart of Midlothian*), Effie Briest und Effie Deans, Grete Minde und Ulrica (*Ivanhoe*) ergeben fruchtbare Vergleiche. Kleinere erzählungstechnische Ähnlichkeiten erklärt Shears mehr aus der Balladentechnik und dem Plaudererton oder dem Stil der *Wanderungen* heraus als aus Scotts "Einfluss." So nennt er Fontane in der *Form* seines Romanwerks "practically independent of Scott; it is in the *content* of his fiction he owes a debt to the British author," allerdings auch da innerhalb geringer Grenzen. Der Verfasser empfiehlt sich durch seine Zurückhaltung im Punkte des "Einflusses." Einwenden lässt sich u. a., dass die romantische Seite Fontanes nicht ganz richtig eingeschätzt ist und demzufolge auch der Einfluss von Scotts Romantik, die "a striking contrast with the more realistic body of the work" bilden soll. Das bezweifle ich. Mir scheint, gerade der romantische *Realismus* Scotts hatte es unserm Deutschen angetan! Auch macht der Verfasser seinen Schriftsteller viel unpolitischer und undemokratischer, als er in Wirklichkeit war. Für vieles im In- und Ausland hatte Fontane einfach "den Blick," wie ja auch Shears gesteht: "Indeed, Fontane looks upon Mid-Victorian England *with Thackeray's eyes* . . . ." (p. 21). Was Fontane Thackeray verdankte, verlohnte sich weiter zu untersuchen.

F. SCHOENEMANN.

Münster i. W.

CORRESPONDENCE

A TRANSLATION OF ROSSETTI'S

That Dante Gabriel Rossetti is an excellent translator, that he is one of the very few who have been able to make English poetry of poetry which was non-English, has been amply proven. *The Leaf*, one of his translations, makes no exception to this rule, but it presents an interesting and singular fact. It purports to be a transla-

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tion from Leopardi;[1] but even a casual reading will show that it is a translation from Arnault and not from Leopardi.

This will be clear if we examine Arnault's *La Feuille,* Leopardi's *Imitazione,* and Rossetti's *The Leaf.*

(ARNAULT)

"De ta tige détachée,
Pauvre feuille desséchée,
Où vas-tu?"—Je n'en sais rien.
L'orage a brisé le chêne
Qui seul était mon soutien.
De son inconstante haleine,
Le zéphyr ou l'aquilon
Depuis ce jour me promène
De la forêt à la plaine,
De la montagne au vallon:
Je vais où le vent me mène,
Sans me plaindre ou m'effrayer;
Je vais où va toute chose,
Où va la feuille de rose
Et la feuille de laurier!

(LEOPARDI)

"Lungi dal proprio ramo,
Povera foglia frale,
Dove vai tu?" "Dal faggio
Là dov'io nacqui, mi divise il vento.
Esso, tornando, a volo
Dal bosco alla campagna,
Dalla valle mi porta alla montagna.
Seco perpetuamente
Vo pellegrina, e tutto l'altro ignoro.
Vo dove ogni altra cosa,
Dove naturalmente
Va la foglia di rosa,
E la foglia d'alloro."

(ROSSETTI)

"Torn from your parent bough,
Poor leaf all withered now,
Where go you?" "I cannot tell.
Storm-stricken is the oak-tree
Where I grew, whence I fell.
Changeful continually,
The zephyr and hurricane
Since that day bid me flee
From deepest woods to the lea,
From highest hills to the plain.
Where the wind carries me
I go without fear or grief:
I go whither each one goes,
Thither the leaf of the rose
And thither the laurel-leaf."

Leopardi's version is not very close to the original and he himself is first to warn us by calling it an imitation. But Rossetti's, which is supposedly a translation of Leopardi's, is not a translation of the Italian poem at all. It is not merely that Rossetti's version is more nearly like Arnault's, it is actually a fine and close translation of it. The French poet's third verse says:

"Ou vas-tu?—Je n'en sais rien."

This "Je n'en sais rien" is omitted entirely by Leopardi, but translated by Rossetti: "I cannot tell." Then too Leopardi's tree

[1] Cf. *The Collected Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, London, Ellis and Elvey, 1890, II, 518.

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is a beech, that of Arnault and Rossetti is an oak. Various other things could be pointed out to show that Leopardi's poem is, as he says, an imitation rather than a translation, and that Rossetti's is a translation of Arnault's, not of Leopardi's—but the reader of the three poems can see it all for himself. What probably happened, in Rossetti's case is that, having found the Italian poem in an edition of Leopardi, he found the French original in the footnotes (as I find it in the edition before me), translated this latter, and yet gave us Leopardi as his source.

ALBERT EDMUND TROMBLY.

University of Missouri.

A NEGLECTED PORTRAIT OF MME DE LA FAYETTE

M. d'Haussonville, in his biography of Mme de La Fayette, gives a special appendix entitled *Les Portraits de Mme de La Fayette.*[1] In it he states that the thirteen engravings or lithographs in the Cabinet d'Estampes, representing the author of the *Princesse de Clèves,* have no common likeness. Ferdinand has contributed to this collection four different portraits, and M. d'Haussonville finally chooses one of these as frontispiece to his book, adding in justification of its ugliness that no one except the Cardinal de Retz ever said that Mme de La Fayette was pretty.

Costar, Loret, Scarron, Ménage, Mme de La Fayette herself, declared that she was pretty, yet every portrait frontispiece to her biography or her works is either a picture drawn from the imagination of a modern artist who never saw her, or a contemporary portrait of surpassing ugliness.

Meanwhile there hangs on the wall of a room in the Château of Chambord, a portrait by a seventeenth century artist who has portrayed her as a woman past her prime, but by no means ugly.

The figure is three-quarter length, seated, turned to the right; the dress of plum coloured velvet with mauve high lights, the mantle reddish brown with a sheen of old gold; the arm chair old rose. By the side of the chair, on the right of the Countess, is a table covered with a cloth; on the table a pair of white gloves.

This portrait is the work of René Houasse, generally known as René Antoine Houasse the elder. He was born at Paris in 1645—and was therefore eleven years younger than Mme de La Fayette. Pupil of Lebrun, member of the Academy, professor and director of the Academy, director of the Ecole de Rome, he was an artist of no mean reputation, and his works are to be seen in the Louvre, at Versailles, and in the art galleries of Orléans and Grenoble.

[1] Le Comte d'Haussonville, *Mme de La Fayette*, Paris, 1896 (2e edit.), p. 221.

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Knowing that Chambord was the residence of Gaston d'Orléans and of the Grande Mademoiselle, we are tempted to conclude that this portrait early found a place on the walls. Such cannot be the case, however, for Chambord suffered severely during the Revolution. The district of Blois ordered the sale of the furniture. The art treasures were dispersed in a few days, the very panellings were stripped from the walls, and the floors taken up. The beautifully panelled doors were burned in the sale room, as were the frames of the pictures. The canvasses were sold. Some articles of furniture were bought by local gentry, and they remained in the district.[2]

The grandson of Charles X, the Duke of Bordeaux, spent the revenues of the estate in restoring the Château, and his successors have followed his excellent example.

M. Henri Marais, the present administrator of Chambord, is of the opinion that this portrait came there with eight others, from the Château of Rosny, the property of the Duchess of Berry.

It is to be hoped that, in justice to Mme de La Fayette, it will in future be reproduced as an authentic contemporary portrait, and that it will replace the unworthy caricatures that have heretofore done duty as frontispieces to her works.[3]

H. Ashton.

The University of British Columbia.

An Epigram Erroneously Ascribed to Voltaire

In Vol. x of the Moland edition of Voltaire's works (p. 470) is found an epigram of eight lines against Lamotte Houdart, which refers to his mistake in attributing, in 1714, the prize of the Académie Française to an ode by the Abbé du Jarry, remembered as the famous author of the immortally absurd line: "Et des pôles brûlants jusqu'aux pôles glacés":

Lamotte, présidant aux prix
Qu'on distribue aux beaux esprits,
Ceignit de couronnes civiques
Les vainqueurs des jeux olympiques:
Il fit un vrai pas d'écolier,
Et prit, aveugle agonothète,
Un chêne pour un olivier,
Et du Jarry pour un poète.

It is quite likely that the epigram was attributed to Voltaire only because he was in 1714 the unhappy competitor of the Abbé du Jarry for the poetical distinction which Lamotte refused him then: the crown of the Académie. It is well known that Voltaire

[2] M. de La Saussaye, *Le Château de Chambord* (10e éd.), Blois, 1865.

[3] The portrait is reproduced in photogravure as frontispiece to the author's *Mme de La Fayette, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

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showed considerable resentment for the victory of the prolific abbé, and wrote his *Bourbier* in ridicule of his judges. The epigram appeared for the first time in the *Collection complète des Œuvres de M. de Voltaire.* (1764, XII, 380.) It has remained since that time in the works of Voltaire, although Beuchot expressed doubt in the following note as to the correctness of the attribution: "Les éditeurs de Kehl, en réimprimant, dans le tome XLIX de leur édition in 8°, la lettre de Voltaire aux auteurs de la *Bibliothèque française,* du 20 septembre, 1736, y ajoutèrent en note ces huit vers, avec les mots: "*Cette note est ajoutée.*" Je les introduisis en 1823 dans une édition des *Poésies de Voltaire.* Mais je doute aujourd'hui qu'il en soit l'auteur, et crois qu'ils appartiennent à Gacon." [1]

That Beuchot's impression about the authorship of this epigram was reliable is proved by the fact that one of Gacon's works, the *Homère Vengé* of 1715, contains this small poem with but two minor changes in wording. Instead of lines five and six we read there:

Le ridicule fut entier,
Il prit, aveugle agonetète.

This epigram is, then, by Gacon, and it is certainly not astonishing to find him at war with Lamotte when one remembers that the *Homère Vengé* contains repeated attacks against him, and that, later on, he published *Les Fables de M. Houdart de Lamotte, traduites en vers français.*

As to the subject matter of the epigram, it should be noticed that it ridicules a mistake that Lamotte is said to have made in pronouncing the discourse for the crowning of the Abbé du Jarry. He spoke of the crown of oak, emblem of civic virtue, instead of the crown of laurel, symbol of poetic victories. Beuchot in a footnote to line four states that he did not find any record of this mistake of Lamotte in the *Recueil des harangues de l'Académie française.* That Lamotte actually did make it is quite likely if we can take as evidence the few lines, which, in Gacon's *Homère Vengé* precede the epigram: "Mais comment auriez-vous pu réussir à représenter dignement Achille distribuant les prix du ceste, de la course, et de la lutte, vous qui avez si mal distribué ceux de la poésie pendant votre direction à l'Académie Française? Des personnes savantes et judicieuses ayant remarqué que dans le discours que vous prononçâtes sur ce sujet, vous couronnâtes de chêne les vainqueurs des jeux olympiques, et que la pièce qui eut le prix était pitoyable en tout sens; on vous décocha cette épigramme." [2]

GEORGE B. WATTS.

University of Minnesota.

[1] Voltaire, *Œuvres,* x, 470.
[2] Gacon, *Homère Vengé,* p. 431.

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Three Notes on Lowell

(1) I am unable to find in any edition of Lowell's works a sonnet on Dickens contributed by the Cambridge poet to *Appleton's Journal* for November 12, 1870 (IV, p. 591); nor do I find any mention of it in Mr. G. W. Cooke's very valuable bibliography of Lowell.[1] The sonnet is entitled, simply, "Charles Dickens," and is signed "J. R. Lowell." It appears under the head of "Miscellany," and hence is not listed in the table of contents. The opening lines run as follows:

> A man of genius, simple, warm, sincere,
> He left a world grown kindlier than he came;
> His hand the needy knew, but not his name;
> Dumb creatures snuffed a friend when he drew near.

At the time of the publication of the poem, Robert Carter, Lowell's friend of *Pioneer* days, was editor of *Appleton's.* Carter had written Lowell in March, 1870 (see Scudder's *Life of Lowell,* II, p. 144), requesting contributions from him, but apparently this sonnet was the only thing sent. The poem bears marks of hasty composition, a circumstance which will suffice to explain Lowell's decision not to admit it into his collected writings.

(2) Another Lowell item which seems to me worthy of bibliographical record, but which I do not find mentioned in any of the bibliographical lists accessible to me, is an advance notice of *A Fable for Critics* published in the *Literary World* for October 7, 1848 (III, pp. 706-7).[2] This notice is of special interest by reason of the fact that it contains upwards of a hundred lines of Lowell's satire (the opening lines on "Daphne treëified" and the passages devoted to Dana and Cooper) here published nearly three weeks before the actual publication of the satire in book form. The editor of the *Literary World* was another early friend of Lowell's, Evert A. Duyckinck, who, it will be recalled, is graciously described in the *Fable* as a scholar and critic "Who through Grub Street the soul of a gentleman carries."

(3) It has not been suggested, so far as I have observed, that Lowell in several of his poems wrote under the influence of Emerson. But Lowell's "Sphinx" (1841) was evidently prompted by Emerson's well known poem of similar title[3]; and "Out of Doors"

[1] *A Bibliography of James Russell Lowell.* Compiled by George Willis Cooke, Boston, 1906.

[2] Entitled "New Hits at Authors."

[3] Emerson's "The Sphinx" was first published in the *Dial* for January, 1841; Lowell's "Sphinx" was first published in *A Year's Life,* which came off the press, as nearly as I can make out, in the third or fourth week of January, 1841. The *Dial* for January, 1841, probably appeared in December, 1840. Lowell may have read Emerson's poem there, or possibly he had seen it in manuscript before publication. In *A Year's Life* "Sphinx" appears at the very end of the miscellaneous poems (before a collection of sonnets, which concludes the volume).

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(1850) is unmistakably Emersonian both in theme and in manner. Other early poems that possibly owe something to Emerson are "To Perdita, Singing" (1842), "Ode" (1842), "The Landlord" (1847), "Bibliolatres" (1849), and "The Fountain of Youth" (1853).

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

University of Texas.

Lycidas AND THE PLAY OF *Barnavelt*

In *MLN.*, December, 1922 (XXXVII, 470-3), Professor Louis Wann comments upon a supposed "striking parallel" between *Lycidas* and *Barnavelt*. A passage in that play, in the text of Bullen, 1883, contains the line: "That last infirmity of noble minds." Professor Wann speculates upon the possible connections between Milton and Massinger, for the play existed only in MS. till Bullen printed it in his *Collection of Old English Plays;* and he asks: "What are the conceivable explanations of this parallel?" He concludes that it is inexplicable. As a matter of fact, it is a very simple matter. When Bullen published his *Collection* Swinburne at once called attention to this striking and downright plagiarism (*The Athenaeum,* March 10, 1883, page 314), and in the following number of the same journal (March 17, page 342) Bullen replied shamefacedly that the line from *Lycidas,* which he had scribbled in the margin of a proof-sheet as a parallel in thought to Massinger's lines, had through a printer's blunder found its way into the text of *Barnavelt.* That is the whole story. It may be added, however, that in 1907, in the course of some correspondence on Milton's line in *The Spectator* (January 19, page 87; January 26, page 137 f.; February 9, page 211), a writer signing himself "G" (at the last reference) cited this same supposed parallel, depending upon Bullen's text. "G" was suffered to go uncorrected.[1]

Professor Wann says that he has examined Milton's writings for allusions to the English drama; earlier in his article he states that with the exception of the passage from *Barnavelt* "Milton can in no case be charged with downright plagiarism—a word for word transplanting." In lieu of the plagiarism of which I have deprived him I offer him one long since noted by Swinburne: Middleton's "Dropt from the opening eyelids of the morn" (*A Game at Chess,* I, i, 79), which, with the change of "dropt from" to "under," reappears in *Lycidas.*

SAMUEL C. CHEW.

Bryn Mawr College.

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[1] After Dr. Chew's communication was received, a new edition of *Barnavelt* arrived from Amsterdam. The editor, Dr. W. P. Frijlinck, properly excludes the line from the text and in her notes reports Bullen's extraordinary experience with the line, but supplies no references for this information, which is most conveniently given by Bullen, III, p. vi.

—J. W. B.

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Moby Dick and Rabelais

In the light of the recent interest in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick,* I should like to draw attention to the parallelisms between Chapter XLI, *The Whiteness of the Whale,* in that book and Book I, Chapter X of Rabelais, *Of That Which is Signified by the Colours White and Blue.* The following are the most strikingly similar passages: [1]

Moby Dick	*Rabelais*
". . and though besides all this, whiteness has been even made significant of gladness" —p. 163	". . by white all the world hath understood joy, gladness, mirth, pleasure, and delight." —p. 39
	". . by white, nature would have us understand joy and gladness" — p. 41
". . for among the Romans a white stone marked a joyful day—" —p. 163	". . In former times the Thracians and Cretans did mark their good, propitious, and fortunate days with white stones—" —p. 39
". . though in the Vision of St. John, white robes are given to the redeemed, and the four-and-twenty elders stand clothed in white before the great white throne, and the Holy One that sitteth there white like wool—" —p. 164	"With the like colour of vesture did St. John the Evangelist, Apoc. 4. 7, see the faithful clothed in the heavenly and blessed Jerusalem." —p. 40
". . whiteness . . contributes to the daily state of kings and queens drawn by milk-white steeds—" —p. 164	". . when any man, after he had vanquished his enemies, was by decree of the senate to enter into Rome triumphantly, he usually rode in a chariot drawn by white horses: which in the ovation triumph was also the custom—" —p. 40
". . there yet lurks an elusive something in the innermost idea of this hue, which strikes more of panic to the soul than that redness which affrights in blood." p. 164	". . the lion, who with his only cry and roaring affrights all beasts, dreads and feareth only a white cock—" —p. 40

Considering the above, there can be little doubt as to the literary provenience of Melville's chapter.

Whitney Hastings Wells.

Harvard University.

[1] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick;* Everyman's Library, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. *The Works of Rabelais;* translated by Urquhart and Motteux, Chalon Edition, London.

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Romance of the Rose, 1705

One prop of the argument that all of the *Romance of the Rose* as we have it is not Chaucer's is Skeat's reading of line 1705:

> For it so wel was enlumyned
> With colour reed, as wel [y]-fyned
> As nature couthe it make faire.
> And it had leves wel foure paire,
> That Kinde had set through his knowing
> Aboute the rede rose springing.
> The stalke was as risshe right,
> And theron stood the knoppe upright,
> That it ne bowed upon no syde.
> The swote smelle sprong so wyde
> That it dide al the place aboute—
> Whan I had smelled the savour swote, etc.

On line 1705 Skeat remarked (*Works of Chaucer,* i, p. 164, n.), "Th. dyed (*for* dide, *wrongly*). 1705, 6. *A false rime;* l. 1705 *is incomplete in sense, as the sentence has no verb. Here the genuine portion ends.* L. 1706 *is by another hand.*"

Skeat asserted that Thynne's *dyed* is wrong, but did not prove it to be so. He made *dide* an auxiliary verb, thus leaving the line incomplete. But the line gave no difficulty to editors of the folios. Down to and including Urry *dide, diede, dyde,* meant Mod. Eng. *dyed.* The rose not only illumined, but it also fragrantly dyed the place all about. Skeat's dash after the line is wholly gratuitous. Dogmatism about phonology or inconsistent rhymes in a MS. so late as Glasgow, to say nothing of the text of the First Folio, bears a heavy burden of proof. To wrench syntax when a line makes sense and better poetry than the original

> Toute la place replenist

seems to me to be indefensible.

There is no problem in form or meaning of M. E. *dien, dyen,* to dye. NED. shows that the distinction between *die* and *dye* is recent.

W. P. Reeves.

Kenyon College.

The Source of *The Courtier's Calling*

The Courtier's Calling is one of the most interesting of the late English books of courtesy. It was published in London in 1675, with no more precise indication of the author's identity than the phrase, "By a gentleman of quality." That the book descended more or less directly from French sources, however, is obvious. Its author writes as a man of the world, disparaging learning and valuing most a superficial culture and the knack of succeeding. The fine old ideal of Castiglione, in short, has yielded place to the

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less noble ideals of a Chesterfield. I have recently compared the copy of *The Courtier's Calling* owned by the Elizabethan Club of Yale University with a copy of Jacques de Callières' *La Fortune des Gens de Qualité et des Gentilshommes* (1665) in the Yale Library, and have found that the one is only a literal translation of the other. The French work was published first in 1658. Its author was a famous French general, and many English gentlemen in Paris, especially during the Interregnum, must have read his work with interest. To name the English translator, therefore, is impossible. But I have been helped in my study of the books of etiquette and courtesy in general by coming to know the origin of *The Courtier's Calling,* and the information may be of interest and value to others.

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON.

The State University of Iowa.

BRIEF MENTION

The Principles of English Versification, by Paull Franklin Baum (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1922. viii, 215 pp.). The closing paragraph of this book might be taken as a text for a discourse. The disputatious attitude of the prosodists and the inconclusiveness of their theories is declared, with an implication that the present author may prove to be especially trustworthy: "Professional prosodists doubt and dispute one another with the zeal and confidence of metaphysicians and editors of classical texts. They are all blind guides—perhaps even the present one!—if followed slavishly." The second portion of the paragraph illustrates the author's mode of reasoning with terms that he has not defined in the specifically required manner: "There is only one means (a threefold unity) to the right understanding of the metrical element in poetry: a knowledge of the simple facts of metrical form, a careful scrutiny of the existent phenomena of ordinary language rhythms, and a study of the ways in which the best poets have fitted the one to the other with the most satisfying and most moving results." The meaning seems to be that the prosodists have been deficient in elementary knowledge and perceptions. This is the more surprising if it be true that "the technique of versification is a mechanical thing to be learned like any mechanical thing" (p. 202 f.), for it should then, like all mechanical activities, present no insurmountable obstructions to complete description and average apprehension.

As to the fundamental requirement of rhythm in versification, one may, with no serious disadvantage, designate it a mechanical requirement. On the contrary, an unswerving acceptance of what

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the designation rightly signifies—namely, that rhythm is an inviolable requirement of the intended melody of a line—would dispel many a subjective delusion with reference to versification and clarify the eristic atmosphere attending the subject.

To insist on a subjectively preferred reading when the question at issue is the notation of the sustained rhythm of the line, is to confuse the issue beyond recovery for true analysis and for practical instruction. The mere making of verses—versification—as a conventional art must be studied objectively and historically, for it is conditioned by the objective and historic facts of the language involved. The long history of English poetry, let us say of iambic and trochaic movements, proves beyond any slightest degree of warranted controversy that the poets from Chaucer to Tennyson have, without capricious deviation aimed to write each line rhythmically, according to the rhythm-signature and in accordance with recognizable and historic principles of the language; and this long history yields not a shred of evidence of any other structural tenet.

Plainly all iambic verses are constructed so that the iambic movement will be sustained thru the entire verse. The historically valid permission to begin a verse without the 'up beat' (direct attack), or by an inversion of the first foot can of course not be disallowed; but these conventional variations allow the prompt resumption of the regular rhythm. What remains to be observed is the history of the consistent manner of versifying the language. That manner discloses the laws and characteristics of the accentuation of the language when it is subjected to artistic exigencies. In simple terms, the poet's artistic use of the language differs at many points from its usual use in prose, and this difference must be minutely observed, if the art of versification is to be completely understood.

One aspect of the structural difference between poetry and prose lies in the difference between the strict rhythm of the one and the avoidance of strict rhythm of the other. Obviously the regular recurrence of stress on the alternate syllable requires a conventionalized and straitened use of the language—*gebundene Rede*—which elicits a wider range of accents (available for stress) than is usually recognized in prose-utterance. But how is this wider range of available accents and marks of emphasis to be clearly disclosed? The answer is plainly given in the regular scansion of a sufficient number of lines from the principal poets (beginning with Chaucer). All the syllables stressed in this scansion will then be easily grouped into those classes of accent and emphasis which have always been and still are available for ictus. The structural analysis of the versified language is thus given; no other method can possibly yield a completely trustworthy result. And the method irrefutably confirms the artistic validity of scanning according to the rhythm-signature.

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The disapproval of invariable scansion according to the rhythm-signature is not supported by a corresponding theory in favor of infringing upon the time-signature in music. This variable mode of scansion is therefore proved to be untenable by the analogy of the proper 'reading' of a musical composition. Viewed from other angles it is also conclusively untenable. It is untenable because it exalts the sense-emphases of prose above the more subtle sense-emphases of poetry. The rhetoric of verse is suppressed in favor of the rhetoric of prose. This often occasions a loss in the finest apprehension of the poet's articulation of the thought. The chief argument urged in support of this 'prosing' of poetry reposes on what its advocates hold to be an æsthetic incongruity between invariably regular rhythm and a required variation from monotony of movement.

Regular rhythm in versification is a useful figure to designate a succession of equal time-units and a consequent regular recurrence of the verse-stresses; but language has characteristics of utterance and movement that set its rhythm free from the strict requirements of regular rhythm as described in the physical laboratory. For example, 'regular recurrence' in versification does not exclude a great variety of interjected pauses, and the recurrent stresses are not required to be of equal 'weight.' This diversity of 'weight' both of the stressed and of the unstressed parts of the 'feet' imparts that 'variety' to the movement, the melody, of the lines which so many modern prosodists do not rightly recognize. And the poets have thru the centuries found this 'variety' adequate to their art. The task of the prosodist is therefore made clear. He must tabulate the words and syllables that the poets have admitted under the stress. This will disclose the rhythmic permissibilities of the language, reveal the less obvious characteristics of prosodic stress, and release the true and artistic method of reading poetry from all uncertainties. This result, the only valid result, is obscured by that subjective method of scansion which substitutes a fancied type of 'variety' in the melody of a line for what is plainly offered by the poet. The 'fancied variety' does not sustain the artistic mood, but clips the wings of artistic elevation and breaks the movement to the pedestrian gait of prose.

Dr. Baum entitles one of his chapters "Melody, Harmony, and Modulation," but does not define these terms so as to make them definitely serviceable in describing the qualities of artistically versified language. By melody should be meant the 'tune' of a line, and harmony should signify the agreement in mood and movement of successive lines. It is the structural technique of the melody that must be expounded in accordance with the principles of a prosodic stress innately characteristic of the language. And the historic principles of prosodic stress, inherent in the language, can be completely revealed not by a rhetorical reading but only by the

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scansion required by the rhythm-signature. Dr. Baum does not consistently recognize the historic facts of stress disclosed by the unswervingly rhythmic reading, and thus encounters contradictions from which he believes to make an adroit escape. He invites attention to the line (*Par. Lost*, I, 273),

> Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foil'd,

and comments thus: "Here to stress distinctly *but, -tent, could* utterly ruins both the meaning and the music of the line; to utter the words as though they were ordinary prose would preserve the meaning, but destroy the verse-movement. In Milton's ear, however, and in ours, if we do not resist, there is a subtle syncopation of four beats against five. (Of course syncopation alone does not explain the rhythm of this line.)" To Milton's ear the line was strictly iambic; that is not to be doubted.

That English stresses partake in varying proportions of expiratory force, duration, and pitch (a variation that may be increased by the preference or practice of the individual reader), is duly acknowledged by Dr. Baum, but that merely contributes to the variety of the melodies and does not disturb the regularity of the rhythm. Dr. Baum supports this conclusion: "While the formal pattern remains fixed and inflexible, over its surface may be embroidered variations of almost illimitable subtlety and change; but *always the formal pattern must be visible, audible.* The poet's skill lies largely in preserving a balance of the artistic principles of variety in uniformity and uniformity in variety. Once he lets go the design, he loses his metrical rhythm and writes mere prose. Once we cease to hear and feel the faint regular beatings of the metronome we fail to get the enjoyment of sound that it is the proper function of metre to give" (p. 54). Now, that is perfectly sound and in complete accord with the 'scansion' that has been advocated in this notice. But Dr. Baum does not adhere to his formula, when he finds the regular beat of the metronome destroys the music of the line cited above from Milton. Again, when he observes that some stresses may be dominatingly strong in a line and "others so light as to be hardly felt," which cannot mean according to the formula quoted that they are *not* sufficiently felt, he adds: "Thus it happens sometimes that in a 5-stress line there are actually only four or three stresses: the rhythmic result being a syncopation of four or three against five" (p. 194). This notion of syncopation has proved a serious disadvantage to the treatise.

The purpose of this notice has been to re-state the writer's conviction with reference to the elements of our English versification, and to show that in his clever, and at many points soundly and attractively instructive treatise, Dr. Baum has not with complete consistency set forth the same doctrine.

J. W. B.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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JAMES WILSON BRIGHT, Editor-in-Chief

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM WILLIAM KURRELMEYER

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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AD IMPRIMENDUM SOLUM ONCE MORE

The proclamation of Henry VIII concerning seditious and heretical books (16 Nov., 1538) contained a clause requiring,

"That no person or persons in this realm shall from henceforth printe any booke in the Englishe tong unless uppon examination made by some of his Grace's pryvie counsaile or other such as His Highnesse shall appoint they have lycence so to do and yet so havynge nott to put these words Cum privilegio regali without addyng Ad imprimendum solum, and that the hole copie, or els at the least theffect of his licence and privilege be therwith printed, and playnely declared and expressed in the Englishe tonge underneth them."[1]

Mr. A. W. Pollard, in his article, "The Regulation of the Book Trade,"[2] proposed a new interpretation of the phrase *ad imprimendum solum,* as follows:

"Incidentally we may note that while a distinction appears to be drawn between a licence and a privilege, the one word 'privilegium' seems to be used as a Latin equivalent for both. Every book, as I understand the proclamation, required a licence; but the licence was not to be paraded by the use of the words 'Cum privilegio regali' without these words being limited and restricted by the addition 'ad imprimendum solum.' These must, therefore, be construed 'only for printing,' i. e. not for protection,

[1] The final draft is in B. M., Cotton, Cleopatra, E. v. 341. Strype in his reprint (*Memoirs of Archbp. Cranmer,* 1840, II, 256) indicated by italics the emendations of Henry, one of which is the phrase in question. The existence of earlier drafts was noted some time ago in connection with the summary of the final draft in the State Papers Domestic.

[2] *The Library,* Third series, VII, 22-4; reprinted in a chapter of his *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates,* pp. 6-7.

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unless this was expressly stated, in which case the 'licence' was raised to the higher rank of a 'privilege.' The words 'ad imprimendum solum' have been generally interpreted as equivalent to 'for sole, or exclusive printing.' Whether or not they can legitimately bear this meaning in Tudor Latin is perhaps doubtful. It seems quite clear from this Proclamation that this is not the meaning they were intended to bear; but so far from the Proclamation in this respect attaining its end, it seems pretty certain that it intensified the very misconception which its authors tried to remove."

Mr. Pollard here uses *licence* and *privilege* in a special sense, somewhat out of keeping with that suggested by the proclamation,[3] where *privilege* seems to mean, a grant of exclusive ownership of a work, with royal protection of the property right so granted, and *licence* seems to mean, allowance of a work for publication. As this is also the modern distinction, I shall use the terms in the meaning of the proclamation. Mr. Pollard's real position, as I understand it, is, that all books were required to be licensed, or allowed by examiners; and that a privilege, or grant of exclusive ownership, should not masquerade as a licence, or allowance to publish, unless its holder could show, by printing the actual words or the substance of the privilege, that it did indeed convey royal favor in the sense of protection of contents, thus giving it the effect of licence as well as exclusive privilege of printing. If this is Mr. Pollard's meaning, it is a fair interpretation of the general import of the proclamation.

But with the statement that *ad imprimendum solum* cannot mean *for sole printing,* but must mean "only for printing, i. e. not for protection," I have ventured to take issue, on the ground that the innovation is not necessary for a full understanding of the occasion, purpose, and wording of the proclamation, and is contrary to the whole history of the use and interpretation of the phrase. In the summer of 1918 I sent Mr. Pollard a carbon copy of an article, "*Ad imprimendum solum*," which appeared in *Modern Language Notes* in February, 1919. To this Mr. Pollard replied in the January, 1919, issue of *The Library,* having in the meantime notified me that his position had been made secure

[3] The terms are often confused for the reason that before the Proclamation some royal privileges served instead of licences to print, and some of the early privileges use the terms as if they were almost synonymous.

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through the discovery, by Mr. A. W. Reed, of the several drafts of the proclamation of 1538 in the Public Record Office. These were presented orally to the Bibliographical Society in a paper by Mr. Reed on November 18, 1918, entitled "The Regulation of the Book-Trade before the Proclamation of 1538"; but, as the conditions of the British censorship did not then permit Mr. Pollard to follow up his kind offer to send me an abstract of Mr. Reed's article, it was only recently that I ran across this study of press censorship in *The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* for 1920 (xv, 157-84).

There is in Mr. Reed's transcript of the drafts of the proclamation one very significant passage which Mr. Pollard did not mention, and which Mr. Reed certainly misapplies at one point where it touches Mr. Pollard's theory. This passage (pp. 171-181) shows the evolution of a section of the proclamation in these four readings:

1. "Item that no person or persons usyng the occupacion of pryntyng in this Realme shall from henceforth prynte any boke in the Englishe tong with theise wordes, (cum privilegio Regali) onless the true understonding of the same wordes be plainlie declard and expressed in the Englishe tong underneth them to the intent that the Reders may plainlie perceve the effecte therof."

2. ("The first correction of the first draft"). "Item that no person or persons usyng the occupacion of pryntyng in this Realme shall from henc-forth prynt eny boke in the Englishe tong with theise wordes (cum privilegio Regali) onless they have first licence of his highness graunted upon examinacion made by some of his graces privy counsaill to printe the same. And have a privilege in dede that no man but they shall printe the same for a tyme plainly declard and expressed in the Englishe tong underneth them to the extent that the Reders may plainlie perceve the effecte thereof."

3. ("The second correction on the first draft"). "Item that no person or persons usyng the occupacion of pryntyng in this Realme shall from henc-forth prynte eny boke in the Englishe tong with theise wordes /cum privilegio Regali/ onless they have first licence of his highness graunted upon examinacions made by some of his graces privy counsaill or other such as his highnes shal appointe And that theffecte of his licence and privilege be thereto prynted and plainlie declared and expressed in the Englishe tong underneth them."

4. (A copy of the former, with emendations by the King). "Item that no person or persons in this realm shall from hence-

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forth printe any booke in the Englishe tong unless uppon examination made by some of his Grace's pryvie counsaile or other such as His Highnesse shall appoint they shall havè lycence so to do and yet so havynge nott to put these words Cum privilegio regali without addyng Ad imprimendum solum, and that the hole copie, or els at the least theffect of his licence and privilege be therwith printed and playnely declared and expressed in the Englisshe tonge underneth them."

Mr. Reed makes these comments on the version which I number 2:

"In many ways this is a satisfactory version. It states what a privilege is, namely, a grant 'that no man but they shall printe the book for a tyme'; it demands that the printer who uses it shall have it 'in dede' which means, of course, that some poor beggars of printers were rascally enough to filch the words; and it distinguishes the privilege from the licence. . . . His Majesty was evidently the first to see that the injunction so far applied only to those who used the words 'cum privilegio Regali,' and that its effect would be to leave all other printers free of the injunction. He also detected that the words 'using the occupation of printyng' were not wanted since without them the phrase ran 'no person or persons in this realme.' As for all this to-do about the distinction between a licence and a privilege, let them add to the words 'cum privilegio Regali' the words 'ad imprimendum solum,' 'for printing only,' *or* as an earlier draft had put it 'that no man but they shall print the same for a tyme.'"

I have italicised the *or* to call attention to the fact that Mr. Reed, in making this necessary equation of the clause from the earlier draft, "that no man but they shall print the same for a tyme," with the phrase that displaced it in the next draft, *ad imprimendum solum,* has given a clear and absolutely convincing definition of the technical significance of *ad imprimendum solum* as being a monopolistic privilege, or grant of sole printing rights for a term of years. Now this is exactly what it has always been taken to mean until Mr. Pollard (on at least three occasions) stated that it did not mean this in 1538. His theory makes this a misconception, a crystallized blunder, mysteriously originated and becoming, at some unknown date, the accepted interpretation. His exact meaning in "for printing only, and not for protection" seems to have eluded Mr. Reed: for, in adopting the "for printing only" and employing it as a precise equivalent of "for sole printing" and confirming it in the latter meaning by his comment,

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Mr. Reed has "supported" Mr. Pollard's theory in a rather startling fashion,—i. e., by equating what Mr. Pollard wishes to disprove with what he set out to prove. As the tenor of Mr. Reed's very interesting article is counter to Mr. Pollard's theory, I can only suppose that the turn at the end was made as a hasty afterthought, and that it was not very carefully examined by Mr. Pollard.

The general purpose of the proclamation of 1538 has always been reasonably clear. The occasion is set forth in the introduction: that trouble had arisen from the publication of objectionable matters, partly by addition of notes and marginal comments in works previously examined and allowed. The proclamation guarded against this by requiring books printed abroad to have a special royal licence before being sold in England, and books printed in England to have a licence granted after examination of contents by authorities appointed by the King. Mr. Reed's extract from the "first correction of the first draft" shows that the customary interpretation of *ad imprimendum solum* was justified from the beginning; for the intention in that draft was, unmistakably, to require that no persons who hold licences for books should claim to have privileges from the King unless they have indeed privileges "that no man but they shall print the same for a tyme." In substituting for this clause the *ad imprimendum solum,* the King indicated that the usual royal privilege was simply a grant of exclusive right to print,[4] and if in any case it meant more, that would appear if licence and privilege were printed in full or summarized in the work itself.

The original drafts of the proclamation of 1538, then, instead of confirming Mr. Pollard's position, make it logically untenable. But if they had never been made public, there are good and sufficient reasons for refusing such an interpretation. A minor objection arises from the customary collocation of *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum* with a term of years, as, *per septennium.*

[4] Comparable in a way was a discussion which arose in Venice, 1516, over the *Rituum ecclesiasticorum . . . Rom. ecclesiae,* which carried a privilege from Pope Leo X. When the contents caused trouble, legates pointed out that the book could claim no authority, as Leo X had not approved it, but had simply granted a privilege to protect against piratical reprinting (F. H. Reusch, *Index der verbotenen Bücher,* I, 65).

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'With privilege for printing only, i. e. not for protection, for a period of seven years,' is an odd reading, to say the least; but if *ad imprimendum solum* is a monopolistic grant, the term of years follows as a matter of course. A larger incongruity arises from construing the phrase as denying protection when it occurs, as it does frequently within a very few years of the proclamation, in works which carry by its side the most positive evidence that they did have the fullest favor and protection of the King.[5]

In Mr. Reed's article and in my former one are numerous examples emphasizing the monopolistic quality of the royal privilege, which is indeed its very essence. A very clear example is the summary (possibly from a Latin original?) of the "tenour of the Kynges preuylege" on the verso of the title-page of John Gough's *The dore of holy scripture*. Mar. 12, 1540. (See Herbert, *Typ. Antiq.*, I, 493-4). John Gough was one of the very booksellers whose too general privileges for all such works as they might first publish had given occasion for the new regulation. The "tenor" of the 1540 privilege reiterates its monopolistic quality by a recurrent *only* whose context clearly equates it with the *solum* of the Latin phrase:

> To al maner of people exercysyng the arte of pryntyng we gyue gretyng to understand, that we haue *only* granted & lycenced to Johan gowgh cytesyne & stacyoner of London, that he *only* to prynte under our pryueledge al maner of bokes new begon to be translated or compiled by the sayd Johan gowgh . . . for the space of seven yeares . . . and . . . that . . . no person . . . do . . . prynte . . . no such bokes, but that the forsayd Johan gowgh haue the *only* aduantage according to the tenor of this our forsayd licence & pleasure (to him *only* graunted upon payne of forfature).

That Henry VIII or whoever advised him to substitute the phrase *ad imprimendum solum* for "that no man but they shall print the same" chose the word *sole* to indicate the exclusiveness of grant was, I have no doubt, due to a recognized technical significance of *sole* in monopolistic grants in general. This usage dates

[5] See, for example: *A proclamation by the kynges maiestie . . . for the byble of the largest . . . volume*, Grafton and Whitchurch, 1541 (Herbert, *Typ. Antiq.*, I, 516); *The Prymer in Englisshe and Latin*, containing a royal proclamation enjoining its use, Thomas Petit, 1543 (*Ibid.*, I, 555); *The Primer in Englishe and Latin set forth by the kynges maiestie and his clergie*, Whitchurch, 1546 (*Ibid.*).

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back in English legal parlance at least as far as 1450: "Enything by us to hym graunted soule or by us graunted to hym and eny other person or persons joyntly with him" (Rolls of Parliament, v. 190-191). As it has the same sense in the monopolistic controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it would require strong evidence to prove that it suffered a temporary shift of meaning in 1538. In 1590 Barlow (Third Sermon, II, 49) referred to the "intollerable licenses of Monopoles and Solesales." The Act concerning Monopolies (21 Jac. I, c. 3, sec. x, clause 1) discusses a statement made in 1610, that monopolies were contrary to law, in language showing the analogous use of *sole* for other exclusive grants:

> "All commissions, graunts, licenses, charters and letters patents heretofore made or graunted or hereafter to be made or graunted, for the sole buyinge sellinge makinge workinge or usinge of any thinge within this Realme . . . or of any other monopolies."

An exception was made against restraint of monopolies for letters patents for the term of 21 years or less for the "sole workinge or makinge of any manner of newe manufacture within this Realme to the first and true Inventor," (Rymer, *Foedera,* XVII, 522).

As the Stationers' Company of London existed long before 1538, and included among its members many privileged printers, it is hardly to be supposed that they would altogether commit themselves to a misconception of the meaning of *ad imprimendum solum*. Their whole usage favors the modern interpretation.[6] It is true that the records do not go back to 1538; but there is a clear and positive interpretation of the meaning of the phrase in a letter written October, 1582, to the Treasurer, Lord Burghley (an authority on the history of printing patents) by William Seres, Junior, a patentee and the son of a patentee who was a charter member of the Stationers' Company with privileges dating back

[6] See an appeal to Burghley, Feb. 5, 1576, against a suit for a monopoly (Lans. MS. 48, art. 76, fol. 176); an investigation of complaints on monopolies in printing (1577?), Arber, S. R., I, 111; the report of the Commissioners on printing, July 18, 1583; and an abstract of the grievances of journeymen printers (1614? S. R., IV, 525-6), stating that "from the beginning of printing his maiesties progenitors by their prerogative Royall did priuiledge such persons as they pleased solly to Print some peculiar books, leaving the rest in generall to the Printers."

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at least to the seventh year of Edward VI. Seres writes of the young stationers who petitioned Privy Council against the patentees:

"And in dede they doe not onely go about to derogate the princes authoritye aswell for graunting of suche like priuiledges as also of all lycences for the transportacon of clothe wolle beare and suche like sayeng in expresse termes that the privilege for sole printinge of all bokes is agaynst the lawe and that her maiestie oughte to sett at libertye the feate of pryntinge both to all prynters and to all free men of the citye of London whether they be skilfull therein or not. Whereby they would have more libertye given to prynters and pryntinge then ever was synce the fyrst Invencon therof ffor yt appeareth by the auntyent order of stacyoners hall ['by which,' says Arber, 'the Craft that preceded the Company is evidently intended'], that no copie of any boke grete or small should be prynted before yt was brought thether and beinge there allowed yt is our order that no man should prynt any other mans copie And besides that yt is evydent that priviledges thereof for certen special bokes was ever graunted by the prynce ffor in the moste parte of all auncyent prynted bokes we reade theis wordes (cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum) and many recordes may be found of the same whereby yt may well appeare that the prynce or magestrate had ever care to comytt the pryntinge of all goode bokes specially of the best sorte to some speciall men well knowne and tryed for their fidelitye skill and habilitye." [7]

The Grafton who was for a long time standing counsel of the Stationers' Company and had access to all their old records used "for sole printing" as if it were a petrified technical term for exclusiveness of a printing patent in conducting a lawsuit for violation of such a grant, "Francis Flower and assigns against T. Dunn and others in 1585" in the Court of Star Chamber (see Arber, S. R., II, 798).

Instances could be multiplied to illustrate the long-continued use of *sole* to indicate the exclusiveness of the monopoly patent. On the other hand, I have never yet seen an instance of *sole* (or *solum*) in any kind of grant that would admit the construction Mr. Pollard gives it.

Mr. Pollard's one attempt to illustrate such usage is inferential, and is based upon a letter which he quotes in his "*Ad imprimendum solum*" from the printer-publisher, Richard Grafton, on

[7] Lans. MS. 48, art. 80, fol. 184 (Arber, S. R., II, 771-2; I, 114).

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Dec. 1, 1538, to Cromwell concerning Grafton's corrected reprint of the text of the New Testament of Coverdale (which had previously been published by James Nicholson in such a way as to give offense to Coverdale):

"I haue also added, as your lordship maye perceaue these wordes, Cum gracia et priuilegio Regis. And the day before this present came there a post named Nycolas, which brought your lordshipes letters to my lorde of harfforde, with thewhich was bounde a certen inhibicion for pryntynge of bookes, and for addynge of these words, Cum priuilegio. Then assone as my lorde of harfforde had receaued yt, he sent ymedyatlye for Mr. Couerdale and me, readynge thesame thynge unto us, in thewhich is expressed, that we shuld adde these wordes (ad imprimendum solum) which wordes we never heard of before. Nether do we take it that those wordes shuld be added in the pryntynge of the scripture (if yt be truly translated) for then shuld yt be a great occasyon to the enemyes to saye that yt is not the kynges acte or mynde to set yt forth, but only lycence the prynters to sell soche as is put forth. Wherfore moost humbly we beseke your lordship to take no dyspleasor for that we haue done, for rather then eny soche thynge should happen, we wolde do yt agayne, but I trust the thynge yt selfe is so well done, that it shall not only please your lordship, but also the Kynges highnes and all the godly in the realme."

We have here, says Mr. Pollard, "the assurance of a man whose business it was to know, that 'these wordes, ad imprimendum solum, we neuer heard of before,' and we have also an expression of a strong dislike to using them which becomes inexplicable if they are translated 'for sole printing,' but if 'only for printing' is the correct version is intelligible enough."

Grafton, it will be remembered, was not then royal printer. Formerly a merchant signing himself "grocer," he had, about 1537, interested himself in publishing. It was as publisher that he first undertook the French Bibles; but by August, 1538 he might be regarded as a practical printer. At that, he might not, four months later, be an expert on the meaning of a phrase adopted by King Henry during his absence on the Continent. Grafton was unexpectedly hit by two items of the proclamation: (1) by the clause necessitating a royal licence for importation of books printed abroad; and (2) by that requiring the addition (or substitution) of the new phrase *ad imprimendum solum*. His titlepage was already in print, and he wished to retain the phrase he had chosen to indicate the royal favor he thought himself already entitled to.

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The letter to Cromwell is a half-apology for letting the title-page stand. Aside from the trouble and expense of changing it, there was probably a special reason for Grafton's desiring to evade the requirement of adding the phrase he "never heard of before" and feared enemies might misconstrue. A brief review of facts connected with Grafton's publication of earlier editions of the Bible will perhaps show why he wished to have and to advertise on the title-page the royal favor, as well as the royal privilege of exclusive printing rights.

Grafton and Whitchurch were the supporters or promoters of the publication of the English Bible as translated by Tyndale and Coverdale. After Tyndale was burned as a heretic, another edition of the Bible was published under the name of *Matthews' Bible,* the alias *Matthews* having been chosen for John Rogers, who continued the work of the translators and dedicated the new edition to King Henry. When 1500 copies had been finished at an expense of £500, Cromwell asked for six copies, and Grafton sent them by a servant. With them went a letter of thanks for Cromwell's assistance in procuring the king's allowance and licensing of the work, "which was thought fit to be signified in the title-page in red letters, thus, 'set forth by the king's most gracious licence.'"[8] And yet, said Grafton, "certain there are that believe not that it pleased the king's grace to license it to go forth. Wherefore, if your lordships pleasure were such, that we might have it licensed under your privy seal it would be a defence at this present, and in time to come, for all enemies and adversaries of the same." (Cleopatra, C, v. 330).

Later in the same year Grafton, writing to Cromwell, ventured a diplomatic reminder of his desire for a license under the royal seal for the issuing of his Bible:

"Whereas I wryt unto your lordship for a prevye seale to be a defence unto the enemyes of this Bible, I understande, that your lordshippes mynde is, that I shall not nede it."

He went on to request also a printing monopoly, or privilege, for a term of years:

"Therefore by your most godly favor, if I maye obtayne the kynges most gracyous privilege, that none shal prynt them, tyll

[8] Strype, *Memorials of Thos. Cranmer*, I, 84-6, 118-122.

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these be solde, which at the least shall not be this iii yere, your lordship shall not fynde me unthankfull, but that to the uttermost of my power I wyll consyder yt. . . . For truly my whole lyvynge lyeth herupon. Which if I maye have sale of them, not being hyndered by any other man, yt shalbe my makyng and wealth, and the contrary is my undoyng. Therefore most humbly I beseche your lordship to be my helper herin, that I maye obtayne this my request' Or else, yf by no means this pryvylege may be had, (as I have no doubt thorow your helpe yt shall) and seeing men are so desirous to be pryntinge of yt agayne, to my utter undoynge as aforsayde that yet forasmuche as it hath pleased the kynges highnes to lycence this work to go abroade; and that it is the most pure worde of God which teacheth al true obedyence, and reproveth al scismes and contencyons: . . . yt maye therfore be comaunded by your lordship in the name of our most gracyous prynce, that every curat have one of them . . . and that every abbaye should have six, to be layd in six several places," etc.[a]

It will be seen that Grafton expresses, in discriminating language, his desire for three distinct and separate marks of royal favor in his printing of the Bible: (1) an allowance, or licence under the privy seal which should protect him and his work against interference by popish bishops or any other enemies; (2) an exclusive privilege, or patent, for his edition, for a term of three years or more; and (3) a compulsory sale of certain copies by royal command. How important the first item was, appears from the history of his attempts to print the Bible in Paris, the interference by the censors, his flight to London, and his dependence upon Cromwell and Cranmer for support in his undertaking to carry on the work at London. It appears also from the clause in the proclamation forbidding importation of English books printed abroad without "his maiesties specyall licence." The work was issued in 1538 with this title: "The new testament both in Latin and English . . . translated and corrected by Miles Coverdale: and prynted in Paris, by Fraunces Regnault, M.CCCCC.XXXVIII. in Nouembre, Prynted for Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch cytezens of London. *Cum gratia et priuilegio regis.*" The volume was dedicated by Coverdale to Cromwell (Herbert I, 512).

Grafton, then, took upon himself the responsibility of using the *cum gratia et priuilegio regis* in a work already in print when the news of the proclamation reached him, thinking it signified, in a

[a] Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, II, 285-7.

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way that had been customary, what Cromwell's promises justified him in claiming, i. e. the royal favor of his enterprise—not only privilege but *licence,* a matter of infinitely more importance than the exclusive printing right. Lack of the latter could only break him financially; but lack of the former might send him to the Fleet (as it did indeed at a later date), or might even imperil his life. Though the French difficulties did not come to a crisis till late in December, 1538, Grafton was certainly aware of them when he wrote that letter of December 1. Had he not good reason to object to the advertising of a mere monopoly patent if he thought himself entitled to claim as well the King's support of his enterprise? Putting in a phrase which changed the meaning of what he had already printed from an advertisement of royal favor to a claim for an exclusive patent might "be a great occasyon to the enemyes to saye that yt is not the kynges acte or mynde to set yt forth, but only lycence the prynters to sell soche as is put forthe."

Inasmuch as the original drafts of the proclamation definitely support the usual interpretation of *ad imprimendum solum* as *for sole printing,* and as the proclamation itself and Grafton's letter concerning it are quite intelligible without resorting to an interpretation which upsets a few centuries of usage, I see no need of Mr. Pollard's innovation.

Evelyn May Albright.

University of Chicago.

DANTE NOTES

III. From Matter to Spirit

In *Paradiso,* XXVIII, as Dante stands in the outermost of the nine material heavens, his transit therefrom to the spiritual world is preluded by the well-known vision of concentric angelic circles revolving about the Point of Light which is God; their velocities are in direct ratio to their nearness to that center, and it is the smallest of the nine which corresponds in speed and divineness to the largest of the corporeal spheres; the infinitesimal Point itself represents, "parendo inchiuso da quel ch'elli'nchiude,"[1] what to

[1] *Par.,* XXX, 12; cf. XXXIII, 90.

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our earthly view is the extreme quantitative opposite—that infinite expanse of the Empyrean, which surrounds the world of sense.

The general purpose of this stupendously ingenious endeavor to reformulate the universe from the standpoint of its spiritual side, where not magnitudes but "virtues"[2] rule, is self-evident; and, while it has won the deserved admiration of readers and commentators,[3] it needs little explanation beyond that furnished by Dante himself, through the mouth of Beatrice, in lines 64-78 of this same XXVIIIth canto.

It seems, however, equally evident to me that commentators in general have failed to correlate with it a host of cognate passages and instances, and have consequently overlooked the far-reaching significance of this inversion of the World as it is involved in Dante's whole cosmogony—that is, specifically, in what I may term the geometry of his superterrestrial itinerary—and, as a necessary concomitant, its importance to our understanding of that puzzling threefold progression in *Par.*, XXX, 46-96, whereby he at last attains to full spiritual vision.

The concept *per se* of the spiritual aspect of the Cosmos as an inversely proportioned counterpart to its material ordering was a sublime inspiration of genius; but it was essentially simple of exposition, in comparison with the superhuman task that confronted Dante when he faced the necessity of describing and explaining in narrative sequence his progression across, or through, the boundary which divides the world of sense from the world of spirit. His living temporal self could not but continue to advance along a centrifugal path, whose direction remained still in the normal space of Euclidean geometry, and which was a resultant of his side-drift in the whirling spheres and of the upward urge

[2] *Par.*, XXVIII, 73.

[3] With here and there an enthusiastic but misguided attempt further to elaborate or to adapt to individual ends its sublime self-sufficiency; for example, in this unhappy anticlimax by Dr. Karl Witte in his essay on "Dante's Cosmography," translated by C. Mabel Lawrence, from his *Dante-Forschungen*, II, 161-182 (1878): "Thus we have followed the poet in his ascent, and have, I hope, returned unharmed to the point whence we started, I mean to your own well-grounded conception of the construction of the universe. For our last vision has been not alien from the teaching of Copernicus—a vision, not indeed of the planets themselves, but of the Spirits that move them, circling around the sun, only in the place of the physical Sun the poet has placed 'the Sun of the angels,' God."

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imparted by his celestial guide; but in order that his apprehension, his soul's eye, might envisage the immaterial reverse of all things, his spiritual ego must undergo a complete involution: it must suffer a reorienting, which by the very terms of the problem is impossible in three-dimensional space, and which would nowadays be described as a rotation through the fourth dimension, in hyper-space—it must be turned "inside out," and will be able then to take cognizance of the World from the outside in.

The modern heresy whereby the classic geometry is transcended with rigorous mathematical procedure was unknown to Dante's time; but the physically absurd problem of extroverting a solid figure, and the closely related one of superposing two symmetrical irregular solids, are, and have been for ages, commonplaces of man's conceptual life. Mentally they are very simple: a homely proof of this with regard to the former case is found in the instant response which an alert mind yields to the story of the hunter *in extremis,* who plunged his hand down the yawning throat of the onrushing bear, grasped the root of his tail, and pulled it violently and instantaneously forward so that the bear was turned wrongside out and ran off in the opposite direction! The latter instance is exemplified every day when a reflected image is compared with its original; and the complicated motions which we so soon learn to make with accuracy while attending to details of our toilet before a mirror show how easily the sensory-motor complex adjusts itself to this utterly supersensuous relation.

Preoccupied, as Dante must have been early in his planning of the *Divine Comedy,* by the necessity of providing for this hyper-spatial transition, it would not be strange if his cannily precise mind—with its plastic and concrete habit of imaging, combined with a mystic esteem of numbers and geometrical forms—should give evidence of its travail in occasional foreshadowings of the final metamorphosis. And that such is the case in many and various instances it will be part of my purpose here to demonstrate.

The aptness, in particular, of the phenomena of reflection so impressed the Poet that a survey of the *Divine Comedy* with this in mind would convince the reader that it almost amounted to an obsession. It is by reflection in the eyes of Beatrice that Dante first is made aware of the Point with girdling rings,[4] whose order

[4] *Par.,* XXVIII, 4-13.

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reverses the material Cosmos. But vastly more important than this, and than all the other instances of reflection—indeed of supreme significance—is the explicit statement in *Par.*, XXX, 100-108, that the great luminous circle forming the floor of the Empyreal amphitheater, the yellow of the Celestial Rose, and which is the "light that makes visible the Creator" to the Blessed, is composed wholly of the Divine "Ray [5] reflected at the top of the Primum Mobile, which takes therefrom its life and power"—*i. e.*, its power of influence upon all the material universe beneath; propagated on downward through sphere after sphere, "refracted" as we would express it in terms of modern optics, it exercises imminent domain and preserves cosmic order in the world of matter; while reflected, reversed, it deploys the spiritual counterpart of this our world, and reveals God to the souls in Paradise. And lest this so clear explanation fail of due emphasis and effective evidentness, the lines which immediately follow present the simile of waters mirroring a flowery slope to illustrate how the Blessed in the lofty tiers of surrounding seats are reflected in the lake of light.

Closely related to this use of reflection is the concept of reversed direction as an index of spiritual reorientation. Not only is gravity inverted for Dante in his journey, and for all things heavenbound,[6] but even the shapes of the heavensprung trees [7] in Purgatory are the opposite of Earth's wont, as if their broadest part—their spiritual base—poised them inevitably thus, to the eye of the spiritually initiated. Analogous to this are two metaphors, of which one likens the nine successive material spheres to a "tree that lives from the top," [8] while the other compares time to a plant whose roots are in the Primum Mobile, and whose leaves are in the lower heavens.[9]

[5] For the Ray, v. *Epist.* XIII (*Letter to Can Grande*) 70: "Et cum omnis vis causandi sit radius quidam influens a prima causa que Deus est. . . ." Cf. *Par.* VII, 74; X, 83; XI, 19; XIII, 58; XIX, 90; XXVI, 33; XXXI, 99; XXXIII, 53, 77.

[6] For Dante, v. *passim* in the *Paradiso*, especially I, 91-3, 109-120, 136-8.

[7] The tree that tantalized the gluttonous, *Purg.*, XXII, 133-4 (probably, too, that in *Purg.*, XXIV, 104) and the tree of knowledge in *Purg.*, XXXII, 40-1.

[8] *Par.*, XVIII, 29.

[9] *Par.*, XXVII, 118-9. One's mind reverts inevitably also to that odd

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And if the geometrical significance of reflection was so fully exploited by Dante—not unnaturally, under the circumstances, as I think I have shown—his whimsical predilection for the concept of reversed direction seems to have been even more widely, as well as subtlely, pervasive in his work. For as early as in the *Vita Nuova* we find the famous upward rain of manna;[10] and in *Paradiso,* XXVII, 67-72,[11] written at least twenty years later, the souls of the Triumph of Christ as they return on high are likened to a lovely snowstorm flaking toward the Empyrean. And may not this quirk of Dante's imagination be responsible for those two odd conceits—both in the *Paradiso,* by the way—which seek to superemphasize extreme rapidity by describing familiar instances of quick action in reverse order; namely, that in *Par.,* II, 23-4: "And perchance in such time as it takes for a shaft to light and to fly and to loose itself from the nut," and that in *Par.,* XXII, 109-10: "Thou wouldst not in that much time have jerked out and put into the fire thy finger"? Another, perhaps wholly unintended, outcropping of this inversion-bias may be suspected in *Par.,* XXXI, 4-12 and 16-18, where the angels trafficking between God and the Rose *give* of their divinely gotten sweetness when they enter the flower, instead of getting it therefrom, as do the earthly bees to which they are likened.

Before leaving this phase of the subject I wish to call attention to a sequence which is developed on a large scale, and which probably for that very reason seems to have escaped the commentators. In the three heavens which are astronomically and philosophically the most notable and magnificent—and beginning immediately the earth's shadow is left behind—respectively, those of the Sun, the Stars, and the Primum Mobile, there are revealed to

conceit at the end of the *Inferno* whereby the cone of Purgatory's mountain is piled up of materials drained from the cone of Hell.

[10] *V. N.*, XXIII, 25:

e vedea, che parean pioggia di manna,
li angeli che tornavan suso in cielo.

[11] Sì come di vapor gelati fiocca
in giuso l'aere nostro, quando il corno
de la capra del ciel col sol si tocca,
in su vid' io così l'etera adorno
farsi e fioccar di vapor triunfanti
che fatto avean con noi quivi soggiorno.

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Dante in succession the three persons of the Trinity: the glow of the Holy Spirit (*Par.,* XIV, 67-78), the Triumph of Christ (*Par.,* XXIII, 16 ff.), and God the Primal Cause with his ministering hosts of Angelic Motors (*Par.,* XXVIII, 16 ff.); and these are presented in *the reverse of the canonical order!* A study of the cantos which lead up to the XIVth suggests very strongly that this was deliberately prearranged and systematically introduced; the apparition of the Holy Spirit is but the climax of an unbroken series of cantos beginning with *Par.,* X, whose first terzina treats of the Trinity, and in all of which Love is the constant theme.[12] In this Canto XIV—which, by the way, begins with another suggestion of reversal: "Dal centro al cerchio, e sì dal cerchio al centro,/ movesi l'acqua in un ritondo vaso,/ secondo ch' è percossa fuori o dentro"—each of the souls in the Sun three times sings the praises of "Quell'*uno e due e tre* che sempre vive/ e regna sempre in *tre e 'n due e 'n uno,/* non circunscritto, e tutto circunscrive" (ll. 28-30)—a formula that reverses the Trinity most effectively and simply. Then, when Solomon has explained (ll. 37-60) the nature of the spiritual bodies after the resurrection, and the souls have evidenced their yearning for the reincarnation of their beloved kin (ll. 61-66) there comes this applauding gleam of the Holy Spirit.[13] Furthermore, there is within the three passages

[12] Cf. *Par.,* X, 1, "amore"; 11, "ama"; 84, "amore . . . amando"; 110, "amor"; 141, "ami"; 144, "amor." Solomon is introduced in X, 109, because of his Song of Songs, the most famous of love songs; St. Thomas Aquinas, who in XI, 32, calls the Church the "Bride of Christ," fills most of Canto XI with the story of St. Francis' love for Lady Poverty; Echo's consuming love is mentioned in XII, 15; in XII, 31, Bonaventura speaks of "l'amor che mi fa bella"; in XII, 43, God "a sua sposa soccorse"; during the narration of St. Dominic's life in the remainder of this XIIth canto he is called, in ll. 55-6, "l'amoroso drudo/ de la fede cristiana"; in 61-2 his baptism is termed "sponsalizie . . . al sacro fonte intra lui e la fede"; cf. 74-5: "il primo amor che 'n lui fu manifesto,/ fu al primo consiglio che diè Cristo"; 84-5: . . . "per amor de la verace manna/ in picciol tempo gran dottor si feo." Canto XIII is a corollary to Canto X, and is taken up in explanation of Dante's second doubt about Solomon (which St. Thomas Aquinas says, in l. 36, "dolce amor" invites him to clear up). In this same XIIIth canto St. Thomas Aquinas mentions the Trinity three times (ll. 54, 55-7, 79-80).

[13] Within Solomon's speech is another, purely verbal, reversing (ll. 38-51): raggerà (and chiarezza) < ardore (and amore) < visione < grazia >< grazia (and gratuito lume) > vedere (and visione) > ardor > raggio.

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which register this "reversed Trinity" a group of parallelisms in words, ideas, and images, which confirm the hypothesis that the series was deliberately planned.[14]

Returning to the specific theme of introversion, or extroversion, I hope to show, finally, as I suggested early in this article, how it offers a rational explanation of the hitherto obscure threefold gradation in Dante's attainment to full spiritual vision (*Par.*, XXX, 46-96). As they leave the Primum Mobile and enter the Empyrean, Beatrice instructs Dante[15] that they "have issued forth from the greatest material body of the universe to the heaven which is pure light"; but that it is "intellectual light full of love," not physical light. Immediately[16] Dante finds himself bathed in light; but he is unable with his now utterly overwhelmed natural vision to see anything. Then, he says, in a moment he felt[17] that he was "rising above his (normal) power, and was re-endowed with a new sight capable of enduring any (physical?) light;[18] and he saw light in the form of a river, between two banks marvelously painted with the colors of spring; from the stream were issuing lively sparks that entered the flowers and plunged again

[14] *Par.*, XIV, 69, "rischiari," XXIII, 18, "rischiarando," XXVIII, 16, "raggiava lume"; XIV, 78, "occhi miei che, vinti, non soffriro," XXIII, 33, "viso mio, che non la sostenea," XXVIII, 17-18, "il viso ch'elli affoca/ chiuder conviensi per lo forte acume." The lucent ring of the Holy Spirit transcends Dante's powers of vision, hence we are not told that it disappeared, or how; but it is in the returning of the triumphant host of Christ that the inverted snowstorm is introduced—reversal *suggested;* while in the vision of the Point and Circles, reversal is insisted upon. The *coming* of the Holy Spirit's effulgence is compared to the appearing of the stars at dusk (XIV, 69-72); the *coming and the going* of Christ are likened, respectively, to the moon among the stars (XXIII, 25-7) and to the hidden sun illuminating flowery meads through a broken cloud (XXIII, 79-81); the *going* (disappearance) of the angelic Circles recalls the fading of the stars at dawn (XXX, 1-9).

[15] XXX, 38-40. [16] XXX, 46-54. [17] XXX, 57-60.

[18] Here (l. 59), for the fourth *and last* time in this canto, is used the word "luce"; cf. ll. 39, 40, 49; henceforth, beginning with l. 61, "lume" is used four times (ll. 61, 100, 112, 116). Can it be that this was intentional? Preceding and following cantos seem to make no observable distinction between the two words; this, however, is a subject which perhaps would repay further investigation.

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ceaselessly into the wondrous torrent."[19] But Beatrice restrains his impatience to understand, and warns him that he "must drink of this water before his thirst may be quenched"; and she explains that his sight is yet unripe, and that "the river, the gem-like sparks, and the flowers are mere foreshadowings of the truth."[20] Quickly he stoops, to "make still better *mirrors* of his eyes; and, as his eyelids drink of the luminous stream, it seems to him from its length to have become round, and the flowers and the sparks reveal themselves as the Blessed souls and the Angelic host." That is, Dante's sight, which at first had been comprehended, swathed, unseeing, *inside*[21] the spiritual world of light, having passed through some sort of preparatory stage of transition (the river, or *line,* of light), now itself is *outside* of, and capable of comprehending, embracing, the spiritual light, that lies before it like a stupendous circular sea. With the references to reflection which surround this passage,[22] to aid us in maintaining a readiness to accept the process of introversion so expressly inculcated two cantos back in the vision of the Point and Circles, it is not hard to believe that, whatever the allegorical meaning of the river of light may be, its *geometrical* significance is that it in some way represents the transition from *within* an envelope of spiritual light to *without.*[23]

At any rate, exultant in his new and supreme power of vision,[24] Dante may now contemplate at his leisure the height and the length and the breadth of the Heaven of Heavens; having passed from the in-side to the out-side of the Cosmos, from the material to the spiritual world, from the temporal to the eternal, from flux to quiet, from striving to Peace, from the obverse to the reverse,

[19] XXX, 61-69. [20] XXX, 70-81. [21] XXX, 49-51.

[22] Lines: 85; especially 107, *v. supra,* p. 143; 110; 113.

[23] Does he mean to suggest that the new aspect began to *flow* into his view as a *line?*—or are the *two sides* of the river a symbol of the duality of the universe, the boundary of which he is now crossing in vision? The geometrical complex is somewhat intricate, if we note that here the sparks go *up from,* and *downward to,* the river; while the angels they prefigure come *down from* and *back to* the Point of light on high; and take into further consideration the fact that the circular pool of light, into which the river seemed changed, is said to be formed by reflection—from the Primum Mobile—*of* that Point.

[24] XXX, 95, 97, 99: ". . . vidi/ . . . vidi/ . . . vidi."

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from the objective to the subjective, he stands again in three-dimensional space with its familiar angular and linear distinctions and magnitudes.[25] But with only spiritual objects to intercept his line of sight, and a vision to which even matter would be no screen,[26] he sees the whole without let or hindrance; and his only struggle is for strength to mount with that purified vision to the ineffable heights of the Divine Ray.

HERBERT D. AUSTIN.

University of Southern California.

THE POSSIBLE SOURCE OF KLEIST'S *FAMILIE SCHROFFENSTEIN*

The word source, or *Quelle,* has, when applied to many of the works of Heinrich von Kleist, a quality of vivid imagery often lacking in its use. From some small source, a picture, an anecdote, or a bit of history, his drama or story takes its rise; as it passes through the vividly creative imagination of the author it grows in volume with the influx from his own personality, his intuitive grasp of human emotions, and his literary reminiscences. In the end we look upon a creation which is so completely *Kleist* that we feel the formal, external source to be of infinitesimal importance. As the obscure Phaon lives only because of Sappho so the insignificant source of many a work of Kleist interests us only because of its service in letting loose the pent-up powers of the poet.

Striking instances of this characteristic quality of Kleistian sources are given us in the origins of *Der zerbrochene Krug, Prinz Friedrich von Homburg, Das Kätchen von Heilbronn, Die Marquise von O . . . ,* and, I believe, of *Die Familie Schroffenstein.* Had it not been for the rather unusual conditions under which *Der zerbrochene Krug* came into existence, by the competition between Kleist and his two friends, we should probably never have heard of the engraving, *La cruche cassée,* which hung on Zschokke's wall. Kleist's comedy is more than an interpretation; it is a creation. Kleist's *Kätchen* is infinitely more important in German literature

[25] Cf., e. g., XXXI, 19-24, 47-8, 52-4, 73-8, 115, 121-2.
[26] XXXI, 19-24.

than is Bürger's *Graf Walter,* and has undoubtedly been seen and enjoyed by thousands who have never read Bürger's poem. The dramatist's indebtedness to the poet is exceedingly slight: the dog-like faithfulness of the maid, the harsh indifference of Count Walter, the existence of a rival, the final union of the Count and the maid—these general *motifs* existing in the poem are made use of, but motivation, characterization, and the strikingly picturesque setting of the play are genuinely and exclusively Kleistian.

Livy's story of the Master of the Horse, Quintus Fabius, is developed with the rhetorical detail that was dear to this author's heart, and it gives Kleist the essential *motifs* of a victory won through disobedience of orders, impending punishment by death, protests from the army, and final repentance and pardon. Again, however, the motivation of Kleist's drama is everywhere his own; of the anguish of death through which Homburg passes and from which he comes forth purified Livy contains no hint, and it is just this element of the drama which makes Kleist's work worthy a place in the world-literature. The painting by Kretschmer exhibited in 1800 and the engraving by Chodewiecki would seem to me to be only of secondary importance, if any, as sources of *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg.* To the lines from the *Mémoires* of Frederick the Great a more profound significance is undoubtedly to be attached. The narratives of Livy and of Frederick the Great have in common the idea of a battle won through disobedience of orders and the threat of punishment by death for this disobedience. This community of ideas in the two sources would seem to have brought about the synthesis from which *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* resulted.

The *saftige Anekdote,* as Erich Schmidt[1] calls it, from Montaigne, is a source even more insignificant than those already cited. In Kleist's story of *Die Marquise von O . . .* the three fundamental features of the original story, to be sure, are used: the act of violation, the advertisement, and the subsequent marriage. For Montaigne the anecdote was a piquante illustration of his general theme. In the fecund imagination of Kleist it becomes a study of the feminine soul, and the heroine passes through a *Verwirrung*

[1] Introduction to *Kleists Novellen* in the critical edition of Kleist's works published by the *Bibliographisches Institut,* Leipsic and Vienna.

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des Gefühls to a *Klärung des Gefühls* in a way that reminds one strikingly of the struggle of Homburg.

I have laid stress on the relative unimportance of the sources of the above-mentioned works, and the dominant importance of Kleist's creative power in them, because I believe that in *Die Familie Schroffenstein* we have an even more striking illustration of a richly imaginative drama developed from a source offering seemingly as little dramatic impulse as the sources of *Der zerbrochene Krug* or *Die Marquise von O* . . . .

The source of *Die Familie Schroffenstein,* which developed by way of *Die Familie Ghonorez* from the scenario entitled *Die Familie Thierrez,* is to be found, I believe, in a briefly outlined story published by Wieland in *Der Teutsche Merkur* of 1776, vol. 4, page 180, entitled *Ein Pulver wider die Schlaflosigkeit, in einer dramatischen Erzählung* (*Aus dem Universal Magazin*). The story in the *Merkur* is attributed to Wieland himself and was transformed and enlarged by him later into *Die Novelle ohne Titel,* which appeared in the fall or winter of 1803 in the *Taschenbuch der Liebe und Freundschaft* for 1804 as an *Erzählung* from *Das Pentameron von Rosenhain,* and was published in the *Hexameron von Rosenhain* in 1805.

The story of *Ein Pulver wider die Schlaflosigkeit* is briefly as follows: Don Felix, a Spanish noble, and his wife, have one child, a daughter by the name of Angelina. A second child is soon to be born. Don Pedro, a wealthy brother of Don Felix, returns to Spain from South America, and promises to make the child who is soon to be born his sole heir, provided it be a boy.

The child, when born, proves to be a girl, but in order not to lose the inheritance the parents announce that it is a boy, name it Pedro in honor of the wealthy uncle, and rear it as a boy. The uncle dies some years later, entirely disinheriting Ferdinand, a relative whom he has reared and to whom he has seemed to be very much attached; all Don Pedro's possessions are left to the suppositious boy Pedro.

The young Ferdinand is a welcome guest at the house of Don Felix, and falls in love with Angelina; Angelina loves another youth; the sister, Don Pedro, falls in love with Ferdinand. Don Pedro, whom Ferdinand takes into his confidence, assures the latter that Angelina loves him, and promises to arrange a tryst

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for the following evening. To this tryst Don Pedro comes in feminine attire and cleverly manages to have Ferdinand, who believes he is dealing with Angelina, agree to marry her the following evening.

Numerous complications result and Don Felix is informed of what has happened, "Aber," relates Wieland, "er war eben so sehr, als sie (the daughter Pedro), für die schlimmen Folgen besorgt, die daraus entspringen möchten, wenn man dem Ferdinand den listigen Streich entdeckte, der ihm war gespielt worden." Ferdinand is called in, and to him Don Felix says: "Da, mein Herr . . . sitzt das Frauenzimmer, das Ansprüche an Euch macht. Wir alle bitten Euch um Vergebung, dass wir Euch so lange hintergangen haben. In Eurem Freunde Pedro sehet jetzt Eure Gemahlin, und empfangt mit ihr ein wichtiges Gut, das der Gerechtigkeit nach Euch schon gehörte und in dessen Besitz Euch der Gott der Liebe, ohne Euer Vermuten, wieder eingesetzt hat." Pedro throws herself at the feet of her husband and asks his forgiveness, so the noble Ferdinand readily pardons her, accepting her love and the heritage.

After the story comes the following paragraph:

"Und so bliebe denn dem gutherzigen Leser nichts übrig, als diesem zweifachen glücklichen Paar eine gute Nacht zuzugähnen und—vollends einzuschlafen. Unsere allzeit fertige Dramatifexe aber werden sichs hoffentlich nicht zweimal sagen lassen, was für ein schönes, romantisches, aktionvolles, tragicomicononsensicalisches Drama in fünf Aufzügen aus dieser schönen Erzählung zu fabrizieren wäre. Das Meiste ist ihnen, wie Sie schon sehen, vorgearbeitet; und es braucht wirklich nichts, als das Ding in Akte und Scenen zu zerschneiden, und die einzelnen Scenen mit *Lieux-communs* oder *Non-sense,* wie es dem Herrn Verfasser am gelegensten ist, auszufüllen. . . ."

Assuming that Wieland's story in the *Merkur* served as the starting-point for Kleist's drama we may ask, To what extent does Kleist make use of the dramatic elements contained in his source? And we may answer frankly, Very little. It is self-evident that the type of comedy ironically suggested by Wieland in his closing paragraph would make little appeal to Kleist, or to any one else, for that matter. Kleist's characters are not wishy-washy in their sentiment; in their tragic moods they are more elemental than any characters that Wieland was able to conceive of.

Considering other works of Kleist in reference to their sources,

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however, we may well believe that the suggestion of Wieland that here was material for a complete drama might serve to stimulate Kleist to treat the subject in his own way, creating more fundamental passions and a violent clash of subjectively justified interests. This was his method of approach in other works.

This clash of interests subjectively justified is established by transforming the unscrupulous but rather puerile *act* of deceit on the part of Don Pedro's parents, as narrated by Wieland, into a *spirit* of distrust and unscrupulousness active in both branches of the family till the one-time friendship between the two houses is finally changed into murderous hate. This transformation is accomplished by substituting for the will in Wieland's story, around which possible conflict might center, a pact dating back two generations. In *Die Familie Thierrez* [2] this pact becomes the kernel from which the entire conflict is developed: "Alonzo und Fernando von Thierrez sind zwei Vettern, deren Grossväter einen Erbvertrag miteinander geschlossen haben."

This very brief but fundamental sentence in the first paragraph of the scenario is developed in *Die Familie Ghonorez*,[2] lines 181-189, as follows:

KIRCHENDIENER. Herr, Von alten Zeiten her gibt's einen Erbvertrag zwischen den beiden Häusern von Gossa und von Ciella; einen Erbvertrag sag ich, kraft dessen nach dem gänzlichen Aussterben des einen Stammes das sämtliche Besitztum desselben an den andern Stamm fallen sollte.

ANTONIO. Zur Sache, das gehört zur Sache nicht.

KIRCHENDIENER. Ei wohl, Herr, der Erbvertrag gehört zur Sache. Denn das ist so viel, als wolltest du sagen, der Apfel gehöre nicht zum Sündenfall.

A further advantage for the drama has been obtained by making the pact a matter of long standing; the resultant distrust and jealousy have had time to take firm root and grow: "es sind zwanzig Jahre vorbei" says the sexton, that the first mistrust between the two houses became manifest (*Fam. Ghon.* line 206).

The changes that Kleist thus makes for the proper motivation of his tragedy are scarcely greater than those which he makes in the source of the *Marquise von O . . .* , when he substitutes for

[2] *Die Familie Thierrez* and *Die Familie Ghonorez* are both printed in the first volume of Kleist's works in the collection contained in the *Deutsche National-Literatur*.

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the young rustic a sensitive and scrupulously honorable young noble, and for the farmer's widow a woman of virgin spirit akin to that of Alkmene.

The scene of both *Die Familie Thierrez* and *Die Familie Ghonorez* is laid in Spain, as in the story in the *Merkur.* The change of scene and of the name to *Die Familie Schroffenstein* was made later, apparently at the suggestion of Kleist's friend, Ludwig Wieland. To the fact that the name Pedro appears in both the story and the drama, and that Ferdinand, Fernando, appears in the scenario as the representative of one of the hostile branches of the family I should hesitate to attach great importance.

The possibility of settling the entire question of the inheritance by the union of the two houses is made use of by Kleist; in Wieland's tale the difficulty is in fact resolved by this union. The *motif* appears in the scenario as an essential part of the exposition of the drama, and in immediate contrast to the primary theme of distrust.

Here was the link which readily bound together the elements furnished by Wieland and those which Kleist took over from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet.* Of this element in the drama Erich Schmidt says in his introduction to *Die Familie Schroffenstein:* "ohne Capulet und Montague kein Rossitz und Warwand, ohne Romeo und Julia kein Ottokar und keine Agnes, ohne die versöhnliche Gruftscene Shakespeares nicht dieser sehr unglaubhaft zum Frieden der aussterbenden Häuser führende Schluss in der Höhle . ." "Dass blinder Hass eine und dieselbe Familie spaltet," he says also, "ist Kleists Verstärkung." The material for this *Verstärkung* Kleist developed, I believe, from Wieland's story.

As one examines the scenario of *Die Familie Thierrez,* and notes the feverish haste with which it was written down, one receives the impression that Kleist has suddenly found or conceived the essential elements for a *Trauerspiel des Misstrauens*;[3] with this conception is fused almost instantly that of a reconciliation in grief, suggested by *Romeo and Juliet.* The two essential themes of Kleist's drama are found in embryo in the tale of Wieland.

Harvard University. GEORGE M. HOWE.

[3] A characterization of the play by Erich Schmidt in his introduction to *Die Familie Schroffenstein*; he calls it also a "tragedy of errors."

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"MONK" LEWIS AND THE *TALES OF TERROR*

In connection with the article "A Bibliographical Myth" in the February (1922) number of *Modern Philology,* it is perhaps right to call attention to my note in "The Earliest English Translations of Bürger's Lenore," *Western Reserve University Bulletin,* May 1915, p. 60. I there referred to the second printing at Kelso of Scott's *William and Helen,* with which I was especially dealing, quoted the passage describing the rare Kelso booklet, as given in Lockhart's *Life* (Pollard's ed. I, 275), and added in a footnote:

> The similarity of title to that first proposed by Lewis for his *Tales of Wonder*, and the fact that most of the pieces were printed in that work in 1801, have given rise, I believe, to the long accepted idea that Lewis printed *Tales of Terror* at Kelso in 1799. I shall deal with that subject in another place.

There is no need to explain why I did not deal further with the subject in print, but some notes on Miss Church's excellent article may be of value. In addition to Johnstone's article in the *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society's* publications, reference should be made to the *Ballantyne Press and its Founders* privately printed in 1909, which gives a further account of the Kelso *Apology for Tales of Terror.* Especially it prints a facsimile title-page of what purports to be a proof form of the booklet. The latter, once owned by Edward Dowden and later by R. H. Dodd of New York, is now in the Yale University Library. It consisted of fifty-eight pages only, ending with Scott's *William and Helen* on p. 57. Its title-page, which differed slightly from that of the copies in the Abbotsford and Harvard libraries, was as follows:

> Tales/ of Terror/ type ornament/ —A thing of shreds and patches/ Hamlet (slightly below and to right of line of quotation)/ Kelso/ Printed by James Ballantyne/ at/ The Kelso Mail Printing Office/ 1799/

Perhaps Professor Henry Morley's reference to the *Tales of Wonder* as of 1800 may be incorrect for all copies, since he was so often inaccurate in other matters, but in this case he agrees in date with the *British Critic,* the first publication to mention the *Tales* so far as I have found. Its review, in the number for

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December 1800, doubtless printed at the beginning of the following year after a custom of the time, has this heading:

Art. 16. Tales of Wonder. Written and Collected by M. G. Lewis Esq., M. P. Author of the Monk, Castle Spectre, Love of Gain, &c., &c. Two volumes. Large 8vo. 1£. 1s. Bell. 1800.

That the volumes were printed in 1800, though doubtless most of them with the imprint of 1801, is clear from a letter of Anna Seward of Lichfield, January 5, 1801 (*Letters* v, 342), in which she notes having received the *Tales of Wonder.* It is therefore possible that some copies of the *Tales* were dated 1800. The matter for the work had been in the printer's hands since April, as shown by Scott's letter to James Ballantyne April 22, 1800 (*Life* I, 279). Very likely issue in 1800 was intended, as Scott seems to have thought, and delays brought the work so near 1801 that the later date was used for the most part.

Miss Church criticises Professor Morley for saying in his reprint he was reproducing the *Tales of Terror* complete, "except that four leaves missing in the *Tales of Terror* [that is, the copy he was using] compelled the omission of one tale, because another copy of the book could not be found." Professor Morley correctly referred, I think, not to the *Wolfe-King* as Miss Church thought, but to the last and additional poem of the second edition of the *Tales of Terror,* which did occupy the last four leaves of that edition. That poem was the *Abbot of Leiston, An Old English Tale,* which will be found in the New York Public Library reprint of the Terror Tales where it covers the last four leaves, or more exactly seven and a half pages of the last octavo sheet.[1] For Morley's omission of the *Wolfe-King,* I have no explanation, unless an imprint without that tale was actually in his hands.

Lockhart did misinterpret Scott's letter to Ballantyne in April 1800 (*Life* I, 279), yet Scott had apparently contemplated publishing his ballads himself, owing to the delay in the *Tales of Wonder.* At least a letter of Lewis, February 3, 1800 (*Appendix* to *Essay on Ancient Ballad,* Henderson's ed. of *Minst. of Scot.*

[1] The New York Public Library reprint, which seems to explain Professor Morley's statement above regarding the missing leaves, is said to be "From the Second London Edition, Philadelphia, Publ. by M. Carey, Robert Parker, Printer, 1813."

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Border IV, 58), refers to "copies of the Ballads" in the hands of Bell of London, who had published Scott's *Goetz of Berlichingen* in 1799. Again, in the last sentence of the letter to James Ballantyne (*Life of Scott* by Lockhart, Pollard's ed., I, 279), Scott says: "I am still resolved to have recourse to your press for the Ballads of the Border, which are in some forwardness." In this sentence, which Miss Church did not quote, the "still" certainly looks to some undertaking which Scott had previously planned with Ballantyne. Besides, Scott had on hand a sufficient number of pieces to make a small volume, more than usually supposed as I hope to show in a forthcoming article on the "*Early Literary Life of Sir Walter Scott.*"

That Scott was referring to the *Tales of Terror,* in his "a very clever parody was made on the style and person of the author" (*Essay on the Ancient Ballad*), may perhaps be put more positively than does Miss Church. The purpose to satirize the terror tale and burlesque those who wrote it is shown by some lines of the *Introductory Dialogue,* in which the "author" answers his friend's objections:

Oh! cease this rage, this misapplied abuse,
Satire gives weapons for a nobler use;
Why draw your sword against my harmless quill,
And strive, in vain, a *ghostly muse* to kill?
That task is *ours:* if I can augur well,
Each day grows weaker her unheeded spell;
Her eager votaries shall fix her doom,
And lay her spirit in Oblivion's tomb.[2]

Both the *Critical Review* and the *British Critic* call attention to the burlesquing of Lewis's volumes. The former mentions *Grim, King of Ghosts,* as a parody on Lewis's *Cloud-King.* The latter had no doubt of the intent of the new volume, and says explicitly of the *Tales of Terror,* they "appear by their enormities to be a well-imagined and well-executed burlesque on the said Tales of Wonder." Yet there was another venture of the same sort about the same time, and this may have been in Scott's mind, though I think it less likely. Immediately after its notice of the

[2] The date of the *Dialogue,* Mar. 1, 1801, shows how promptly the *Tales of Terror* followed the *Tales of Wonder.*

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Tales of Terror, the *British Critic* of June 1801 (p. 649) reviews *Tales of the Devil,* of which the reviewer says:

> These also are a ridicule of the Tales of Wonder, and are ornamented with a very humorous frontispiece representing the Professor mentioned in the title-page at his studies, with his diabolical attendant at his back.

The *Tales of the Devil* are said to be "from the original gibberish of Professor Lumpwitz, S. U. S. and C. A. C. in the University of Snorinberg," and the book was published by Egerton. In Halkett and Laing's *Dictionary of Anonyms* the *Tales of the Devil* are accredited to H. W. Bunbury, presumably the caricaturist of that name.

Finally, it may be added that Scott's *Erl-King,* which Miss Church says "does not seem to have been published during his [Scott's] lifetime," was printed in the *Scots Magazine* of January 1802 (Vol. LXIV, p. 72). There, it is true, the poem is signed "E. F.," but it is clearly Scott's version, as the note accompanying it clearly points to Scott, and apparently to his permitting its use. The note reads:

> After the numerous translations from the German which have appeared in this country, we conceive it to be needless to illustrate the popular mythology of the Erl-King, or spirit of the woods, according to the Germans. The beautiful German song of the *Erlkoning* has been translated by Mr. Lewis, the ingenious author of the Monk and other performances, and by Mr. Taylor of Norwich, the original translator of the celebrated *Lenore.* For the following version, which was executed before the publication of any of those we have mentioned, we are indebted to a Scotish [sic] literary gentleman, whom we do not hesitate to place at the head of those who have cultivated this species of poetry in this country.

At this time the *Scots Magazine,* which had been purchased by A. Constable & Co. in 1801, was edited by Scott's friend John Leyden.

The poem is conclusively shown to be Scott's earliest version to be published, from its essential agreement with that privately printed in the few copies of the *Apology for Tales of Terror* (Kelso 1799). It seems worth reprinting from a photostat copy in my possession, obtained through the kindness of Professor E. C. Baldwin of the University of Illinois.

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For the Scots Magazine

THE ERL-KING

From the German

O! who rides by night thro' the woodlands so wild?
It is the fond fond father embracing his child,
And close the boy nestles within his loved arm
From the blast of the tempest, to keep himself warm.

"O Father! see yonder!" see yonder! he says.—
"My boy, upon what dost thou fearfully gaze?—
"O! tis the Erl-King, with his staff and his shroud!"—
"No, my love! it is but a dark wreath of the cloud.

The Phantom speaks

"O! wilt thou go with me, thou loveliest child!
"By many a gay sport shall thy hours be beguil'd;
"My mother keeps for thee full many a fair toy,
"And many a fine flower shall she pluck for my boy."—

"O Father! my Father! and did you not hear
"The Erl-King whisper so close in my ear?"—
"Be still my loved darling, my child be at ease!
"It was the wild blast as it howl'd thro' the trees."—

The Phantom

"O wilt thou go with me, thou loveliest boy!
"My daughter will tend thee with care and with joy;
"She shall bear thee so lightly thro' wet and thro' wild,
"And hug thee, and kiss thee, and sing to my child."—

"O Father! my Father! and saw you not plain,
"The Erl-King's pale daughter glide past thro' the rain?—
"O no; my heart's treasure! I knew it full soon,
"It was the grey willow, that danc'd to the moon."—

The Phantom

"Come with me, come with me, no longer delay.
"Or else, silly child, I will drag thee away.—
"O Father! O Father! now, now keep your hold!
"The Erl-King has seized me—his grasp is so cold."—

Sore trembles the Father; he spurs thro' the wild,
Clasping close to his bosom his shuddering child;
He reaches his dwelling in doubt and in dread;
But, clasped to his bosom, the infant was dead!

Variants from the form of the poem in the *Apology for Tales of Terror* are few in number. Those which are probably scribal

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are the repetition of *fond* in the second line; the failure to include in the quotation the second *see yonder* of the first line in the second stanza; the reading *a gay sport* for *gay sports* in the second line of the third stanza; and *trembles, spurs* for *trembled, spurr'd* in the first line of the last stanza. Typographical variants are more numerous. In the *Apology for Tales of Terror* the words *father, child, boy, mother, darling, daughter, grey willow, moon* begin with capitals in all cases. *Loved, flower, seized, clasped* are printed *lov'd, flow'r, seiz'd, clasp'd.* In line seven *tis* is printed *'tis.* There are no dashes at the end of lines, and there are other slight differences in the punctuation. *The Phantom Speaks* and *The Phantom* are in brackets, to show more clearly that they are not in the original. Quotation marks are not omitted at the close of speeches, as at the end of lines two and four in the second stanza, two in the sixth, and two in the seventh.

Variants from the version usually printed, and first included among Scott's poems by Lockhart, are more important. In line four, *From the blast of the tempest* is altered to *To hold himself fast,* a closer translation. So in stanza two *staff* is altered to *crown.* Before the third, fifth, and seventh stanzas *The Phantom speaks* and *The Phantom* give place to *The Erl-King speaks* and *Erl-King.* In the third stanza *wilt thou go* is altered to *come and go,* and *hours* to *time.* In stanza four *close* is *low, loved* is *heart's, howl'd* is *sung.* Fifth stanza, *hug* becomes the more genteel *press.* Sixth stanza, *no* is *yes.* Seventh stanza, *Come with me, come with me* are displaced by *O come and go with me.* On the whole the changes in the later version seem weaker, and I suggest that they may have been made by Lockhart rather than Scott. Perhaps some version in the Abbotsford library might settle the question.

Western Reserve University. OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SHELLEY SOCIETY

All students of Shelley who had been aware of the great service rendered to his memory by Mrs. Alfred Forman in her skilful representation of Shelley's Beatrice at the Shelley Society performance of *The Cenci,* May 7, 1886, in London, will welcome Professor White's timely recognition of the services of this talented

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actress in that connection (*MLN.* XXXVII, 411-415). I say "timely" because *The Cenci* has lately been presented by an able cast headed by Miss Sybil Thorndike and Mr. Robert Farquharson, at the *New Theater,* London. The performances already reported took place on November 13, 20, and 27, and December 4. A note accompanying a portrait of Mr. Farquharson as Count Cenci, in *The Sketch,* (London) November 29, stated that the matinee performances above noted had "been found so successful that it [*The Cenci*] had been 'promoted' to a place on the evening bill at the New for a short season, ending on Dec. 9."

Professor White has restated many facts connected with the Shelley Society's courageous "revival" of the play which ought to be more generally known than they have been. But some assertions in Professor White's article seem to me to challenge inquiry.

In the first place he states: "The most ambitious and spectacular activity of the Shelley Society was the performance of *The Cenci* at the Grand Theater, Islington, on May 7, 1886." Does not this statement need qualification? From the best evidences at my command I gather that from 2300 to 2400 persons witnessed this performance; but more than 3000 heard the public rendition, under Shelley Society auspices, of Dr. W. C. Selle's musical setting for *Hellas,* November 16, 1886. An orchestra and choir of 120 performers participated in this great choral effort.

A foot-note to Professor White's article states: "Mrs. Forman informs me that the date [of the performance of *The Cenci*] was chosen as a compliment to Robert Browning, who was born on May 7." The fact that the performance took place on Browning's birthday, and that the poet was present, with James Russell Lowell, on the occasion, was noted in several London papers at the time and was recorded in the *Shelley Society Notebook*. It seems strange, however, that no statement to the exact purport of Mrs. Forman's was made in any of the Shelley Society's publications in which a great deal of space was devoted to the play. Mrs. Forman has, no doubt, good grounds for her statement. It was at any rate altogether fitting that the Society should do this; for it is related that Browning in youthful enthusiasm over this play had, many years earlier, sent a copy of it to Kean, urging him to produce it. In 1833 he had published (in *Pauline*) the eulogistic lines on Shelley beginning:

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> I ne'er had ventured e'en to hope for this,
> Had not the glow I felt at His award,
> Assured me all was not extinct within:
> His whom all honor;

in 1851 had written an essay on Shelley as an introduction to the spurious Shelley letters issued over Moxon's imprint in the following year; and in 1855 had given the world the famous *Memorabilia:*

> Ah, did you once see Shelley plain,
> And did he stop and speak to you
> And did you speak to him again?
> How strange it seems and new!

Professor White may have other authority than that he cites for the statement that Miss Genevieve Ward "had even attempted to organize a private production" prior to the revival by the Shelley Society of *The Cenci.* The *Shelley Society Notebook,* which he names as his authority, says only: "a private performance to carry out the notion was seriously discussed a very few years ago."

More serious is his allegation that "the Shelley Society was formed with the avowed primary purpose of producing *The Cenci.*" The sentence in the *Shelley Society Notebook* which may have led Professor White to make this declaration is this, from the pen of the then-Secretary, Mr. Thomas J. Wise: "As it is impossible to contemplate a Shelley Society which had not for one of its primary objects the production on the boards of this grand tragedy [*The Cenci*] members will not be surprised to hear, that on the very day on which a Shelley Society was first suggested to its energetic founder, Miss Alma Murray received an invitation to undertake the part of Beatrice Cenci. Fortunately for our Society, Miss Murray at once acceded," etc.

Now it will be observed that the Secretary did not make the statement made by Professor White. The production of *The Cenci* might have been *one* of the primary objects of the Society's founders. It was certainly not the sole purpose of the organization. The Secretary's statement, just quoted, tallies with the announcement conveyed by the original Prospectus (dated 8th December 1885) of the Society, that "This Society is started to gather the chief admirers of the Poet into a body which will work to do his memory honour, by meeting to discuss his writings, qualities, opinions, life, and doings; by getting his plays acted; by reprinting

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the rarest of his original editions; by facsimileing such of his Mss. as may be accessible; by compiling a Shelley Lexicon or Concordance; by getting a Shelley Primer published; by generally investigating and illustrating his genius and personality from every side and in every detail; and by extending his influence." Further on in the Prospectus we read: "The present age is beginning to do justice to the high qualities of his genius, and it is but natural that those men and women who appreciate it should desire to band themselves into a Shelley Society, in which they can commune together and take steps to reach ends which, individually, they could not attain. One of these is the performance of Shelley's plays." In a pamphlet issued by the Society in the early part of 1887, and headed simply: "The Shelley Society" the "Committee" recommended a list of rules for the Society, the first of which read: "The Shelley Society has for its object the study, discussion, and illustration of the Works and Personality of Shelley, the publication of papers on them, and of Shelleyana, of facsimiles of his first editions and his Mss., and of a concordance-lexicon of his Poetical Works, the performance of his Plays, and generally the extension of the study and influence of the Poet. The Society is constituted for ten years, from January 1st, 1886, but may be continued from time to time by vote of a General Meeting."

This same pamphlet also clears up the mystery left unsolved by Professor White as to who originated the idea of forming a Shelley Society. Says the pamphlet: "The first suggestion for the formation of a Shelley Society is due to one of its present committee men, Mr. Henry Sweet. At the end of one of their then customary Sunday walks, viz., on December 6th, 1885, Mr. Sweet asked our now treasurer, Dr. Furnivall, why . . . a Shelley Society should not be established. Dr. Furnivall . . . resolved then and there to found a Shelley Society. Next day, December 7th, he spoke to Mr. W. M. Rossetti and others, ascertained that a small nucleus of support for starting such a Society might be counted upon, and lost no time in launching it, for better or for worse."

"Forman's edition of Shelley's works," says Professor White, ". . . and Lady Shelley's *Shelley Memorials* appeared several years before the formation of the society, but have strong Shelley Society affiliations, as does Dowden's biography of the poet, which was published during the first year of the society's existence."

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What these "strong affiliations" can possibly be, one wonders. For how could works published, respectively, in 1859 and 1876-80, many years prior to the organization of the Shelley Society, and how could another work undertaken in July, 1882, at the request not of the Shelley Society (yet unborn) but of Sir Percy and Lady Jane Shelley be said to have "strong Shelley Society affiliations"? I cannot discover that Professor Dowden was even at a later date a member of the Shelley Society; though it is true that Sir Percy and Lady Jane Shelley, and Mr. H. Buxton Forman ultimately became members of the Society. Other "strong affiliations" there may have been, but Professor White should point these out.

The life of the Shelley Society, according to Professor White, "ended shortly after the production of the play [*The Cenci*]." The phrase "shortly after" may have been used with some latitude; but at least it is certain the Shelley Society "constituted," as we have seen, "for ten years," was still extant in 1892, when it published Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy* as No. 13 of the Second Series of its *Publications*; and in 1906, when Thomas J. Wise (who has, probably, the finest collection of Shelleyana in any private library in England) and Percy Vaughan edited a reprint of the original edition of Shelley's *Necessity of Atheism* for the Rationalist Press Association, the publication was said to be issued "by arrangement with the Shelley Society." Thus we are bound to conclude that the society was dowered with a longer life, and actuated by more "primary purposes" than Professor White has allowed.

Indeed, to sum the matter up, the Shelley Society set out to accomplish and did accomplish a great deal more than the production of *The Cenci*. Its meetings were serious and thoughtful; the papers prepared by its members for presentation at these meetings have, in many cases, taken rank as minor classics of Shelley criticism. The list of the publications of the society includes at least 20 books; and not one of these is without its value to the Shelley student.

I could have wished that we might have had, on all these matters, the present-day views of Mr. Wise, one of the last of the Titans of the original Shelley Society. Perhaps we may yet hear from him.

College of Wooster. WALTER EDWIN PECK.

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A ROMANCE SOURCE OF THE SAMSON EPISODE IN THE *ÞIDREKS SAGA*

Of all the versions of the Ermanarich Legend the *Þiðreks Saga* [1] is the only one which mentions three sons of the king, called Frederick, Reginbald and Samson. Ermanarich's evil councillor, Sifka, induces the king to send the two oldest to Vilkinaland and England to demand tribute, and causes them to perish on their way. Then he accuses the youngest son of having tried to violate Sifka's daughter. Ermanarich, who is just on a hunting expedition, in great anger rushes upon the innocent young man and pulls him by the hair so that he falls from his horse and is trampled to death by his father's steed.[2]

In a forthcoming monograph I shall try to show that the motif of the violation of Sifka's daughter must be considered a "doubling," very unskillfully done by the author of the saga, as it is absurd to suppose that Ermanarich killed his son for a crime of which Ermanarich himself had been guilty. I shall also point out that the compiler had recourse to this device because he was at a loss as to how he could motivate Samson's death, the Svanhild episode having dropped out of the continental version of the Ermanarich Legend which was the basis of that part of the *Þiðreks Saga.*

Finally, the saga stands alone in attributing to Samson this mode of death. The old Scandinavian (Icelandic) versions of the Ermanarich Legend are unanimous in having the king's son end his life on the gallows.[3] This variant was also known to the Low German poem *Koninc Ermenrîkes Dôt* [4] and to Saxo Grammaticus.[5]

[1] *Þiðreks Saga af Bern,* ed. by Henrik Bertelsen, København, 1905-11. Cf. also Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss,* II, 1, Strassburg, 1901-9, p. 859; R. C. Boer, *Zeitsch. f. Deutsche Phil.,* XXV, 439; *Die Sagen von Ermanarich und Dietrich von Bern,* Halle, 1910, pp. 90 ff.; *Neophil.,* III, 194; J. de Vries, *ibid.,* III, 36; 99 and 191; H. Friese, *Thidrekssaga und Dietrichsepos,* Inaug. Diss., Berlin, 1914.

[2] Ed. cit., II, 163-4.

[3] O. L. Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensagen,* Erster Band, Strassburg, 1898, p. 76.

[4] Cf. Symons, *Zeitsch. f. Deutsche Phil.,* XXXVIII, 145; Von der Leyen, *Die deutschen Heldensagen,* München, 1912, p. 176.

[5] *Gesta Danorum,* ed. A. Holder, Strassburg, 1886, p. 280.

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The other versions that have come down to us do not specify the mode of death of Ermanarich's son. So the question must be asked, did the compiler of the *Þiðreks Saga* invent this episode, or did he work on some source now lost?

The most probable theory at first sight would be to suppose it a remnant of the Svanhild episode, for in the oldest versions of the cycle it is Svanhild (Sunilda) who is done to death under the hoofs of horses.[6] It is not easy to accept such a theory, inasmuch as the story of Svanhild's death has left practically no traces at all on the continent and no other traits in the *Þiðreks Saga.* On the other hand, the Eddic sources were not used by the author of the saga. We have no way of telling whether they were known to him. The evidence tends to show that he worked according to Low German models, and Icelandic influences would have to be proved, before we could hold them responsible for the Samson episode. We should, therefore, rather look for a continental parallel which might have some connection with the saga, and such a parallel exists.

There was current, in Western and Central Europe, a legend which narrated the infidelity of the wife of the Emperor Constantine the Great. It is alluded to in the *Tristan* of Béroul,[7] in the *Ensenhamen* of Bertran de Paris de Rouergue (13th cent.),[8] in the *chanson de geste Auberi le Bourguignon* (13th cent.),[9] in the Old French *Blasme des Fames* (13th cent.),[10] and in the *Bible* of Guiot de Provins (end of the 12th cent.).[11] It is nar-

[6] This is the theory of Symons in Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 1900, p. 680: Alte Züge der Sage von Sônhilds Ermordung scheinen in der *Þs.* c. 280 für den Tod von Ermanarichs Sohn Samson verwandt zu sein, den der erzürnte Vater auf der Jagd vom Pferde reisst, sodass er unter die Hufe von Ermanarichs Ross gerät und zertreten wird Cf. also Jiriczek, *op. cit.*, p. 111; W. Müller, *Mythologie der deutschen Heldensage*, Heilbronn, 1886, p. 176, n. 2; Heinzel, *Ueber die ostgothische Heldensage, Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Kl., CXIX*, p. 5.

[7] *Le Roman de Tristan* par Béroul, p. p. Ernest Muret, Paris, 1903, p. 9, vvs. 277-284.

[8] Bartsch, *Denkmäler d. prov. Lit.*, Stuttgart, 1856, pp. 85-88; cf. Arturo Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*, Torino, 1882-83, II, 109.

[9] Adolf Tobler, *Kaiser Constantinus als betrogener Ehemann*, *Jahrbuch f. rom. u. engl. Spr. u. Lit.*, XIII, 1874, p. 104.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

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rated in full in the *Weltbuch* of Enenkel (middle of the 13th cent.)[12] and may be outlined as follows.

Constantine entrusts to his chancellor the care of striking money with the imperial portrait. The chancellor has a brother who, though a hunchback, succeeds in winning the favors of the Empress. The prince hears of this scandal, surprises the guilty couple, kills the lady with his sword and causes his horse to trample to death the unfortunate lover. The chancellor, to avenge the death of his brother, strikes coins representing a man in the act of stabbing a woman, and then departs the realm. Enenkel adds that in Rome a statue was to be seen, of the Emperor Constantine on horseback, riding over the cripple.

Arturo Graf points out[13] that the *Caballus Constantini* was the mediæval name of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, now before the Palazzo del Senatore in Campidoglio, in the middle ages on the Piazza di San Giovanni in Laterano. Its proximity to the church constructed by Constantine was undoubtedly the cause of the statue's being given that name. The figure of the "hunchback"[14] was originally the representation of some subjugated people. It was the real starting point of the legend.

The *Caballus Constantini* did not escape the attention of the German pilgrims, who interpreted it as representing Dietrich von Bern on his horse *Falke*.[15] This is actually the version of chapter 414 of the *Þiðreks Saga*.[16] It is therefore natural to suppose that according to another variant of the popular legend the statue was connected with Ermanarich, who was known to have ruled over Rome[17] and to have killed his son. This interpretation accounted for both the horseman and the figure representing the subject people. Since the latter disappeared during the middle ages,[18]

[12] Von der Hagen, *Gcsammtabentcuer*, Stuttgart u. Tübingen, 1850, II, 380-2.

[13] *Op. cit.*, II, 110.

[14] In many versions of the story of the disloyal wife her adulterer is a cripple, hunchback, or dwarf. Cf. Heinzel, *Ueber die Walthersage, Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist., Kl., CXVII*, pp. 90 f.; Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, I, 303 ff.; II, 436; 441 f,; 455.

[15] Müllenhoff, *Zeitsch. f. Deutsches Altertum*, XII, 325-327.

[16] *Ed. cit.*, II, 357.

[17] Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, n. 1; 151.

[18] Graf, *op. et loc. cit.*

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the conclusion would be that the variant connecting the monument with Ermanarich was prior in time to the one recorded in chapter 414 of the saga. The Norwegian compiler made use of both variants, without being aware of their contradicting each other. The connection of the Ermanarich Legend with the statue can therefore not have been known to the authors of the saga, who incorporated in good faith two contradictory German accounts.

According to these facts, the episode would go back directly to the legend attached to the *Caballus Constantini* and originating with the German pilgrims in Rome. However, there is ground for the supposition that the legend of Constantine in written form had some direct influence on the Samson episode. How does it happen that the *Þiðreks Saga* gives a biblical name to a figure of Old Teutonic Heroic Legend? I offer the following explanation.

In many of the accounts where the infidelity of Constantine's wife is mentioned, the poets inveigh against the fickleness of the fair sex in general and in this connection cite other illustrious names of heroes who in matters matrimonial were not much luckier than the Emperor Constantine. Thus the passage in *Auberi le Bourguignon* reads:

Par femme sont maint home abatu:
Rois Constantins, qui tant estoit cremus,
En fu hounis, ce aves vous seü,
Par Segucon, qui moult ot court le bu,
Ce fu uns nains petis et mescreüs;
Sept ans la tint, ains qu'il fust parcheü.
Sanson Fortins en perdi sa vertu,
Qui par la siue en perdi sa vertu.
(Var.: fu en dormant tondu[s].)

The *Blasme des Fames* mentions Solomon and Samson besides Constantine as the victims of conjugal infidelity. The same is true of the passage in Guiot's *Bible*. Constantine the Great and Samson the Strong are also found together in the romance of the *Comte de Poitiers,* where, however, the motif of conjugal disloyalty does not enter.[19] Adolf Tobler points out that Samson is practically always mentioned in the enumerations of the victims of woman's wiles and intrigues.[20] It is therefore very likely that the author of the German original of that part of the *Þiðreks Saga* worked

[19] Tobler, *op. cit.*, p. 107. [20] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

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out the episode from a legend circulating among German pilgrims in Rome and attached to the *Caballus Constantini*, but that he also knew of the story of Constantine and his disloyal wife which he had before him in written form. Being a German, and preferring his own heroic legend, he very naturally refused to believe the story of Constantine. What did Constantine matter to him? But he did look it over to find the name of the victim; for he probably reasoned thus: It is true, the Italians committed a blunder in ascribing the episode to their own Constantine, but might they not have been right in the name of the young hero? So he was willing to take that name over into his narrative. But connected with the story of Constantine there was in his text a long invective against women, and Samson was cited. Owing to a mistake that had crept into the manuscript or to an oversight on the part of the German minstrel, he took Samson to be the name of the young man trampled upon by Constantine's or Ermanarich's horse. Thus it happened that the biblical name slipped into the German original and hence into the *Þiðreks Saga*.[21]

In conclusion: the Samson episode originated with the legends current among German pilgrims in Rome and attached to the *Caballus Constantini*; the name of Ermanarich's youngest son is due to the direct influence of some version of the Legend of Constantine and the mistake of some scribe or compiler.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

Flat River, Mo.

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[21] W. Benary, *Die germanische Ermanarichsaga und die französische Heldendichtung*, Halle, 1912, p. 63, supposes that Samson was named after his grandfather; but we know that in cyclic legends the ancestors are apt to be younger than the heroes themselves. It is therefore possible that in the *Þiðreks Saga* the grandfather received his name from the grandson. It is to be noted that in a Danish ballad this Samson, Ermanarich's father, is likewise unfortunate in his domestic affairs, his wife being abducted by a rival. Cf. S. Grundtvig, *Folkeviser*, I, 55; Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 152; A. Rassmann, *Die deutsche Heldensage und ihre Heimat*, Hannover, 1857-63, I, 326; II, 301.

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REVIEWS

Sagen aus Friaul und den Julischen Alpen gesammelt und mit Unterstützung von Johannes Bolte herausgegeben von Anton v. Mailly. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922. xvi, 128 pp.

It is a great pleasure in these troublous times to find that scholars abroad are still able to find publishers and a reading public for works that appeal to a limited class of readers. This is especially true of books relating to Folklore and the FF *Communications* in Finland and the *Tales of All Nations* in Jena continue their useful publications. It is fortunate that this is so, for the readjustments of the Great War have so changed old boundaries that popular customs and traditions will be profoundly altered and their collection rendered more difficult. This is the case with the field covered by von Mailly's interesting volume, which comprises the present province Venezia Giulia, made up of the former Austrian Coastlands, Trieste, Görz-Gradiska and Istria with the interlocking territories of Carniola and Carinthia, and the western part of the old March of Friuli which came to Italy in 1866 when Austria ceded Venice.

Four years before the war this Austrian coastland had a population of 355,000 Italians and Furlanians, 265,000 Slavs and 28,000 Germans. It is interesting to note that the dialect of Friuli (spoken in 1914 by half a million persons) resembles the Rhaeto-romanic dialect of the Grisons and the Tyrol more closely than Italian. As regards their popular beliefs and customs they have naturally been affected by those of their neighbors the Italians (Venetians), Slovenes and Germans.

Next to the Furlanians in interest come the Slovenes with a language spread over their territory as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. Their beliefs and customs, too, have been deeply influenced by those of Friuli and of the people of the German Alps, while their myths show the influence of their Romance neighbors. It is characteristic, as von Mailly remarks, that many legends of both peoples contain a religious undertone and that the ecclesiastics play in them an important rôle either as protectors of their flocks or as combattants of heathendom. No

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extensive collection of legends has yet been made in the province of Venezia Giulia which became so widely known during the war from the bloody struggles in the valley of the Isonzo. This deficiency von Mailly has endeavored to make good from the scattered literature and oral tradition of his native country and to throw a clearer light upon the obscure forms of the beliefs of the Italians, Furlanians and Slovenes in regard to the spirit world. From all appearances the changes in the political and economic conditions will not be without influence upon the duration of the ancient traditions of the people.

The work contains one hundred and forty *Sagen* divided into twelve chapters: ghost stories, elves and tree spirits, spirits of the water, demons and witches, giants and dwarfs, legends of hidden treasures, animal stories, sinful deeds and their punishment, church and cloister legends, legends of the saints, castle legends, and historical stories. The work closes with fourteen pages of excellent notes and an index of localities.

The reader is struck at once by the resemblance of these *Sagen* to those of other countries as regards ghost stories, and, naturally, ecclesiastical legends. The range of human experience with the other world is narrow indeed, and the diffusion of *Sagen* is as wide as that of *Märchen*. Some of the legends are widely diffused in all parts of Italy, as for example, that of St. Peter's mother (No. 125), who selfishly shook off the lost spirits who clung to her skirts as she was released from hell by her son's intercession. See Crane's *Italian Popular Tales,* pp. 316, 362, where many references to the wide diffusion of this legend may be found. The same is true of the Don Juan legend (No. 6), see Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 236, 370. Another widely diffused story, more *märchenhaft* in its character is (No. 77) "Righteous Retribution," a version of the famous *fabliaux* "La housse partie." A real fairy tale is No. 23, iii, a form of the Grimm *Märchen* (No. 110) "Der Jude im Dorn."

Sometimes the patron saints involved are changed, as for example, in No. 114 where the well-known legend of the pilgrim to the shrine of St. James is attributed to St. Leonard. An echo of Schiller's *Die Teilung der Erde* is found in No. 120 where the rich get all earthly goods, the monks, patience, while the poor must bear their own burdens.

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There are not many historical *Sagen,* but among them is (No. 14) a legend of King Matthias, who, the peasants believe, is not dead but asleep in a cavern, like Frederick Barbarossa in the corresponding German legend. It is especially interesting just now to find references (No. 145) to the incursions of the Turks into Friuli in the second half of the fifteenth century. A local legend (No. 85) recalls the Great War. A little chapel near the village of Reka on the road to Tolmein was for military reasons destroyed many years ago in the war between Austria and Italy. The scanty treasure of the chapel was carried to the parsonage nearby. When the war was over the inhabitants returned to Reka and at night saw ghosts haunting the ruins of the chapel as if they wanted to restore the treasures of the former church. The congregation resolved to rebuild the chapel and restore the treasures. This they did and were no longer disturbed by spirits. In the war of 1915 it again became necessary to destroy the new chapel, but the parishioners for fear that they would again be haunted by spirits, begged the military authorities to spare the chapel. Their entreaties prevailed, the chapel was spared and covered with boughs which concealed it from the enemy.

I should like to call attention to the attractive form of the book, the valuable preface with bibliographical references, and the notes which owe much to Dr. Johannes Bolte, easily the first scholar of Europe in his field of comparative storiology.

Cornell University. T. F. CRANE.

Germany and the French Revolution. By G. P. GOOCH. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1920. Pp. vii, 543.

While the author of this volume cannot in any sense of the word be called a Germanist, his reputation resting upon such works as *The Annals of Politics and Culture, A History of our Time, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century,* and *Political Thought in England from Bacon to Halifax,* he has written in the present book an important treatise on a much neglected subject which will be indispensable to every student of Eighteenth-Century German literature and thought, and does credit to English scholarship. His purpose is " to measure the repercussion of the French Revolu-

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tion on the mind of Germany." A sketchy first chapter "Before the Revolution" gives us the necessary historical background for the study, the political condition of the country under the moribund Holy Roman Empire. It is followed by the "First Echoes" voiced enthusiastically by such men as the novelist Friedrich Scholz, the pedagogue Campe, the writer Halem and the historian Johannes Müller, each being given the stage successively. Then follow the writers of the Hanoverian school, headed by Schlözer. They yield in turn to a host of individual writers, chief among them being Gentz, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, the Schlegel brothers, Novalis, Hölderlin, Tieck, Schleiermacher, Jean Paul, Iffland, Kotzebue, Kant, Fichte, Hegel and Georg Forster. Thereupon the Germans in France, headed by Melchior Grimm, are given the floor, and the position and attitude of leading women such as Henriette Herz and Rahel Levin are discussed. A comprehensive account of the reaction of the Revolution, from a geographical and sectional point of view, upon Prussia, Saxony, Brunswick, Hanover, Hamburg, Weimar, Gotha, the Rhineland and the South, in six chapters, followed by a rather inadequate Conclusion, closes the volume.

The following paragraph serves to sum up the author's findings:

"The French Revolution was compared by Klinger to the magic work of Medea, who cast the dead limbs of old age into the boiling cauldron to emerge young and beautiful; and Forster expressed the wish that his country would warm itself at the flame without being burned. The aspiration was destined in large measure to be fulfilled. While in England the reform movement was thrown back forty years by the earthquake and the storm, in Germany it was strengthened and accelerated. If Saxony and Mecklenburg remained unaffected by the winnowing fan of the Revolution, and the old governments of Hanover, Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel on their return restored many of the old abuses, Prussia, the Rhineland and the South learned in a generation of conflict and suffering the secret of enduring advance. Even Treitschke is compelled to admit that the constitutional ideas of the Revolution everywhere struck root on German soil; and without the Revolution the famous Article xiii of the Act creating the German Federation would never have seen the light. The ringing blows of Thor's hammer awoke the nation from its slumbers, and rendered the ultimate disappearance of feudalism and autocracy inevitable. The political unification of the nation was deferred for a couple of generations; but the signal for its deliverance from the thraldom of medieval institutions and antiquated ideas was sounded by the tocsin which rang out in 1789."

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The above outline of a bulky work covering 550 pages must necessarily be very incomplete. Gooch has amassed a mountain of material, giving all types of German opinion on the subject, from that contained in ephemeral pamphlets of writers whose names have never before appeared in any English work, but who are indispensable for a fair estimate of the question, to that voiced in the classics of German literature. When we consider that he was a pioneer in the subject, that his work represents a first gleaning of boundless materials, we must admit that the author has done admirably. To be sure, it may be justly charged that he is rather a gleaner than a penetrating critic or analyst and that he neglects men of affairs in favor of men of letters. On the other hand, he has a fairly good knowledge of the vast monographic field that confronted him. As for omissions, Reiff's work on Gentz in the Illinois *Studies* should have been mentioned and the present reviewer's monograph on *The Holy Roman Empire in German Literature* in the Columbia University series might possibly have saved the author some preliminary labor, if nothing else. The significance of Storm and Stress as a precursory symptom of the Revolution and the works of Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, the Prussian statesman and writer, should also have been considered.

Frequently Gooch tends to overstate his case by crediting the French Revolution with more influence upon German writers than it probably had. A study similar in scope to the present one, treating the effects of English liberalism of the time upon the German mind, would serve as a counterbalance in this respect, although it would not be as productive of material. The best sections in the book, that is, those revealing at the same time the most critical acumen and the best balanced judgment, are perhaps those on Herder, Schiller and Forster. The English translations of German prose, so far as they have been examined, are not always faithfully literal.

Undoubtedly the book is an important contribution to the history of German thought as well as to historiography. Some of the material is new; some of it has hitherto been almost inaccessible; much of it is familiar, at least to students of German history and literature; but as a whole it had never before been collected in a single volume.

Washington, D. C. EDWIN H. ZEYDEL.

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Vie et Œuvres de J.-J. Rousseau. By ALBERT SCHINZ. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1921. xi + 382 pp.

In this all-French edition of selections from Rousseau's works, Professor Schinz has given us, as was to be expected, a book of real value. He has wisely discarded the ordinary arrangement of Life *and* Works in favor of one which places the selections that give Rousseau's ideas in their proper position chronologically in the midst of those of a biographical character. Thus the first of the four parts into which the book is divided deals with the "Enfance et Jeunesse de Rousseau," the second with "Les Premiers Ecrits," the third with "Les Grandes Œuvres," and the fourth with "Les Dernières Années." The biographical selections are of course almost entirely from the *Confessions.* The "notes explicatives" of the editor are so incorporated into the text as to make the necessary transitions easy and clear. The Rousseau selections are well chosen and are of sufficient length so that the reader escapes the impression of "choppiness" which usually results from "Morceaux choisis." Wisely also the editor has chosen to present adequately the *Confessions,* the two *Discours,* the *Lettre à D'Alembert,* the *Nouvelle Héloïse, Emile,* and the *Contrat social,* omitting lesser works, interesting as they often are, in order to give more space to those of the first rank. The eight illustrations, mostly portraits of Rousseau at different ages, are a valuable addition to the general attractiveness of the text which is a credit both to editor and publisher.

Those to whom every thing connected with Rousseau is ever and always anathema will object doubtless to Professor Schinz's declaration in the Preface: "Nous serons sympathiquement objectifs. . . . Il faut savoir mettre en lumière les beaux traits, et les généreuses idées—celles qui seules le rendent grand; et ne pas appuyer sur le reste" (p. iii). The quarrels with Madame d'Epinay and the Encyclopedists, the question of Rousseau's children, the break with Hume, the cause of Rousseau's death, all these matters which have been, and still are, the objects of so much bitter controversy, are but briefly mentioned by the editor. Some will rejoice to see the thought of Rousseau thus presented with the minimum of polemics; others will feel it indispensable that, even in a school edition, all these questions, so difficult, perhaps impossible, of complete and

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certain solution, should again be raised. There is no way of satisfying both groups at the same time. However that may be, if this new edition of Rousseau's works, compact and excellent as it is, should lead more people to read and ponder Rousseau himself instead of merely reading *about* him, it will have performed a real service to the study of eighteenth-century French literature.[1]

[1] A few questions of detail seem subject to special comment. Before Rousseau, the Abbé Prévost had also lived on the money from his writing (p. 125, *n.* 2). "Voltaire et Rousseau," adds the editor, "vécurent de leurs livres; Voltaire, grâce à son génie des affaires, . . . Rousseau grâce à une stricte économie." In justice, ought not mention to be made also of aid in lodgings or in pensions furnished Rousseau by friends such as Mme d'Epinay, the Maréchal de Luxembourg, and others? It would be fair also to point out that Emile's instructor descends at times to deceit or at least to bad faith and deserves to forfeit the complete confidence of his pupil. In his comments upon the "fromage" of La Fontaine's fable, is not Rousseau rather ridiculous? (p. 234). P. 33, *n.*, add the Abbé Gâtier (cf. pp. 41 and 276, n. 2). P. 48, in the sentence "Venture m'avait appris cet air avec la basse sur d'autres paroles, à l'aide desquelles je l'avais retenu," is it justifiable to omit without indication the very significant word "infâmes" after "paroles"?

P. 270, note that Montesquieu also had especially emphasized the importance in history of "les petites causes." He had also attacked the principle of severe punishments (p. 330). P. 348, *n.*, it surely should be pointed out that Montesquieu had called attention to the value of a confederated state, especially in making a republic an effective form of government for a large territory. Pp. 378-79 one would expect also to see Montesquieu's name in connection with the theory of the separation of governmental powers. P. 350, Rousseau, in concluding that Christianity is not favorable to making a state strong, is expressing an opinion especially emphasized by Bayle.

There are a certain number of typographical errors. P. iv, read "pensée" for "pensées"; p. 6, *n.* 1, the setting off by commas of the phrase "de ses maigres ressources" would add to the clearness; p. 7, *n.* 2, Lesueur, *Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire*, dates from 1672, not 1762; p. 15, *n.* 1, capitalize "bible"; p. 19, line 16, read "à la fois" for "à fois"; p. 55, line 7, "à la fin du XVIIIe siècle" is manifestly an error for the first part of the century; p. 126, line 8, read "Galley" instead of "Gaffney"; p. 191, line 11, insert "de" before "Muralt"; p. 224, line 8, insert a hyphen after "donnez"; p. 229, line 8, add *s* to "autre"; p. 278, line 20, read "peut être" for "peut-être."

GEORGE R. HAVENS.

Ohio State University.

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The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt. Anonymous Elizabethan Play, edited from the Manuscript with Introduction and Notes by WILHELMINA P. FRIJLINCK. (Amsterdam: H. G. Van Dorssen, 1922.)

Dr. Frijlinck was happy in the choice of her doctoral dissertation, for there has been great need of a scientifically edited text of this fine play which has for so long been inaccessible save in the larger public libraries, since the editions of Bullen (1883) and of Fruin (1884) have for long been out of print. Moreover there were errors in Bullen's transcription of the manuscript (British Museum, Add. Ms. 18,653), and he made no effort to decipher the numerous erased passages some of which contained matter of importance. Fruin's edition was a mere reprint of Bullen's text. Dr. Frijlinck has gone back to the Ms., and has been able not only to correct Bullen in numerous places but also to supply the deleted portions of the text. Some idea of the difficulty of this undertaking may be had from the page of the Ms. finely reproduced in photogravure in her edition. In her textual apparatus she has closely followed the methods of the Malone Society.

After some account of the Ms. and an outline of the course of the play, Dr. Frijlinck discusses the date and stage-history of *Barnavelt.* On the former problem she has little to add: 1619 remains certainly the date; but she defines it further as probably (on the basis of internal evidence) between July 14, and August 14, 1619. She cites several well-known analogous instances of prohibition of plays: Nashe, Chapman, and Massinger having suffered at the hands of the censor. The dramatists were always ready to bring contemporary historical events upon the stage. The excitement in England over the Arminian controversy and the pro-Spanish leanings of King James the First account for the suppression of *Barnavelt*; the editor easily refutes the theory of Delius that the play so promptly disappeared from the stage merely because the public was bored by the subject. A long examination of various contemporary pamphlets leads Miss Frijlinck to the conclusion that Massinger copied more literally from the sources than did Fletcher but that both dramatists knew the prejudiced and partial pamphlets that appeared in England. "If Barnavelt's figure in the play is not true to history," she says, "the sources are to blame for it." She makes mention of four old prints that

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are of interest in connection with the play, all having to do with one phase or another of the Barnavelt trial. She does not mention the curious and interesting allegorical picture by Cornelius Saftleven of the trial of Barnavelt that hangs in the Rijks Museum (no. 2104) and that shows the serene and dignified Barnavelt surrounded by a crowd of fierce beasts: elephant, tiger, jackass, wolf, bear, goat, and so forth. There is little likelihood, however, that the dramatists knew this painting. Nor has she attempted to run down other references to Barnavelt in the Jacobean drama. The only one that I know of occurs in Glapthorne's play *The Hollander* (ed. Pearson, 1874, vol. I, p. 85). The larger matter of the general interest in the Low Countries revealed by the dramatists was beyond her scope.

Space is lacking here for any examination of Miss Frijlinck's results from her analysis of the play into the Massinger-portion and the Fletcher-portion. I can only say that they carry conviction, and that she is able to correct Professor Louis Wann both in his statement that "to Fletcher fell the production of the comic action" (for here, as in various other plays, Fletcher is also occupied with the serious action in parts) and in his statement that with the exception of one scene all critics agree as to the apportionment of scenes between the two dramatists. Miss Frijlinck's study of the aesthetic value of the play and of its historical value are exhaustive and admirable. It is in the latter section that she most shows the advantage that she possesses of being a Dutch woman. The whole subject is more clearly before her mind than would be possible in the case of a foreigner and she is better able to judge the achievement of the English dramatists.

Her notes are scholarly, succinct, and reticent — occasionally, perhaps, too reticent, when she passes over with brief comment some interesting matter upon which further light could have been thrown by reference to other plays.

Bryn Mawr College. SAMUEL C. CHEW.

French Reference Grammar for Schools and Colleges. By J. E. MANSION. New York: D. C. Heath and Co., [1921]. 247 pp.

This is the American edition of a British work entitled "A School Grammar of Present-day French" (Harrup, June, 1919),

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and its author is listed as Late Senior Modern Language Master in George Watson's College, Edinburgh. He has had some forty years' experience with French, and uses as a basis for his grammar a collection of illustrative examples carefully made up from accredited modern writers—crisp and fresh and pleasing examples that give a distinct character to the book, though never of a nature to distract the student's attention from the principle illustrated. Building up over them, the author purposes to break away from tradition and to present the usage of today, defining properly certain things as laws and giving others, too often set down as laws, only as tendencies of the language. Distinction is to be made whenever possible between the spoken usage of the educated and the purely literary written usage, and a first attempt is made—inadequate, he calls it—to point out a few of the means by which French emotional effects are obtained: the *affective* usages. This latter is one of the outstanding and interesting features of the work.

In a review of the book in the *Modern Language Journal,* May, 1922, pp. 473-78, Mr. E. T. Hacker calls attention to a number of defects which should be eliminated in subsequent editions, defects resulting from an excessive desire to define and classify which is a general fault of the book. It is not the purpose of this review to repeat or enlarge the list of these detailed criticisms, and it may be stated in passing that Mr. Mansion is as a rule cautious in his statements. In the matter of the order of personal pronoun objects with the imperative—*Donnez-nous-les,* Art. 330, 331—Mr. Hacker cites [page 477] Fraser and Squair, which does not recognize it, but Mr. Mansion in his preface gives the Plattner *Ausführliche Grammatik* as one of his authorities, and we find him corroborated, Vol. I, Art. 178, rem. 2.

Taking up the general construction of the book, there are two divisions. Part I deals with the various parts of speech in order, their accidence and syntax. Part II treats the sentence as a whole.

In dealing with the parts of speech, Mr. Mansion naturally begins with verbs, and gives an extensive treatment. His presentation of the forms is to my mind the least interesting and teachable part of his whole book, despite the excellent occasional detail. The matter of groups and classes is from the outset carried to an extreme. It is a prime requisite, for instance, that in any grammar

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the irregular verbs be easy to find. Here there is a first division into five groups, according to infinitives, *-er, -ir, -re, -oir,* and defectives like *gésir* and *ouïr.* Within the groups there is a second division according to stem—twelve for example among *-re* verbs— and at last an alphabetical listing. There is no such thing here as rapidly running through your pages to the desired form. The most hurried and impatient worker is driven each time to the appended index list, page 49.

The treatment of the regular conjugations is in the main like that of other books, with a break from the old tense names like Imperfect, Conditional, Past Definite to the newer (and to my mind cumbersome) terminology of Past Descriptive, Future in the Past, Past Historic, etc.

He puts before the student in an interesting way that the *-er* verbs form the "living" conjugation and shows their great numerical superiority to the others. He gives helpful lists of all the 2nd plurals in *-tes,* of all the 3rd plural presents in *-ont,* the special stem subjunctives like *sois* and *sache* and *puisse,* and all the imperatives built upon subjunctive stem like *ayez, veuillez.* The presentation of tense usages is by a system of simple diagrams. If the student masters them for present, preterite and imperfect, the rest will follow, and this most difficult of subjects seems here clear and teachable.

The handling of the infinitive is interesting and helpful, but with the very serious defect of no final reference lists for verbs with *de* or *à* or direct infinitive. Most verbs specifically mentioned are found in the final index of the volume, but a younger student in search of the proper usage with verbs as common as *persuader, forcer, enseigner,* would find nothing by which to guide himself. Possibly no reference lists in grammars are in more constant use than these very ones.

A most excellent list, however, is the one which he gives in Art. 115—a synopsis of English usages in *-ing,* and the French equivalents. Nothing is more baffling to the teacher than the persistent effort of even the best students to introduce the *-ing* constructions into their French. Here the student sees his French and English in parallel columns and can appreciate the difference between the languages for typical expressions like *a raging storm, I found him reading the paper, seeing is believing, cease firing, he burst out laughing,* etc.

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One would like to discuss in detail Mr. Mansion's handling of the nouns and pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions, were there time and space. There is less of the tendency to overclassify and to elaborate, and there is a wealth of material that is interesting and helpful and presented in a new way.

In Part II of the Grammar, entitled "Sentence Construction," are taken up, in a little less than one-fourth of the whole book, the matters of Word Order, Simple Sentence, Complex Sentence (which principally means Subjunctive Usage), Tense Sequence, etc. The material is usually grouped under the parts of speech with which the relation is closest, but Mr. Mansion justly observes, in his preface, that it is as a part of sentence structure that the bearing of many of these things is most clearly grasped.

The discussion of Sentence Construction opens with his paragraphs (312-326) upon the Principles of Word Order, possibly the most interesting section of the book and consisting of material presented for the first time, so far as text-books for our American schools are concerned. In it there seems to be a ray of hope for that most discouraging matter of original composition in French. Teachers know that even when the difficulties of vocabulary are past, the most conscientious of these themes are hopelessly English. An occasional pupil may develop some feeling for the French sound and rhythm, but his instinct is no sure guide. Here the thing is reduced to definite principles—a most fascinating new division of French study, practical and interesting, capable of being grasped and understood. The word group is defined and explained, the matter of stressed and unstressed elements and the vast difference between English voice stress and French position stress receive attention. There is discussion of the relative values of initial and end position in the normal speech, and of the reversal of the whole principle when speech becomes affective. The student is shown how to attack the simple sentence *Henry gave me the book,* and so handle it that any one of its members may receive the emphasis. He is shown the necessity of choosing proper words for stress positions, the reason for the position of the proclitics, and the prime importance of striking the proper balance between word order and lucidity. The remaining sections of Part II are not essentially distinctive and outstanding, but occasionally offer valuable details. Here one gets the reflection of some of the author's long experience as a teacher.

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In sum, this is not a book for beginners. At the same time it is not exclusively, as some of the brief publishers' notices would suggest, a book restricted to the use of the advanced college student, the graduate student, or the teacher. It would be an entirely possible book and a very valuable one in an upper preparatory school or almost any college class. It contains no exercises, but it offers an exceptional opportunity for teaching much needed "straight grammar," for following up the meticulous teaching given in the schools to students preparing for college entrance examination. And in addition to its availability for class purposes, it is a peculiarly fit book to put into the hands of a very common type of student who finds himself floundering about in the earlier college courses. Graduated from his beginners' book and set at composition and the translation of more advanced texts, he finds himself in constant need of a reference grammar that is adequate, and the college instructor is constantly called upon to suggest one for him. Fraser and Squair's Part II is perfectly good for the student who has been taught through it, but dry and difficult for him to attack alone. The man who confesses to you that he has never been able to see through tenses, who is all at sea upon adjective position or demonstrative pronouns, can be sent to Mr. Mansion's book.

This is also a reference book of a high order for the secondary school teacher, generally without access to the few college libraries where original authorities are to be found. In it he can find valuable material to supplement almost any subject that he wishes to present, and always interesting suggestions.

While there are certain faults about the work and some serious defects of detail, they do not to an appreciable degree destroy its very real and very distinctive value, and after considerable examination and actual practical use, I am convinced that the book fills a real need and merits an extensive use in our schools and colleges.

Princeton University. M. E. BASSETT.

CORRESPONDENCE

FURTHER SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ALLUSIONS TO SHAKSPERE

Within the present year I have happened upon several seventeenth century allusions to Shakspere which appear to have hitherto escaped attention.

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1695

In *Shakespear* read the Reason mixt with Rage,
When *Brutus* with fierce *Cassius* does engage
In loud Expostulations in the Tent.

("Ep. 39. *On* Mævius." A/Book/of/New Epigrams./ *By the same Hand that translated*/MARTIAL./ *London*,/Printed for *Henry Bonwicke* at the *Red Lyon*/in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1695./ Page 26.)

1698

Nay, I cou'd hear him [Bayes] damn last Age's Wit,
And rail at Excellence he ne'er can hit;
. . . .
His Sacrilege should plunder *Shakespear's* Urn,
With a dull Prologue make the Ghost return
To bear a second Death, and greater Pain,

(" A Satyr on the Modern Translators." By Mr. P——r. Appended to Money/Masters all Things:/or,/ Satyrical Poems./Printed, and Sold by the Booksellers of/*London* and *Westminster*, 1698./ Page 119.)

Although several reflections of Shakspere have been noted in the plays of Shirley, the number has not been sufficient to show how thoroughly Shirley appreciated the humor of Falstaff, from whom, indeed, he borrowed time and again for his own braggarts. In *The Imposture* the braggart Bertoldi, having disarmed the dead, enters "a walking armory," and when questioned by the captains, replies in words similar to those of Poins.

Leo[*nato*]. Where had you these?
Ber. Ask, Ask
The men I kill'd; if they deny a syllable,
I'll forswear the wars.
(I, ii. Cf. *I Henry IV*, I, ii, 208.)

Like Falstaff, Bertoldi measures his drink by the gallon, sweats profusely, and feigns, if not death, at least a wound.

Vol[*terino*]. . . . . all the drink,
Which was the full proportion of a gallon,
Came out at's forehead in faint sweat; he had
Not mov'd ten paces, but he fell down backward,
And swore he was shot with a cold bullet. [*Ibid.*]

Later Volterino seeks to win Bertoldi's mother by describing to her from his fancy her son's deeds of valor, but Florelia remarks that his valour "was not by instinct." [III, ii.]

In *The Young Admiral* the cowardly Pazzorello, who is to be

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gulled by a page and a waiting woman disguised as a witch, into believing himself invulnerable, promises:

> If this could be compass'd, I should love witches the better while I live. [III, i; cf. *I Henry IV,* II, iv.]

(This same shift of Falstaff, by the way, is used by Middleton in *A Trick to Catch the Old One,* where the First Creditor, when called a devil, replies:

> . . . Ah, sir, am I a devil? I shall think the better of myself as long as I live; a devil, i'faith? [IV, iii.])

And later, in the courage of his invulnerability, he is

> Sure the captain's afraid of me; he knows by instinct what I am. [IV, i.]

In the same way the Bard in *St. Patrick for Ireland* recognizes St. Patrick.

> 'Tis he; I know him by instinct. [III, i.]

Again, in *The Constant Maid* Shirley recalls the speech made by Falstaff as he stabs the dead Hotspur.

> *Frances* . . . .
> My mother counterfeit! why may not Hartwell
> Pretend as well as she? [III, i.]

In addition, Shirley twice echoes Puck's "I'll put a girdle round about the earth In forty minutes."

> And when I have put a girdle 'bout the world.
> [*The Bird in a Cage*, IV, ii.]
>
> . . . almost put a girdle / About the world.
> [*The Humorous Courtier*, I, i.]

BALDWIN MAXWELL.

The Rice Institute.

GRAY'S *Elegy* AND *Lycidas*

In his recent admirable study of the *Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1922), Mr. R. D. Havens offers an interesting hypothesis in explanation of the vogue enjoyed by Milton's shorter poems during the middle and later years of the eighteenth century. Poets like Gray, Collins, and the Wartons, he says (pp. 437-38), "turned to Milton because to them, brought up under the neo-classic régime, his work seemed romantic in spirit and form and yet had the exquisite finish, the restraint, the reserve and impersonality, to which they were accustomed. . . . To realize this, one has only to recall two of the

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greatest and most admired short poems of the century, Gray's *Elegy* and Collins's *Ode to Evening*. Except for the melancholy tinge of the *Elegy,* which may be matched in *Lycidas,* the tone of these pieces is that of Milton's early poems; they have similar descriptions of nature and of country life, and are marked by the same quiet refinement and careful but unobtrusive finish. Is it any wonder, then, that classicists with romantic leanings who wished to write short reflective or descriptive pieces of a kind that had not recently been in vogue, took as models the newly-discovered minor poems of Milton?"

Mr. Havens is content to offer this hypothesis for what it is worth, without attempting to document it from contemporary texts. There is, however, at least one bit of evidence that the affinity which he notes between the new lyricism of the forties and fifties and the minor poems of Milton was appreciated at the time, if not by the poets themselves, at any rate by their readers. In an essay on Gray's *Elegy* by John Hill, published in the *London Daily Advertiser* in March, 1751, and reprinted later in the same year in a volume entitled *The Inspector,*[1] occurs the following passage: "It is not too much to say, that this Piece comes nearer the Manner of *Milton* than any thing that has been published since the Time of that Poet: Whoever will look into the *Lycidas* of that Author, one of the best Poems that even *he* ever wrote, will not fail to see a striking Likeness, and to own, that this Elegy does not suffer in the Comparison. The Poem is full of Imagination, and as full of Sentiment; the Imagery is striking and just; the descriptive Part elegantly simple; the Expression concise, yet clear; nervous, yet smooth, and majestic without Pomp."[2]

Northwestern University. R. S. CRANE.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON COLLINS

Another interesting though inconclusive reference must be added to the brief discussion (*Modern Language Notes,* XXXVII, 181) of the *Song* attributed to William Collins. Professor Bronson found

[1] *The Inspector, containing a Collection of Essays and Letters lately published in a new Daily-paper, called The London Daily Advertiser, and Literary Gazette,* London, W. Shropshire, 1751. The work is listed among new books in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1751 (XXI, 287). A second edition, enlarged to two volumes, appeared in 1753. In the "Advertisement" to this edition, it is stated that the "Inspectors began to be published in the month of March 1751, in the London Daily Advertiser."

[2] *The Inspector* (1751), No. 2, p. 8. The admiration which Hill felt for the *Elegy* is further shown by the inclusion in No. 4 of a set of quatrains addressed "To the Author of an Elegy written in a Country Church-yard" (edition of 1753, I, 19; omitted from the earlier reprint).

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this poem printed anonymously in the *Public Advertiser,* March 7, 1788, and observes that the conscientious Dyce failed to get from Park, editor of the *British Poets,* any evidence for giving the verses to Collins.[1] Now it appears that the attribution must be based on a short letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1788:[2]

"*Feb.* 2.

"MR. URBAN,

"In turning over your Magazine, for May, 1765, I observed a copy of most elegant verses by Collins, which are not to be found in any edition of his poems. The following lines are to the best of my knowledge in the same predicament, and I believe have never yet appeared in print.

"Yours, &c. C—T—O."

Then follows the *Song: The Sentiments borrowed from Shakspeare.*[3] The unknown C—T—O is probably more trustworthy than William Beloe, who afterwards claimed the *Song* for Henry Headley (*Modern Language Notes,* loc. cit.).

The above reference to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1765,[4] directs us to what is probably the first appearance of the verses *Written on a paper, which contained a piece of Bride Cake given to the author by a Lady. By the late Mr. Collins.* Bronson comments: "On what evidence this poem was ascribed to Collins does not appear. It is clearly in his manner. It was published, apparently for the first time, along with several other of Collins's poems in Pearch's *Collection of Poems* (London, 3d ed., 1775, vol. II)."[5] But no doubt the editor of the *Collection* took the poem from the files of the *Gentleman's Magazine.*[6] Its publication in May, 1765, must have been due to the revival of interest in Collins occasioned by the appearance of Langhorne's edition in March of that year.

ALAN D. MCKILLOP.

The Rice Institute.

WAS *Macbeth* INDEBTED TO *Henry VI?*

It is a commonplace of Shakespearean criticism that certain of the early plays contain characters or situations that were reëmployed in expanded form in some of the later dramas. For

[1] *The Poems of William Collins* (Athenaeum Press Series), p. 80.

[2] LVIII, p. 155.

[3] This text gives the readings *lowland,* l. 2; *who lov'd,* l. 18. Cf. Bronson, *op. cit.,* p. 81.

[4] XXXV, p. 231.

[5] Bronson, *loc. cit.*

[6] Aside from minor details of spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, the two versions are identical, except that the earlier has the reading *her* instead of *the* in l. 6.

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instance, it was long since pointed out that Biron and Rosaline of *Love's Labour's Lost* might be considered as crayon studies for the finished portraits of Benedick and Beatrice in *Much Ado.*

A resemblance which I have never seen mentioned may be detected between *2 Henry VI* and *Macbeth.* In the earlier play, the wife of the Protector, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (like Macbeth a kinsman of the king), reveals an ambition similar to that of Lady Macbeth, to satisfy which she urges her husband to seize the crown. Her spirit and even some of her phrases are close to those of the wife of Cawdor, as the following lines from the two plays will show:

2 Henry VI, Act I, Sc. ii, 3-12:

Why doth the great Duke Humphrey knit his brows,
As frowning at the favours of the world?
Why are thine eyes fix'd to the sullen earth,
Gazing on that which seems to dim thy sight?
What seest thou there? King Henry's diadem
Enchas'd with all the honours of the world?
If so, gaze on, and grovel on thy face,
Until thy head be circled with the same.
Put forth thy hand, reach at the glorious gold:
What! is't too short? I'll lengthen it with mine.

63-67:

Were I a man, a duke, and next of blood,
I would remove these tedious stumbling-blocks
And smooth my way upon their headless necks;
And, being a woman, I will not be slack
To play my part in Fortune's pageant.

Macbeth, Act I, Sc. iv, 26-31:

Hie thee hither,
That I may pour my spirits in thine ear,
And chastise with the valour of my tongue,
All that impedes thee from the golden round,
Which fate and metaphysical aid doth seem
To have thee crown'd withal.

41-48:

Come, you spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts! unsex me here,
And fill me from the crown to the toe top full
Of direst cruelty; make thick my blood,
Stop up the access and passage to remorse,
That no compunctious visitings of nature
Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
The effect and it!

In her eagerness to learn what the future has in store for her ambition, Eleanor resorts to supernatural agencies. At her instance, a witch and a conjurer raise a spirit by incantation, who foretells the fate of those who are plotting to remove Gloucester from the Protectorship. In certain particulars this scene is paralleled by Macbeth's visit to the Witches' Cavern, where his own future and that of Banquo's line are predicted by apparitions.

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Henry VI, Act I, Sc. iv, 37-43:

> *Bolingbroke.* What shall befall the Duke of Somerset?
> *Spirit.* Let him shun castles:
> Safer shall he be upon the sandy plains
> Than where castles mounted stand.
> Have done, for more I hardly can endure.
> *Boling.* Descend to darkness and the burning lake!
> False fiend, avoid!
> [*Thunder and lightning.* Spirit *descends.*

Macbeth, Act IV, Sc. i, 69-72:

> *Thunder. First* Apparition *of an armed Head.*
> *Macb.* Tell me, thou unknown power,—
> *First Witch.* He knows thy thought:
> Hear his speech, but say thou nought.
> *First App.* Macbeth! Macbeth! Macbeth! beware Macduff;
> Beware the Thane of Fife. Dismiss me. Enough.
> [*Descends.*

In that Gloucester is loyal to his king and refuses to yield to Eleanor's incitement, and in that she is detected in her plot and banished, the two situations are sufficiently dissimilar. There is no necessity for assuming that the dramatist introduced the exhortations of the wife and the aid of the witches into *Macbeth* because he had tried out those devices in *Henry VI*; the suggestion for both details came directly from Holinshed. And in fact it is uncertain whether this part of *Henry VI* is Shakespeare's work at all. Nevertheless the numerous similarities suggest the interesting possibility that, in writing *Macbeth,* Shakespeare may have remembered *Henry VI,* though perhaps only subconsciously. More probably it is all coincidence. But at least this apprentice play handles superficially a pair of ideas that became the basis of one of the great tragedies.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

Columbia University.

NEW WORDS IN CALIFORNIA

In Michel Bréal's *Essai de sémantique* (fifth edition, Paris, Hachette, 1921), there is a chapter on "irradiation" in which the author mentions the fact that some word endings have come rather accidentally to denote certain ideas, and their use has then become more or less general. Thus, he holds that the fact that the Latin verbs, *adolesco, floresco, senesco,* etc., denoted a slow, progressive action, led to the use of the verbal ending *-sco* in a series of verbs with inchoative meaning, although *-sco* in itself never meant any thing of the sort.

Similarly the Latin words *patraster* and *filiaster* came to have a depreciative meaning, and the ending *-aster,* or its derivatives,

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assumed the force of a depreciative suffix. Thus in French one finds *marâtre, bellâtre, douceâtre,* etc.

There are today in California several interesting examples of "irradiation." Every one knows by this time that a cafeteria is a "help-yourself" restaurant. Apparently in the popular mind the ending *-teria* or *-eteria* has come to indicate just such a process. I have noticed recently in California the following names on signs: "grocerteria," a place where groceries are temptingly displayed on tables and counters, and one helps himself to those he wants, and pays for them as he passes out; "marketeria," a self-help market; "shaveteria," a place where all the things that are needed for shaving, such as razors, sterilized brushes, hot water, small cakes of soap, towels, etc., are placed within easy reach, and one helps himself and pays for the privilege; "cleaneteria," a place where hot water, soap, cleaning fluids, brushes, towels, etc., are within easy reach and one may enter and clean one's own clothes; "shoeteria," a place where one may examine the stock of shoes and select a pair to his liking; "fruiteria," "chocolateria" and "basketeria," places where fruits, chocolates and baskets, respectively, are for sale; and "healtheteria," presumably a place where one may help himself to good health.

Another series of new words,— or, at any rate, they are new to me—has made use of the good old ending *-ery* of grocery, bakery, etc., thus: "cakery," "doughnutery," "beanery," "lunchery," "bootery," and "car washery." In these places you may buy cakes, doughnuts, beans, food for lunches, boots, etc., or you may have your car washed.

The syllables *-atorium* of sanatorium appear in "healthatorium," and in "restatorium." I have not yet found in California a "pantatorium," a place where masculine garments are cleaned and pressed, but there are some in Colorado and I suspect that the name is used here too.

This process of "irradiation" seems in most cases perfectly legitimate, as it is one of analogy. The word cafeteria is now well established. I believe I should prefer "self-help market" to "marketeria," but what else would one call a "shaveteria"?—a "self-shaving establishment" or a "place where one may shave himself"?

Some of these new words will doubtless pass out of use, but others will stick. In California there is a notable lack of servants and self-help is common. To meet this need, institutions such as cafeterias have come into existence. But no diner really likes to walk across a room with a large tray in his hands, and sooner or later the custom will probably fall into disuse. When it does, the name of cafeteria will disappear too or will take on a new meaning.

University of California. E. C. HILLS.

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The Earliest Vaudeville in the Théâtre Italien

In the XVIth century the *vaudeville* had become a vehicle for personal and political satire. At that time it was a street song of which the tune remained unchanged, whereas the words were modified according to the inspiration of the moment.[1] These popular songs, called sometimes *Pont-neufs,* were first introduced into French plays by the Italian Actors, who thus originated the *Comédie-Vaudeville.*

In his *Favart, l'Opéra-Comique et la Comédie-Vaudeville au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles* (1894), Auguste Font has studied the interesting question of the earliest appearance of the *vaudeville* in the plays of the *Théâtre Italien.* After having shown that, at an early date, musical airs occurred in the prose text of these plays, and that, later on, some arias of Lulli were parodied, he sets down the date of the earliest *vaudeville* in a French play as 1690.[2] This street song is found in a parody of Baron's *Homme à bonnes Fortunes,* Regnard's *Arlequin, homme à bonnes fortunes.* Two years later, in 1692, followed *vaudevilles* in Palaprat's *Phaëton,* in Dufresny's *Opéra de Campagne* and in Regnard's *Les Chinois.*[3]

Yet, there is evidence that the *vaudeville* was introduced into the *Théâtre Italien,* not in 1690, but in 1688. In Evariste Gherardi's collection *Le Théâtre Italien,*[4] is found *Le Marchand Duppé,* par M. D . . . (Dufresny?), staged on September 1, 1688, in which Mezzetin sings a *vaudeville,* evidently of popular character. The last four lines, modeled on a popular refrain, were repeated by the chorus, and possibly by the audience:

> Un vieillard mélancolique
> Peut gâter tout un festin,
> Ses yeux font aigrir le vin,
> La viande en devient étique.
> Celuy qui réchigne, chigne,
> Celuy qui réchignera,
> La Troupe l'échigne, échigne,
> La Troupe l'échignera.[5]

It is also worthy of note that in the play indicated by A. Font

[1] Cf. Nisard, *Des Chansons populaires,* 1867, I; *La Clef des Chansonniers ou Recueil de Vaudevilles,* 1717; Brunet, *Le nouveau Siècle de Louis XIV;* Raunié, *Chansonnier historique du XVIIIe siècle,* etc.

[2] P. 39.

[3] In *Ulysse et Circé,* of 1691, the *vaudevilles* are in corrupted Italian jargon.

[4] First edition, in one volume, in 1694; gradually increased to six volumes in 1700. Numerous pirated editions. For bibliography, see O. Klinger, *Die Comédie-Italienne in Paris nach der Sammlung von Gherardi,* 1902, p. 221.

[5] Gherardi, *Théâtre Italien,* II, 172. Paul Lacroix assigns the authorship of the *Marchand Duppé* to Fatouville in the *Bibliothèque dramatique de M. de Soleinne,* Paris, 1844, No. 3351.

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as containing the earliest *vaudeville,* (*Arlequin, homme à bonnes fortunes*) not one, but three of them are found, so that their appearance there must be ascribed rather to the intention of the author than to accident. They are found in two different scenes. The first of them, which has been overlooked in this connection, is:

> Jeanneton, m'aimez-vous bien?
>   Hélas, quel conte!
> Pourquoy ne vous aimerois-je pas?
>   Mon Dieu, quel conte!
> Vous qui m'avez tant fait de bien:
>   Quel fichu conte! [8]

These lines are undoubtedly taken from a street song. The other unnoticed *vaudeville* occurs at the end of the play and is of the same character.

ELEANOR V. CEDERSTROM.

University of Minnesota.

BRIEF MENTION

On Hyphens, and Shall and Will, Should and Would in the newspapers of to-day, by H. W. Fowler (S. P. E. Tract, no. VI. At the Clarendon Press, 1921). Amends are to be made and will be made for not having hitherto noticed in these columns the Tracts of the Society for Pure English (S. P. E.). The present notice will, however, be restricted to comments on the subject of the first portion of the sixth tract, which is entitled "On Hyphens." The importance of the proper use of the compounding hyphen in English was briefly indicated in *MLN.* XXXIV, 317. It was there declared: "How far the present practice in the writing of substantive compounds may be brought back from sheer caprice to the observance of an inherent law of the language, one may not predict; but it is evident enough that better schooling in this subject is one of the most manifest needs." Mr. Summey's brief discussion (two pages) of the compounding hyphen, from the printer's practical point of view, elicited that expression. That he does not refer the subject to its proper basis is shown in his opening declaration: "Just what shall be hyphened has to be decided arbitrarily in part, because dictionaries and style books (*sic*) do not agree." Here the dictionaries are unjustly blamed, for no approximately complete record of the possible "impromptu compounds" could be made, for this impromptu compounding is a grammatical process, which is as true to the doctrine of function as is the concord of subject and verb. Mr. Summey would therefore be right in demanding of the dictionaries and especially of style-books a statement of the grammatical principle according to which words may be compounded.

[8] Gherardi, *op. cit.*, II, 342, 367, 368.

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The hyphen, unfortunately, is classed with diacritical marks, against which there is a strong and internationally English protest, —a protest that in its absolute form becomes grotesque. Thus, Mr. Summey reports the uncompromising outburst of a "prominent publisher":—"All hyphens are a nuisance; don't put any in my work except where you divide at the end of a line." This intolerance of admitting into written English any 'marks' except the dotting of the *i* and the crossing of the *t* has wrought regrettable consequences in obliterating the true understanding of compounded words and in fostering a consequent irresponsibility in the use of sequences of words loosely left without an indication of their logical and grammatical interrelations. Both writers and type-setters are to be instructed in the rule of compounding words. The truth of that statement is not affected by a difference of opinion as to the personal responsibility in the case, cited by Mr. Summey, of "a writer in the *North American Review*" who imparted the information "that Germany had been searched for certain materials 'with a fine tooth-comb.'"

The stylistic aspect of this subject shall not be considered now. The interest of critics in the use of compounds as elements of style seems to have its beginning in an observation by Sir Philip Sidney. In appraising English, he declared it "particularly happy in compositions of two or three words together, neere the Greeke, far beyond the Latine: which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language." In his admirably annotated edition of *The Defense of Poetry* (p. 130 f.), Professor Cook gives a detailed report of Sidney's practice in the employment of compounds and adds important critical comments. This matter also receives attention at the hands of E. S. Shuckburgh (*Apologie*, p. 169): "The critics of the next generation looked upon the use of these compounds as a fashion introduced by Sidney in his *Arcadia*." All Sidney's compounds in the *Apologie* are indexed by this editor. Sidney's importance in the history of style gives special significance to both his critical evaluation and his notable use of compounds. In his own words taken from another context, one might frame a plea for the legitimate use of the hyphen: The hyphen is admirable "to the eye of any that will deign not to disdain until they understand" (Cook, p. 30).

It is only the thoroly trained grammarian that can completely understand the compounding of words. It is an intricate subject in comparative grammar, which has not been neglected by competent scholars, with whose investigations the practical grammarian of English is however usually unacquainted. A variation to the usual practice is represented by a chapter on compounds in a practical little book, *The Mechanism of the Sentence*, by Principal A. Darby, of a Training College in Bombay (Oxford University Press, 1919). The comparative view of the subject is thus indi-

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cated: "The English language makes less use of such compounds than do many languages, while others, *e. g.*, Sanskrit, use them to excess. In this last-named tongue the practice is carried to such length that whole lines may consist of one compound word whose elements stand in various relations to each other." Contact with Sanskrit has led Dr. Darby to see the practical importance of classifying at least the simpler forms of English compounds.

There is need of more school-discipline in comparing languages with reference to compounds. Greek and Latin differ significantly, and so do German, English, and French. And a language that has passed thru a succession of great changes may come to differ from itself. This is true of English to a marked degree. The system of composition prevailing in the earliest period has some features that have not been transmitted to later periods. A Strassburg dissertation (1886) by Theodor Storch is entitled *Angelsächsische Nominalcomposita,* in which the early system of substantive compounds is analyzed according to the Sanskrit grammar, and in which the features of the system that have not survived that period may be observed. English also shows that a method of compounding may be adopted from another language: *cut-purse*, for example, represents an imported type.

The substantive compounds in all periods of English (including the Anglo-Saxon period) are studied in a dissertation by Nils Bergsten, *A Study of Compound Substantives in English* (Upsala, 1911. viii, 166 pp.). This is a valuable treatise, showing an industrious and discerning use of the authorities named in a 'bibliography,' and a mind well prepared to expound intricacies of the subject. A study of this character must surprise the practical grammarian into an acknowledgment of an unsuspected significance of a subject he has been wont to treat superficially, if at all.

More accessible than Dr. Bergsten's treatise are the paragraphs on the subject in Sweet's *A New English Grammar,* Part I (Clarendon Press, 1892), which Dr. Bergsten has duly considered. This and the preceding references are here given to induce students of the language to give more attention to this very important subject in both its technical and its practical aspects. Much otherwise good writing is marred by evidences of an incomplete understanding of the proper use of the hyphen.

Mr. Fowler has chosen an appropriate subject for discussion in a S. P. E. Tract, and has defended that choice in words that carry the emphasis of an undeniable truth: "The chaos prevailing among writers or printers or both regarding the use of hyphens is discreditable to English education. . . . it sufficiently proves by its existence that neither the importance of proper hyphening nor the way to set about it is commonly known."

J. W. B.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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A CRITICISM OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE BY A GERMAN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In 1784 the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences and Belles-Lettres of Berlin gave a prize for the best essay upon the following questions:

1. Qu'est-ce qui a fait de la langue françoise la langue universelle de l'Europe?
2. Par où mérite-t-elle de l'être?
3. Est-il à présumer que la langue françoise conserve sa prérogative et continue à être langue universelle?

Among the essays submitted two were considered worthy of recognition, and the prize was divided. One of the successful authors was the Frenchman Antoine Rivarol, the other the German professor of philosophy at the Karlsschule in Stuttgart—the school which Schiller had left only four years before and which had since been virtually raised to the rank of a university—Johann Christoph Schwab (1743-1821), who wrote in German.[1] Schwab's work was presented to the Academy in a French summary which was read

[1] Rivarol's prize essay has been edited for American students by W. W. Comfort (Ginn and Co. 1919). Comfort's failure to mention Schwab and his statement (Introd., p. v) that Rivarol's thesis "eventually won the prize" are misleading. But Comfort is not the only one to make this error. French writers generally ignore Schwab and mention only Rivarol, who as a matter of fact was permitted by the Academy at Berlin to share the prize with Schwab only at the urgent request of Prince Henry. See Pellisson in Vol. LXIII, pp. 63-71 of the *Mercure de France* (number of Sept. 1, 1906). Schwab was the father of the poet Gustav. See *ADB*, XXXIII, 153.

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before the Public Assembly of that body on June 3, 1784, by M. Mérian, a German Swiss by birth and a member of the Academy. The original Schwab essay is entitled *Von den Ursachen der Allgemeinheit der Französischen Sprache und der wahrscheinlichen Dauer ihrer Herrschaft. Eine Preisschrift von Johann Christoph Schwab, Professor der Philosophie an der Herzoglichen Hohen Carlsschule zu Stuttgart, welche von der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin den 3. Jun. 1784 ist gekrönt worden.*[2] The summary, which does not adhere very closely to the original and is not always reliable, is published on pages 371-399 of the *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres. Année MDCCLXXXV.* Berlin, 1787.[3]

In the course of his work Schwab gives various reasons, physical, political and moral, why French has become the "universal language" and why it deserves to be so, citing its regularity, its extreme clearness, the political position of France, the character of the people—their urbanity, good taste, vivacity and humor—, the superiority of French literature and the ability of the French to give polished form to the rough material furnished by other nations.

The author also takes up the question whether French will continue to be the universal language, answering it in the affirmative, with the proviso that it will not lose all its outstanding good qualities while some other language acquires them. This leads him to examine the possibilities of some of the other most prominent languages, Spanish, Italian, English and his own native German. After rejecting the three former languages as unlikely successors to French, he writes as follows with regard to German.[4]

Germany forms a very vast, thickly populated country in which the power dwells principally in two great ruling houses. It is

[2] Neue, vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe. Tübingen, bey Jacob Friedrich Heerbrandt. 1785. 247 pp. There is a copy of this rare book in the Pott collection of the Univ. of Penn. library.

[3] Besides being mentioned by Pellisson, Schwab's work is also referred to in F. Baldensperger's *Etudes d'histoire littéraire*, Paris, 1907, p. 41. It was translated into French by Robelot and published in Paris in 1803 under the title *Dissertation sur les causes de l'universalité de la langue française et la durée vraisemblable de son empire.* The French translation is very scarce. Mirabeau also made a French summary of Schwab's monograph, which is published in his Memoirs.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pages 113-137.

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situated most advantageously for communication with the other countries of Europe and the people are naturally inclined to such intercourse. The use of the German language is very extended. It is spoken even beyond the Rhine, in the greater part of Switzerland, in part of Lorraine and in Alsace, which is a great advantage in its favor. The languages of Denmark and Sweden, as well as Flemish and Dutch, are "to some extent" dialects of German.

As early as the end of the seventeenth century Germany was distinguished for its scientific culture. Not until 1740-1760, however, did its polite literature come into flower. In the southern part of Upper Saxony the language reached a high stage of development and the form which it took there was accepted everywhere, at least as the written language.

"Es ist eine Wonne für einen Deutschen," writes the author,[5] . . . "wie in diesem kurzem Zeitraume das Deutsche Genie, das nicht nur nicht ermuntert, sondern durch alle Arten von Zwang gefesselt war, und durch unzählige Hindernisse hätte muthlos gemacht werden sollen, auf einmal aus seinen Schranken brach, und seine Laufbahn mit Riesenschritten anfing."

Klopstock's *Messias,* the odes of Utz and Ramler,[6] the *Kriegslieder* (of Gleim), in which the German language "resounds like Calliope's tuba," Gessner's idyls, Wieland's *Musarion,* Lessing's *Nathan* and "several other German products" excel anything of their kind in modern literature.

The Germans have masterpieces of eloquence, which are not mere copies of Bossuet or Massillon but are typically German. The stage has accomplished much and will be able to make still greater progress. There is fidelity and accuracy in the work of the German historians, which should be combined with the style of the French but not exchanged for it. Good taste is gradually making itself felt in the field of history. In speculative philosophy the Germans have no equal. Leibnitz has sounded all the depths of this philosophy and applied the sharp eye of an eagle to the intellectual

[5] *Op. cit.,* page 114.

[6] Earlier in the same work (page 82) Schwab speaks of Ramler as follows: Ich halte die Wahrsagung des Glaukus (an ode of Ramler) für eines der grössten Meisterstücke der lyrischen Poesie, und ich kenne wenig Oden im Horaz, die ich mit ihr vergleichen möchte.

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world and even to the divinity itself. In developing the bases upon which the fine arts and sciences rest the Germans have done more even than the English, while in philosophic history there are German writers that are unexcelled.

The German spirit of investigation lends itself especially to the subject of religion. While the French in a shallow, flippant manner mocked at religion and the English attacked it with a method of reasoning that was bold rather than thorough and convincing, the Germans have treated it with a critical sense and rejected old prejudices, but piously stopped at the dim border line where light passes into darkness.

The pliability and flexibility of the German genius have been a great advantage for the German tongue and have helped it in its expansion. The best exponent and example of this trait is Wieland, "dieser ausserordentliche Dichter, dessen Originalität gerade darein gesetzt werden kann, dass er alles vortrefflich nachzuahmen, und sich alle Schätze aller Nationen zuzueignen weiss."[7] Klopstock, too, although he is original, combines and blends the Homeric, Virgilian and Miltonic manners. Thus the Germans have transplanted much that is good from other languages, a thing that was easy for them to do because their literature developed later than that of any other country and because they are "das lernbegierigste Volk von Europa."[8] If this advantage of German were well utilized, German literature could become the centre of all European letters.

Although the great number of periodicals oppresses German literature, it is a decided advantage that every branch of literary endeavor has its own organs. The *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* is the only work of its kind and has accomplished much for the education and enlightenment of the nation. At some time in the future Germany is destined to solidify its scattered strength in two or three states. This will help the language considerably. If after such a political unification is accomplished German commerce, prosperity and culture advance simultaneously, German may some day dispute French supremacy in Europe.

However the author doubts very much that German will ever be as successful as French.[9] Its pronunciation is inherently diffi-

[7] *Op. cit.*, page 117. [8] *Op. cit.*, page 117.

[9] Among writers of our own day H. G. Wells in *Anticipations of the*

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cult and excludes it forever from southern Europe. The language itself is also difficult because, unlike the Romance languages, it is an "original" language. He who has learned Latin has a large vocabulary of roots which will help him in the study of Italian, Spanish and French. This advantage is almost totally lacking in German.

The word order is another source of perplexity in German. It is too unnatural and dependent upon too many rules. Especially the transposed order, the cumbersome accumulation of verbs at the end of clause or sentence, the order of auxiliary verbs, the separation of the parts of compound and separable verbs, the position of the negative, the separation of adjective from its noun, the great flexibility of the word order and the rules for inversion are very troublesome. In this respect German is more difficult than even Greek or Latin because in these languages the word order was almost entirely optional, while in German it is hedged in by a mass of rules.

The bold transpositions of German poets make matters even worse for the foreigner. Klopstock's

> Unterm Getöse gespaltner (sie hatte der Donner gespalten!)
> Dumpfer entheiligter Harfen

is a good example of distorted word order. Such liberties are freely taken by Klopstock. They are exercising a pernicious influence upon German literature and have been imitated even in prose. There is ground to fear that this condition will continue and grow worse. "In der That," exclaims Schwab,[10] lassen sich von der heutigen Neuerungssucht in Deutschland alle Sprachungereimtheiten erwarten."

The German declensions are another source of difficulty. Even the best grammarians are not agreed as to their number. The perplexities of *ein guter Mensch* and *der gute Mensch* are exasperating to foreigners, many of whom in the author's own circle of acquaintances are frightened away from German precisely be-

Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress upon Human Life and Thought, New York and London, 1902, has speculated upon the problem of the comparative value of languages. He considers German "unattractive," "unmelodious," "unwieldy" and "cursed with a hideous and blinding lettering" (page 259).

[10] *Op. cit.*, page 124.

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cause of the declensions. This grammatical difficulty is an exemplification of the German fondness for systematic differentiation which has produced such men as Wolff, Baumgarten and Bilfinger.

Another disadvantage of German is the unstable, vacillating state in which the language finds itself, due principally to political conditions. It has no fixed orthography and a foreigner must be acquainted with various orthographical hypotheses before he can read the printed language. Attempts to revise the orthography will be unsuccessful, just as they have been in England and France, where such a revision is even more necessary than in German. The reformers will not be able to bring about the elimination of the German *h*.

German literary taste, too, is very uncertain and inconstant. Even the most reprehensible literary product may hope to be praised in some periodical. Works of merit are often condemned as being mediocre. Thus it is doubtful whether Wieland would have received his deserved laurels had *Oberon* been his first work. A craving for the unusual and a mania for originality are infesting German literature. Writers aim to surprise and amaze, not to please. The result is, as Haller wrote in a letter in 1773, that German literature is getting too prosaic. Occasionally, to be sure, something good will result from this striving for originality, but not often enough to warrant the pernicious practise.

It has been the fate of every literature to decline at least for a time, after it has reached its peak. Spanish grandeur degenerated into bombast, Italian harmony into mere word jingles, French suaveness into false wit, German pensiveness and compressed masculine style—exemplified by the virile, herculean characters in some German plays and novels—into affected strength, exaggeration, puzzling and distorted expressions, far-fetched and perverted conceptions, metaphysical jargon and oriental inflation. This style soon becomes cold and ridiculous. At times even Lessing commits the error of introducing vague, mysterious utterances into his plays (described by Seneca, whom Schwab uses as a basis for much of his literary criticism, as *sententiae suspiciosae*), pregnant utterances that mean more than they actually say and mar the effect of the dramas. Too frequently German writers overdo their metaphors and allegories. Cicero's precept that it is true art to suit one's style to one's subject, so well observed by Voltaire, is neglected by German writers.

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All these and similar shortcomings of German literature harm it in the eyes of foreigners. On the other hand, it is often the strong points of a work that keep a foreigner away from it. Its point of view or its form may be strange to him, or it may be of purely local interest. Some German poets must even be studied in order to be understood. For example, a number of Klopstock's odes and parts of his *Messias* require for their comprehension a "Klopstockian soul," not to mention the enigmatical odes of this poet, which are like problems in algebra and cannot therefore be considered works of art at all. Even the otherwise buoyant, agile Wieland cannot conceal the fact that he is a scholar. In order to understand him fully his readers must combine learning with good taste. Another example is Engel's *Lobrede auf den König* which, although no masterpiece of French eloquence can compare with it, requires a special kind of knowledge, involving problems of philosophy and language, before it may be fully appreciated. Not even educated Germans understand it fully. How can foreigners be expected to grasp its entire meaning?

Schwab concludes his section on the German language and literature with the following remarks:[11] "Aus allem diesem ergiebt sich nun von selbst, dass unsere Sprache ohngeachtet ihres Reichthums und ihres Nachdrucks, ohngeachtet der Meisterstücke unserer Litteratur, und ohngeachtet der Cultur und Grösse, zu der unsere Nation eine gegründete Hoffnung hat noch zu gelangen, doch schwerlich jemals die herrschende in Europa werden wird. Die oben angeführten Ursachen werden allerdings ihre weite Ausbreitung befördern, wie sie sie zum Theil schon befördert haben. Man wird sie häufig im Norden sprechen; mancher Engländer wird sie lernen; in den Südlichen Gegenden wird es hie und da einen Gelehrten oder Aesthetiker geben, der sie aus besonderen Absichten so weit studiren wird, dass er ein Deutsches Buch lesen kann: allein das allgemeine Werkzeug der Communication unter den Europäern wird und kann sie nicht werden."

Schwab's views, recorded in 1784, when the classical language and literature of Germany were in the very making, are rather interesting. Philologically the writer is a typical child of his times. He considers German an "original" language which has little connection with the Romance languages but of which the

[11] *Op. cit.*, page 136.

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northern Germanic tongues are "to some extent" dialects. His exaggerated views on the difficulties and irregularities of German grammar are a valuable reflection of the chaotic state in which the science of the grammarians found itself at that time. His conviction that conditions of grammar and orthography are aggravated by the political situation has been well borne out. In the field of literature Schwab's favorites seem to be Wieland, Ramler, Gessner and writers that approach the French manner most closely. Klopstock he berates for his boldness of style. His views on drama and history are generous, although when he speaks of the former he is probably thinking of Gottsched more than of Lessing and Goethe. In speculative philosophy he deems his countrymen unsurpassed. Apparently he is unaware of the great literary forces at work in Germany while he wrote, of the future importance of the critical labors of Lessing and Herder and of the great significance of the first creative productions of Goethe and Schiller, of whom he mentions the former only in passing [12] and the latter, although a former pupil in the school in which he was professor, not at all. He seems to believe that German literature, a bud which has just opened, is being choked to an untimely death by a perversity of taste and an excess of cumbersome erudition.

That Schwab made every effort to be just in his appraisement of the German language and literature is shown by his repeated assertion that he did not wish to flatter the French or to belittle any other nation. In his introduction [13] he confesses that he was reared not without certain national prejudices, but he states that these prejudices have no place in a scientific work. He does not wish, he says, to offer French literature or character as a model to Germany but he sees no reason why Germans should not admire and enjoy French perfection. His harsh criticism of German literature, for which he asks forgiveness,[14] he deems proper and merited.

[12] *Op. cit.*, page 82. Speaking of the subjective nature of literary criticism, he says that there is no objection against a critic's saying, if he will: Klopstock habe seine Messiade einem Seraph abgelauscht und Göthe habe die Natur bey Anspinnung der Leidenschaften auf der That ertappt.

[13] *Op. cit.*, page vi.

[14] *Op. cit.*, pages xii and xiii. He says (p. xi) that he is not acquainted personally with any of the German authors whom he praises.

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Schwab, although a patriotic German, is a sincere admirer of French literature and is largely under the influence of the French literary tastes, standards and traditions, a common characteristic of his time. It may be said that his opinions on the German language and literature are much more favorable and just than those expressed by Frederick the Great in his *De la Littérature Allemande* (1780). On the other hand, Schwab cannot be classed with his contemporaries Möser and Gompertz as a defender of German.

Edwin H. Zeydel.

Washington, D. C.

JEFFERSON AND OSSIAN

The following letters are to be found in the Jefferson papers kept in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress. They consist of: 1, a letter from Jefferson to Charles Macpherson, whose host he had been in Virginia, to request him to use his good offices to obtain a manuscript copy in Gaelic of the poems of Ossian; 2, a letter from Charles Macpherson to Jefferson in answer; 3, a letter from James Macpherson, the author of the so-called "poems of Ossian," explaining why, much as he admired Mr. Jefferson, he could not let any copy of the original out of his hands. This letter was enclosed in the answer of Charles Macpherson to Jefferson.

The first letter has already been published by H. S. Washington (*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* New York, 1854, vol. I, p. 195), and more recently by Mr. P. L. Ford (*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* New York, 1892, vol. I, p. 413). In one or two places, however, their reading of the manuscript differs notably from mine. Moreover, the manuscript of this letter is rather exceptional in its character. Speaking of Jefferson, his latest editor, Mr. P. L. Ford, tells us that "he wrote easily, the thoughts taking fitting words" (*Thomas Jefferson; Correspondence, printed from the original in the collection of William K. Bixby,* Boston, 1916, p. ix), and it is true that one may turn page after page without finding a single correction or a word deleted. Curiously enough, and probably because he suspected that his letter would be forwarded to James Macpherson himself, a man

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he so greatly revered, Jefferson, on this occasion, at least, made correction after correction, and evidently strove to express himself in a manner worthy of his subject. These corrections, neglected by the former editors, may be of some interest to the students of style and seemed to me to warrant the reprinting of the letter.

As far as I know, the letters neither of Charles nor of James Macpherson have ever been published. The first is interesting as an evidence of the enthusiasm aroused in England by the recent publication of Ossian's poems. The second is a rather embarrassed evasion of a man who evidently had received many similar requests for the Gaelic original of his spurious poems and excuses himself rather lamely, on the ground that nobody could copy them except himself.

The spelling of the manuscripts has been carefully reproduced;—*peice,* for instance, for *piece* being one of Jefferson's constant orthographic peculiarities;—capitals however have been substituted at the beginning of periods where almost invariably Jefferson uses small letters; words added as an afterthought are printed in italics, words deleted are in brackets.

I

Albemarle in Virga. Feb. 25, 1773.

Dear Sir,

Encouraged by the small acquaintance *which* I had the pleasure of having contracted with you during your residence in this country [here], I take the liberty of making [this] *the present* application to you. I understood you were related to the gentleman of your name *Mr James Macpherson* to whom the world is so much indebted for the *collection arrangement and* elegant translation of Ossian's poems. These peices have been, and will I think during my life continue to be [a] *to me the* source of daily *and exalted* pleasures [and the most exalted kind]. The tender, and the sublime *emotions of the mind* were never before so [happily hit upon] finely [touched by] *wrought up by* the human hand; [and] I am not ashamed to own that I think [that uncultivated] *this* rude bard of the North the greatest Poet that has ever existed. Merely for the pleasure of reading his works I am become desirous of learning the language in which he [wrote] sung and of possessing his [poems] songs in their original form. Mr. [James] Macpherson I think informs us he is possessed of the originals. Indeed a gentleman has lately told me he had seen them in print; but I am afraid he has mistaken a specimen [of] from Temora annexed to some of the editions of the trans-

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lation for [a general] the whole works. If they are printed, it will [shorten] abridge my request and your trouble to the sending me a printed copy, but if there is none such,[1] my petition is that you would be so good as to use your interest with Mr Mcpherson to obtain leave to take a manuscript copy of them; and [employ [some] the best scribe for the purpose] procure it to be done. I would chuse it in a fair, round hand, [and] bound in parchment as elegantly as [can be done] possible, lettered on the back and marbled or gilt on the edges of the leaves. I should not regard expense in doing this. I would further beg the favor of you to give me a catalogue of the books written in that language, and to send me such *of them* as may be [printed] necessary for learning *it* [the language.]. [such as a dictionary, grammar and a few others to begin with] These will of course include a grammar and dictionary. The [expense] cost[s] of these as well as of [taking] the copy of Ossian will be for me on demand [on my account] [immediately] answered by Mr Alxr. Mc Caul [. . .[2]] sometime of Virga *mercht* but now of Glasgow, or by your friend Mr Ninian Minzees of Richmond in Virga, to whose care the books may be sent. You can perhaps tell me whether we may ever hope to see any more of those Celtic peices published, manuscript copy of any which are not in print it would at any time give me the greatest [pleasure] happiness to receive. [I hear with] The glow of one warm thought is to me worth more than money. I hear with pleasure from your friends that your path through life is likely to be smoothed by success. [and] I wish [your] the business and the pleasures of your situation could admit [your] leisure now and then to scribble a line or two to one who wishes you every felicity and would willingly merit the appelation of Dr. Sir

your friend and humble servt.

To Mr. Charles Macpherson
Merchant in Edinburgh.

II

Dear Sir,

I regret, exceedingly, that I have at this distance of time to answer your very polite letter of the 20th February. I only received it about the end of last month. It came under cover of a letter from Mr Ninian Minzees, dated the 20th May. I recollect, with pleasure, the acquaintance which I had with you in Virginia. I enjoy the thoughts of renewing that acquaintance; and I am much indebted to you, Sir, for favouring me with the opportunity.

[1] Both the Washington and Ford editions have: "more such"; although Jefferson has very plainly and legibly written "none such."

[2] A word blotted out here.

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Excepting the specimen of Temora, Ossian's poems in the original, never were in print. Sorry I am that a copy of the Gaelic manuscript, of these poems, cannot be procured. I take the liberty of transmitting you Mr Macpherson's letter to me upon the subject. Every thing, allow me to assure you, that depended upon me, was, with alacrity, done towards the indulgency of your request. This much was due, setting my acquaintance with Mr Jefferson aside, to the elegant, the feeling admirer of the *Voice of Cona*. Ossian himself, from his cloud might bend and listen, with pleasure, to such praise. And the praise is due. For, if to melt, to transport the soul be an excellence, as sure it is, our venerable Bard possesses it in an eminent, a superlative degree. Elegant, however and pleasant as those poems, in their present form, may appear; they, in common with other translations, have lost, considerably, of their native beauty and force. This naturally creates a desire of becoming acquainted with the original. I do not at all wonder that *you* should be "desirous of learning the language in which Ossian thought, in which he sung." But, alas, I am afraid that this will be attended with insuperable difficultys. A few religious Books excepted, we have no publication in the Gaelic language, no dictionary, no grammar. I have sent you, to the care of Mr. Minzees, to whom this letter you enclosed, a Gaelic New Testament, which has a few rules, affixed, for learning the language. This, with a vocabulary, which is also sent, is all the assistance that, at this distance, I can give you to learn my mother tongue. Had this been thought of when I had the pleasure of being [of living] with you, at your sweet retreat, at the mountains, I would have, cheerfully, become your instructor. Should any Celtic pieces, hereafter, be ushered into light, I shall do myself the pleasure of sending them to you. I hear of no publication; few, or none indeed, are equal to the task. In the remote Highlands there are still to be found a number of Ossian's poems, abounding equally in the tender and sublime with those which Mr. Mcpherson has favored the public, and these are chanted away, with a wildness a sweetness of enthusiasim (*sic*), in the true spirit of song. I rejoice to hear of your success in life. If I can render you any acceptable service here, I beg you may command me, with a friendly freedom. For, I can, with truth, assure you, that, I am with the utmost sincerity and regard,

Dear Sir, your most obedient most humble servant,

Edinburgh, 12th August 1773 Charles Mc Pherson

Mr. Thomas Jefferson

III

My Dear Sir,

I received your letter. I should be glad to accommodate any friend of yours; especially one of Mr Jefferson's taste and character. But I cannot, having refused them to so many, give a copy

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of the Gaëlic poems, with any decency, out of my hands. The labour, besides, would be great. I know of none that could copy them. My manner and my spelling differ from others: and I have the vanity to think, that I am in the right. Make my humble respects to your American friend. Excuse me as you can to him; and pray excuse me yourself. I seldom hear from you; the truth is I am so negligent in writing myself, that I cannot with any justice, blame any other on that head. I have heard from your friend William once. I suppose he has, now, dived behind his hills. He has his comfortable things there also; though, he recollects London with some pleasure. I am

my dear Sir

yours most affectionately

London August 7th 1773 James Macpherson

Mr. Charles Macpherson

GILBERT CHINARD.

Johns Hopkins University.

AN UNKNOWN LETTER OF VOLTAIRE ABOUT J. J. ROUSSEAU

If any excuse were needed for adding one more letter to Voltaire's already formidable correspondence, it would be that the unknown letter, printed in the present article, is a document on the quarrel between Voltaire and Rousseau, as well as a good example of Voltaire's art of the invective. It was addressed to Jean-André de Luc of Geneva,[1] with whom Voltaire had, about 1765-66, a rather extensive and important correspondence. He is known especially as a geologist, and has left an account of his relations with both Voltaire and Rousseau in the *Discours Préliminaire* of his *Lettres sur l'Histoire physique de la Terre* (1798). Through him, in 1764, Voltaire offered Rousseau a refuge in his Chateau of Ferney, when, for a moment, fruitless attempts were made toward a reconciliation of the antagonists. The principal traits of his character are said to have been moderation and sincerity. He must have needed these virtues in his friendship with these irascible and suspicious authors: he accomplished the remarkable feat of enjoying the confidence of both for a long time. He also played a rôle in Swiss politics of the time. I borrow the

[1] Born at Geneva in 1727, died at Windsor in 1817.

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following note on him from the *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève* (1911, p. 218):

"Avant de cultiver les sciences, J. A. de Luc s'était adonné à la politique, moins par goût, semble-t-il, que par un sentiment de dévouement filial. Dans une lettre intime et intéressante datée d'Angleterre, 1782, il raconte que son père, Jacques-François de Luc (1698-1780), maître horloger, s'étant engagé, avec trop de passion et malgré les conseils de sa famille, dans les querelles qui divisaient sa patrie, et y ayant compromis à la fois son repos et sa fortune, lui, Jean-André, crut de son devoir de se joindre à son père "afin de gagner par là un peu de sa confiance et de tâcher de le diriger." C'est ainsi que de Luc *l'aîné* (on l'appelait ainsi parce qu'il avait un frère cadet, Guillaume-Antoine, qui joua également un certain rôle) devint, en partie contre son gré, un des chefs les plus en vue du parti des *Représentants.* C'était un homme sincère et au fond beaucoup plus modéré et équitable que la plupart des novateurs d'alors. Voltaire l'appelle le 'Paoli de Genève.'"

Voltaire's letter to him, which I publish here, occurs in an eighteenth century manuscript in my possession: *Recueil de Pièces fugitives tant en prose qu'en vers,* p. 203. On the cover is stamped the name of the first possessor: M. de Villeneuve, who is probably the nephew of Mme Dupin, with whom Voltaire became acquainted in 1744.[2] The Ms. contains a great number of poems by Voltaire, some of which seem unpublished; and the date of the earliest poems, 1747, coincides almost with the date of the meeting between Voltaire and the young de Villeneuve. If the earliest possessor of this Ms. was a friend of Voltaire, the fact that it contains a letter and some poems, which are not found anywhere else, would be easily explained: he received copies of them from Voltaire himself or from one of his secretaries.

About the beginning of the past century the Ms. belonged to the well-known scholar, M. de Monmerqué, who has made manuscript notes on several pages. He must have had the intention of publishing the letter to de Luc, for he has written, in the margin, a note which I add to the letter:

Recueil de Pièces fugitives, tant en prose qu'en vers. Ex. Meis, p. 203: Sur le mot *Imprudent* dont Jean Jacques s'est servi contre M. de Voltaire dans une de ses lettres à M. de Luc. 1766.

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[2] See Voltaire's letter of September 16, 1744, to Mme Dupin, in *Le Portefeuille de Madame Dupin*, p. 315.

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On doutoit qu'il y eut dans cette lettre *Imprudent* ou *Impudent*.

The letter is given as follows:

Monsieur de Luc doit faire convenir M. Jean Jacques Rousseau de la valeur du mot imprudent. L'imprudent est celui qui pouvant vivre heureux chez lui s'est mis au point de n'avoir ni feu ni lieu.

Qui a changé de religion trois fois. Qui s'est pâmé de joie en communiant de la main de M. de Montmolin et qui, le lendemain, a écrit contre son prédicant.

Qui a barbouillé une comédie, et qui ensuite a barbouillé du papier contre la comédie.

Qui s'est fait avocat pour et contre, sans en être prié de personne comme l'avocat Breniquet.

Qui s'est mêlé de vouloir laver les prédicants de Genève de l'accusation de socianisme [*sic*] et qui ensuite a imprimé qu'ils étoient Sociniens.

L'imprudent est celui qui s'est brouillé avec tous ses amis et avec ses bienfaiteurs.

On conseille à Jean Jacques de ne plus se contredire, de tâcher de vivre heureux, et alors il sera prudent, mais comme il n'a jamais eu la simplicité de la Colombe, il ne faudra pas qu'il ait la prudence du Serpent.

N. B. Si dans la lettre de Jean Jacques à M. de Luc il y a impudent, et non pas imprudent, il faut encore le faire convenir qu'un impudent est celui qui ayant dit et fait tant de sottises, veut qu'on lui érige une statue.

Par M. de Voltaire. 1766.

M. de Monmerqué has added a marginal note: J'ai vainement cherché la lettre à M. Deluc dans les *Oeuvres de Rousseau*. Ed. Musset-Pathay.

Is this letter authentic? Several forged letters have been attributed to Voltaire by his enemies or by editors in quest of sensational copy,—it could be argued,—and Mr. de Villeneuve may have been honestly mistaken in his attribution.

The object of a forged letter is to gain publicity. If Voltaire's enemies desired to harm him, or if an unscrupulous publisher wanted to use his name for a spurious publication, they had to print their counterfeit material. Now, this letter only exists in manuscript, and in a single, or a very few, copies, so that they would not have attained their end or taken any measures to attain it.

It will be noticed, moreover, that the letter is dated 1766. Voltaire's correspondence proves that during that year he attacked Rousseau unceasingly. Besides, it is entirely Voltairian in tone: its incisive irony is sufficiently characteristic. The several paragraphs beginning with *Qui* resemble Voltaire's style in his satires

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against Lefranc de Pompignan and others, of *Les Quand, Les Si,* etc. The several reproaches against Rousseau mentioned in it, are found in almost similar phrasing in Voltaire's letters of that period.[3]

A more decisive proof of the authenticity of this letter is found in the fact that during the years 1765-66, there existed a correspondence between Voltaire and J. A. de Luc, which, at the time was secret, and was published for the first time, more or less completely, in 1911 and 1913 (*Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*). This correspondence is entirely about the Genevan politics of the time and about Rousseau, so that it is hardly astonishing that de Luc, friend of Rousseau and of Voltaire, dragged into politics largely against his will, never published any part of it.

The letter printed in the present article is manifestly a part of this correspondence: Voltaire defended himself, in a spirited fashion, against the accusation of having been partly responsible for the decree rendered by the Genevan Council against Rousseau and for his banishment from the Canton of Berne. On October 19, 1765, he sent a *Mémoire* about Rousseau to de Luc.[4] A passage from this document shows similarity of style and ideas with the later letter to de Luc, given above:

> Il a cru qu'en me calomniant il se justifierait, et il s'est trompé.
>
> Si je voulais publier ses lettres de Venise, il serait couvert d'opprobre. S'il écrit contre moi, je les publierai.
>
> Si la personne qui s'intéresse à lui veut lui rendre un vrai service, elle lui dira exactement la vérité, parce qu'il faut qu'il la connaisse pour en rougir et pour se corriger.
>
> S'il avait entendu ses intérêts et ceux de ses amis, il aurait eu une conduite moins insensée et moins malhonnête. S'il est possible qu'il se repente et qu'il se corrige, je lui pardonnerai sincèrement.

These several paragraphs beginning with *Si,* remind of these beginning with *Qui,* and the general tone is similar.

Now, if the letter to de Luc, found in my Ms. is a forged one, these similarities could not be explained, and the author of it must be credited with second sight. He must have known, in

[3] Cf. Moland, *Correspondance,* Years 1764-66. Also, *Les Sentiments des Citoyens,* of 1765.

[4] *Société d'Hist. et d'Arch. de Genève. Bulletin,* 1913, p. 407.

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1766, that there existed during that year a correspondence between Voltaire and de Luc about Rousseau, although this exchange of letters remained a secret until very recently. He must have divined even the style of Voltaire's irate outbursts about Rousseau's letters.

On the other hand, the objection could be made that in the general correspondence of J. J. Rousseau a letter is found, dated February 24, 1765, and addressed to M. de Luc, in which he states: "Je me retire au dedans de moi. Je ne veux plus entendre parler de Genève, ni de ce qui s'y passe. Ici finit notre correspondance. Je vous aimerai toute ma vie, mais je ne vous écrirai plus." And yet, the letter from my Ms. is said to be an answer to a letter of Rousseau to de Luc, written in 1766, a year after his decision to finish his correspondence with him. Moultou's *Lettres Inédites de Rousseau*,[5] show that the *Citoyen de Genève* did not keep his resolution, for a letter of Rousseau to de Luc is found there, of August 22, 1765, written six months after the one I just cited. It begins with the words: "Je suis très sensible, mon cher et bon ami, à la continuation des témoignages de votre amitié . . ." The break in the correspondence between de Luc and Rousseau was then only temporary and had been taken up again by the end of 1765.

The letter of Voltaire found in my Ms: *Recueil de Pièces fugitives* must then be added to his correspondence with de Luc published in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève.* It shows that another attempt at reconciliation, of which there are traces in the earlier letters of this collection, was brought to naught by Rousseau's suspicion and Voltaire's irritability.

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK.

University of Minnesota.

THE STYLE OF SHAFTESBURY

Opinion concerning the style of Shaftesbury is strangely varied. And yet, despite his "Beauties and Blots, Faults and Excellencies,"[1] amidst a great diversity of criticism there is an underlying current of unity. Critics, even though they are diametrically

[5] Published in *Œuvres et Correspondance inédites de J. J. Rousseau*, Paris, Michel Lévy frères, 1861.

[1] Brown, *Essays on the Characteristics*, p. 2.

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opposed as to the nature of the disease, are generally agreed that his style is powerfully infectious. It matters not whether we choose estimates from critics who were looking first-hand upon the literary fashions of the eighteenth century, or whether we go to the more recent opinions of those who from afar and with impartiality appraise the movements of the past; from Goldsmith to Gosse, Shaftesbury is admitted to have been a potent force in shaping the modes of expression. The former, in none too friendly a passage, concludes that "his lordship's rank and fame have procured him more imitators in Britain than any other writer;"[2] and the latter, having spoken of him as "the most influential philosopher of the first half of the century," goes on to remark: "But with all its faults, with all its absurdities, the manner of Shaftesbury was stimulating and influential to a remarkable degree, and for one eighteenth century writer who was affected by the noble simplicity of Berkeley, there were a dozen who imitated the ingenuities, the subtle fancies, and the curious æsthetic warmth of Shaftesbury."[3] He "stamped a caricature of his individuality on the style of the succeeding half of the century."[4]

Granting for the moment that he was an important stylistic figure in the century, it is interesting to note specific matters wherein he has been blamed and praised. Although much is found to compliment, the generality of opinion seems to make his particular ascendency for the worse rather than for the better. Here again sentiment is conveniently crystallized by Goldsmith and Gosse, who assert, respectively, that we find his imitators "all faithfully preserving his blemishes, but, unhappily, none of his beauties,"[5] and that "on the whole, this effect of his upon the style was wholly deleterious."[6]

Gray is not alone in his charge that Shaftesbury could not be understood by his readers.[7] Blair makes him out to be more attentive "to the pomp of language, than to clearness which he ought to have studied as a philosopher,"[8] and Leslie Stephen would have him "deficient in the cardinal virtues of clearness and

[2] Goldsmith, *The Bee, An Account of the Augustan Age.* Putnam, New York, 1856. Vol. I, p. 154.

[3] Gosse, *Eighteenth Century Literature*, p. 387.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 388. [5] Vol. I, p. 154. [6] Gosse, p. 387.

[7] Letter to Stonehewer, Aug. 18, 1758.

[8] Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric.* New York, 1824, p. 96.

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order."[9] Fowler, on the other hand, writing as a philosopher, is equally confident that "he possesses the great merits of being easily read and understood. . . . There is perhaps no other English philosopher whose works can be read so rapidly, or whose ideas can be appropriated with equal facility, by a student of average intelligence."[10] The fact is that Shaftesbury is not readily understood, but the fault, if it be one, is not due more to his method than to his material. He is dealing with ideas that are profound, and cannot, therefore, write with the simplicity of one who is aiming merely at amusement. Shaftesbury gives every evidence of wanting to be understood, even though he does sometimes have to labour to accomplish his ends. If this were the place for a defense of his ways, it could be pointed out with appropriateness that whatever else he is guilty of, the charge of casuistry can never be brought against him. By well-rounded phrases, repetitions, and perspicuous illustrations, he does not leave us in the dark as to his moral theories.

The turgidity of his style is perhaps the quality which most frequently gives it its apparent rather than its real obscurity. "His defect, in precision, is not owing so much to indistinct and confused ideas, as to perpetual affectation. He is fond, to excess, of the pomp and parade of language; he is never satisfied with expressing anything clearly and simply; he must always give it the dress and state of majesty. Hence perpetual circumlocutions and many words and phrases employed to describe somewhat, that would have been described much better by one of them."[11] Nor is Blair the only rhetorician in the century to condemn this tumidness; Campbell is in strict consonance. Having quoted from Shaftesbury's *Miscellaneous Reflections,* he proceeds: "This is that figure of speech which the French critics call *galimatias,* and the English comprehend under the general name of bombast, and which may not improperly be defined the sublime of nonsense." The real meaning is buried under "lofty images" and "high sounding words."[12] Such phrases as "curious affectation,"[13] "strange

[9] Stephen, *Freethinking and Plainspeaking*, p. 234.

[10] Fowler, Thomas, *Shaftesbury and Hutcheson*. New York, 1883, p. 62.

[11] Blair, *op. cit.*, Lect. x, p. 96.

[12] Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*. London, 1823, p. 271. Other references to Shaftesbury's style will be found on pp. 196, 211, 272, 416.

[13] Fowler, p. 61.

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affectation,"[14] and "symptoms of affectation"[15] abound in the pages of criticism. It is in this particular quality of "style, always laboured, often bombastic and curiously contrasted with the simplicity of his contemporary Addison"[16] that he is felt to be most inimical to good taste in prose.

Blair evidently was more fortunate than are many moderns in having had access to an original copy of the surreptitious edition of the *Inquiry concerning Virtue,* published by Toland in 1699. By comparing it with the work as corrected by Shaftesbury, he saw "one of the most curious and useful examples that I know, of what is called *limae labor*: the art of polishing language, breaking long sentences, and working up an imperfect draught into a highly finished performance."[17] This introduces us to what subsequent writers have regarded as another characteristic fault in Shaftesbury, and another quality in him which affected the manner of his imitators and admirers. To some he carried this desire for exact form to such an extent that he became frigid and stiff. To Lamb he seemed "to have written with his coronet on, and his Earl's mantle before him."[18] He seems to have aimed at a certain gentility of expression, and to have been tempted thereby into an artificial classicism, devoid, at times, of spontaneity and freshness. "He seems to have considered it vulgar, and beneath the dignity of a man of quality to speak like other men. . . . In every sentence, we see the marks of labour and art; nothing of that ease which expresses sentiment coming naturally and warm from the heart."[19] This formalism is present in connection with his intended humor, of which he was almost entirely devoid. Fortunately he usually tells us when he is about to be facetious. As Blair pertinently remarked, "he is stiff, even in pleasantry; and laughs in form, like an author and not like a man."[20] We feel at times that Shaftesbury must have been conscious of the wearisomeness of his unrelieved stretches of polished pages, and of the consequent necessity of a small modicum of jest for the sake of variety. However this may be, the fact is that there is a conspicuously pervasive gentility throughout his pages.

[14] Gosse, p. 387.
[15] Goldsmith, *Works.* New York, 1856. Vol. I, p. 154.
[16] *Dictionary of National Biography.* [17] Lecture XIX, p. 188, note.
[18] Lamb, *Works.* New York and London, 1903. Vol. II, p. 199.
[19] Blair, *Lecture* XIX, p. 188. [20] *Ibid.*

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Perhaps in few other respects has Shaftesbury's example given more color to subsequent writings than in his ecstatic utterances concerning nature and nature's God. The rhapsodic outbursts of Theocles were imitated repeatedly, both in prose and verse. Their familiarity is well attested by the fact that Smollett felt free to refer to them specifically in *Peregrine Pickle.* Mr. Jolter and the Doctor had had a heated discussion upon the relative merits of monarchical and democratic forms of government. Elevated over his success, the latter, among other things, "made a transition to the moral sense of Shaftesbury, and concluded his harangue with the greatest part of that frothy writer's rhapsody, which he repeated with all the violence of enthusiastic agitation to the unspeakable satisfaction of his entertainer, and the unutterable admiration of Pallet, who looked upon him as something supernatural and divine."[21] Neither the fact that the doctor knew it by heart, nor that Peregrine and Pallet admired it so unreservedly, need be taken *cum grano salis*; both, doubtless, were characteristic of the time. As late as 1796 Horace Walpole was deeply impressed by the same kind of passages, and for the same reasons. "He delivers his doctrines in ecstatic diction, like one of the Magi inculcating philosophical visions to an eastern auditory."[22] So nearly do these animated outpourings resemble blank verse that Berkeley, in ridicule, printed them as such.[23] We may brand them as "frothy"[24] or "truly dismal"[25] if we like, but we have only to compare them with the first part of Thomson's *Hymn* at the end of the *Seasons,* with Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination,* with Brooke's *Universal Beauty,* and with Cooper's *The Power of Harmony* to see the unmistakable marks of imitation. This rapport which Shaftesbury felt in all nature is responsible for "the serene stateliness of his style at its best,"[26] and is reflected in semi-theistic, semi-pantheistic passages from his time on.

Thus far we have spoken only of those qualities of style for which Shaftesbury was and is blameworthy; but this is scarcely more than half the story. For he does possess qualities of style and imagination that have charmed, and that tend to palliate his

[21] Chap. XLIII.
[22] Walpole, *Royal and Noble Authors.* 1806. Vol. IV, p. 51.
[23] *Works.* Oxford, 1901. Vol. II; *Alciphron,* Dial. V, pp. 220-221.
[24] See above, Smollett.
[25] Stephen, *Freethinking and Plainspeaking,* p. 231. [26] Gosse, p. 171.

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errors. Blair, whose adverse criticism we have already noted, allows that he "was well acquainted with the power of words; these which he employs are generally proper and well sounding; he has a great variety of them; and his arrangement, as shall be afterward shown, is commonly beautiful."[27] Fulfilling his promise in a subsequent lecture, he says: "Of later writers, Shaftesbury is, upon the whole, the most correct in his numbers. As his ear was delicate, he has attended to music in all his sentences; and he is peculiarly happy in this respect, that he has avoided the monotony into which writers, who study the grace of sound, are very apt to fall; having diversified his periods with a great variety."[28] Elsewhere he ascribes "that appearance of strength, dignity and varied harmony, which Lord Shaftesbury's style possesses"[29] to the "degree of inversion" in which he indulged. Leland, who had every reason to wish it were otherwise, admitted with candor: "The quality of the writer, his lively and beautiful imagination, the delicacy of taste he hath shown in many instances, and the graces and embellishments of his style, though perhaps sometimes too affected, have procured him many admirers."[30] Goldsmith made his philosophical manner "nearer to that of Cicero than any English author has yet arrived at."[31] Swift compliments the *Letter concerning Enthusiasm* as being "very well writ,"[32] and Hurd places *The Moralists* among the three English Dialogues "fit to be mentioned."[33] Of the *Characteristics* as a whole the Preface to the 1733 edition remarks: "All the best judges are agreed that we have never had any work in the English language so beautiful, so delightful and so instructive." Although we have been concerned above primarily with the opinions of his own century as to his style, it is well to remind ourselves that modern critics have not reversed the judgments of the past.

[27] Lect. x, p. 96.

[28] Lect. xiii, p. 127. Compare Campbell, *The Art of Rhetoric*, London, 1823, p. 196, where he objects to "the collusion of words which are naturally unfit for coalescing."

[29] Lect. xii, p. 115.

[30] *Deistical Writers*, Vol. i, p. 48.

[31] *Works*. 1856. Vol. i, p. 154.

[32] *Correspondence*. London, 1910, p. 111.

[33] *Works*. London, 1811. Vol. iii, pp. 24-25. He says, "The Dialogues I mean are, *The Moralists* by Lord Shaftesbury; Mr. Addison's *Treatise on Medals*; and the *Minute Philosopher* of Bishop Berkeley." Also quoted by Warton, *Essay on Pope*, Vol. ii, p. 198.

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Stephen, although he finds that his "mouthing is simply detestable"[34] and speaks of his "plentiful effusion of rhetoric," allows "a true vigor and originality in Shaftesbury, which entitles him to high respect."[35] Gosse is more extravagant in his encomium, making him a "sort of Ruskin in the Augustan Age," "one of the most independent and graceful of prose-writers of the age of Anne."[36]

Within the limitations of this study, a more concrete analysis of Shaftesbury's style has not been possible. The reader can readily supply, from the *Characteristics,* his own illustrations of the points that have been suggested. From this mosaic of opinions, however, it is apparent that Shaftesbury exerted a profound influence over the writers of the decades immediately following the appearance of his works; that this effect was partly to the disadvantage of clear and artistic expression; that to him can be traced much that is vaguely intelligible, high sounding, affected, tumid, and genteel in the writings of the century; that much of the ecstatic praise of nature and of nature's God can be traced to the rhapsodies of *The Moralists;* and that inevitably many of his charms of cadence and imagination were reflected in subsequent writers. Vague generalizations and rotund commonplaces abound in much of the controversial literature of the period. Exact verbal borrowings may be traced in such ethical poetry as Pope's *Essay on Man.* A peculiar æsthetic warmth, based on a belief in the sufficiency of external nature, faith in the goodness of human nature, and an identity of the Good and the Beautiful, appears variously in such writers as Pope, Thomson, Akenside, Cooper, Brooke, Hervey, Burns, Blake, Wordsworth, and Keats. Furthermore it must be remembered that style is inextricably related to subject-matter. Shaftesbury gave currency to certain benevolent and optimistic doctrines that literally obsessed the thought of the century. This similarity of idea led inevitably to a monotonous similarity of expression. Moral and ethical tenets were reiterated in phrases painfully alike. In short, Shaftesbury, both because of his contagious manner and his attractive matter, stamped himself indelibly upon the prose and poetry of his century.

Beloit College. WILLIAM E. ALDERMAN.

[34] *Freethinking and Plainspeaking,* p. 232.
[35] *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,* Vol. II, p. 27.
[36] *Eighteenth Century Literature,* p. 173.

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THE OLD ENGLISH *EPISTOLA ALEXANDRI AD ARISTOTELEM*

The Old English version of Alexander's celebrated letter to Aristotle is characterised by certain linguistic features of special interest. These have for the most part been satisfactorily examined and classified by Braun.[1] For the purposes of this discussion it is necessary merely to call attention to a few of the more outstanding peculiarities. The West-Saxon of *Alexander's Letter* is frequently interspersed with an Anglian element, such forms occurring as *nymþe, rifra, semninga, stræl, þecelle, et cetera.* The preposition *in,* an Anglian characteristic,[2] is found side by side with *on* throughout the text. *On* occurs 97 times; *in* (prep.), 75 times,

[1] *Lautlehre der angelsächsischen Version der 'Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem.'* Borna—Leipzig 1911.

[2] *In,* of course, is not totally absent from W. S. texts, being found even in Alfred. Its occurrence in W. S. may frequently be attributed either to Latin influence or to an Anglian original from which the W. S. copy was made. Furthermore, W. S. *in* may be a direct descendant from Early W. S. *in.* In the post-Alfredian period, however, W. S. *in* gave place very largely to *on.* At the same time, Anglian scribes,—employing *on* both in a W. S. meaning and in a characteristically Anglian sense of *to* or *at* (Germ. *auf*),—preserved *in* for a large variety of expressions. These, for the greater part, differed from the W. S. only in the substitution of *in* for *on*; but, in some instances,—such as the Anglian use of *in* (= *on, upon,* Germ. *auf*) where W. S. employed the more specific prepositions *ofer, uppan,*— the difference in dialectal usage is marked. Throughout *Alexander's Letter* the Anglian and W. S. types of certain of these prepositional expressions occur side by side. Such, for example, are: in hwylcere yldo (f. 112a, 7), on yldo (f. 130a, 12); in augustes monþe (f. 118b, 11), on iulius monðe (f. 109a, 2); on maius monðe (f. 129a, 18); in onweald (f. 108b, 15), on onwald (f. 109a, 7), on onweald (f. 128a, 18); in þære sweartan niht (f. 125b, 2), on niht (f. 111a, 1); etc. Among the many uses to which Anglian *in* is put may be mentioned the following, all of which are found in *Alexander's Letter*: followed by the dative to express place in which, place where, time when, time during which, manner, state of being, state of mind; by the accusative to express motion toward a place, place in which, time when, and specification. For a detailed analysis of the Anglian senses of *in* and *on* cf. W. Krohmer, *Altenglisch in und on*; T. Miller, Introduction to *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. xxxiii ff; H. M. Belden, *The Prepositions in, on, to, fore, and æt in Anglo-Saxon Prose*; R. Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des anglischen Wortschatzes*, p. 42.

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followed by both the dative and the accusative cases. In only 23 out of these 75 instances could the use of *in* be ascribed to the influence of the Latin original; so that on the whole it appears to be a question of dialect. By way of comparison it may here be noted that in *Wonders of the East,* which immediately precedes *Alexander's Letter* in the codex, and which was transcribed by the same copyist,[3] the preposition *on* occurs 51 times, while in the same piece there are but five instances of the preposition *in,* four of which may be due to the influence of the Latin original. In the plain West-Saxon Christophorus fragment, likewise copied into the codex by the scribe of *Alexander's Letter,*[3] *on* appears 34 times; *in,* not at all. Another point of interest is the use of the genitive plural in *-o,* no less than six examples of which occur in the text: *siðfato,* f. 118b, 11; *earfeðo,* f. 125a, 14; *Medo,* f. 111b, 3; *ondswaro,* f. 112a, 13; *trio* f. 127a, 19; and *weorðmyndo,* f. 131a, 12. Of the diphthongs *io* and *eo* there is, as in *Beowulf,* which immediately follows,[4] no consistent use.

For a manuscript with such dialectal characteristics as these the determination of provenance is a matter of nice judgment. Braun's detailed analysis of the text gives weight to his conclusion: ". . . werden wir kaum fehlgehen, wenn wir den Entstehungsort unseres Denkmals an der kentischen Grenze suchen. Was die geringe Anzahl anglischer Formen betrifft, die sich in unserem Texte finden, so werden diese wohl von einem Schreiber herrühren, der auf anglischem Gebiete tätig war. An eine sächsische Umschrift eines älteren anglischen Originals ist bei der erdrückenden Mehrheit reiner westsächsischer Formen nicht leicht zu denken."[5]

With this opinion one may well differ. The Anglian quality of the text is too marked to be dismissed as Braun dismisses it. Without the least violation of critical standards an Anglian original may be postulated for *Alexander's Letter,* especially in view of the fact that an Anglian source is attributed by Knappe[6] to the preceding piece, *The Wonders of the East.* Here, transcribed by the same hand, we have two texts which for the greater part are West-

[3] On this point cf. Rypins, "The *Beowulf* Codex," *Modern Philology* XVII, 545 ff.

[4] Cf. Rypins, "A Contribution to the Study of the *Beowulf* Codex," *PMLA.* XXXVI, 167 ff.

[5] *Lautlehre,* p. 5.

[6] *Die Wunder des Ostens,* Berlin 1906.

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Saxon in character, but both of which possess certain distinctively Anglian features. The natural conclusion in such a case is obviously to ascribe to the copyist the departures from the West-Saxon norm. If, however, as Braun suggests, the dialectal variations are due solely to a scribe "der auf anglischem Gebiete tätig war," how is the fact to be accounted for that this same scribe produced the entirely West-Saxon *St. Christopher* fragment without introducing into the text a single Anglian form?

Discrepancies of this kind can easily enough be reconciled simply by postulating an earlier generation of transcriptions than that from which our scribe made his copy,—a critical method which too often proves irresistible to scholars who insist, despite the paucity of evidence, on solving linguistic problems for which no real solution can be found. Against Braun's supposition of scribal interpolation of Anglian forms, and in support of the contention that the accuracy of our scribe is, as such things go, unimpeachable, we need but assume that this interpolating scribe was the author of a manuscript which served as the original from which the scribe of *Alexander's Letter* made his copy. Braun's scribe, then, would have given an Anglian tinge to his transcription of a West-Saxon manuscript, and the scribe whose text is here in question, being an accurate copyist, would in his turn, of course, accurately have preserved this dialectal peculiarity. Thus could the hypothesis that *Alexander's Letter,* as we now have it, was a faithful copy of its original be harmonized with Braun's conclusion that the Anglian element in the text is the result of scribal alteration. Thus indeed could almost any such conflicting opinions be reconciled by postulations of sufficient ingenuity. There is, quite certainly, room for speculation in some instances as to earlier copies of texts than those at hand. The existence of manuscript families whose genealogy can be clearly established is a fact which undoubtedly justifies a certain amount of critical conjecture as to manuscript originals now lost. But to exercise this right of conjecture in every case where solution is otherwise unattainable or unsatisfactory, and to elaborate upon such conjectural tissue the intricate design of a complicated theory, is to dull criticism, to enervate scholarly methods of attack, and altogether to nullify the real value of employing hypothesis in the few cases where with profit it may cautiously be employed.

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Here, at any rate, in connection with *Alexander's Letter,* no postulate of previous copies of the text need be made, and the question asked just prior to this pertinent if long digression remains, accordingly, unanswered. How, we repeat, is the fact to be accounted for that a scribe "der auf anglischem Gebiete tätig war" neglected to introduce into his transcript of the *Life of St. Christopher* a single trace of Anglian orthography? The explanation, it would seem, has not been satisfactorily given by Braun. Does it not seem reasonable to admit that the Anglian element was already in the texts of *Alexander's Letter* and *The Wonders of the East* when they came under the hand of our scribe, while the *Life of St. Christopher,* as he had it before him, was written in West-Saxon of a very pure type? This view demands no postulate of lost manuscripts; it fits in with and strengthens the belief, elsewhere discussed,[7] in the accuracy of the scribe; it is simple, straightforward, and clear. It supplies an answer to the objection raised to Braun's theory. It is built up on facts. True, internal evidence alone brings us to this conclusion, and such evidence, as Skeat has warned us[8] must be used with caution. Such interpretation of the facts, however, as is here suggested seems well within the bounds of legitimate criticism; and the conclusion that the scribe is not responsible for the Anglian element in our unique Old English copy of *Alexander's Letter,* but that this dialectal feature was characteristic of its earlier version or versions, is submitted as a reasonable corrective of such theories as have hitherto been advanced.

The text of *Alexander's Letter,* whether its dialectal origin be definitely established or not, is of special value to the lexicographer. Throughout the *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* by Bosworth-Toller, and frequently in that portion of Toller's *Supplement* thereto which has been published, important citations are made from the text of *Alexander's Letter* as it was printed by Cockayne.[9] The number of words which occur here only, or which are used in this piece with peculiar meaning or unusual spelling, is relatively great. It is unfortunate that Toller had no better editions at hand from which to make citations for his *Supplement* than Cockayne's and Basker-

[7] *PMLA.* xxxvi, 167 ff.
[8] *Gospel of St. John,* p. x.
[9] *Narratiunculæ anglice conscriptæ,* London 1861.

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vill's.[10] The lexicographic importance of *Alexander's Letter* may best be seen from the following list of words chosen from the text, which for their spelling, their meaning, or their rarity deserve special attention.

acæglod
anæglede
asecgendnis
bylifigeað
cannon
(cane, reeds)[11]
cristallisce
of dæle
(ex parte mea)
eastþeodum
ealfarena[11]
elpendban
endlefte
epistol (masc.)
feohbigenga
feðerfotnieten
flegdon
foeran
forfeallan
gehliuran
gefylde
gen, genra
gegeafede
geteþed
gewearmigan
gimmisc (adj.)
glengista
godmægen
godsprec
godwebwyrhta
gryto
gehære
heahcleofa
hio, e; f. (fortune)
hon
horned
hos
hreadwæteru
hreogan
hrifra, rifra
hringwise
ingemong
instyred
irengeloma
lafor
laurisce
leonige
(hleonige)[12]
longsceaft
nædercyn
neahdun
neahea
neahmunt
neahwæter
nerwett
nowþer
oferhleoðrian
(to exceed)
onhongedon
onlocian
orenum
(ornum, from orne)
palther
rynig[11]
sceawigend (subst.)
slit
stanhol
tigrisc
tweondan
þurhborian
unforswyþdum
unmætlic
unretu
widgalnisse

STANLEY I. RYPINS.

San Francisco State Teachers College.

INTER-RELATIONSHIPS IN BLAKE'S SONGS

Many people have seen that certain poems in the "Songs of Innocence" form an answer to, or a contrast with, pieces in "Songs of Experience"; but how many have noticed that every poem in the earlier series has in the later a corresponding poem or even two corresponding poems?

[10] *Anglia* IV, 139.

[11] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXIII, 440.

[12] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXII, 94.

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That Blake himself meant the two series to be considered phases of the one whole, appears from his publishing of them together as "Songs of Innocence and Experience."

In 1874 came out, for the first time, verses printed as "A Motto"; these were found in a Ms. marked for prospective use in the "Songs." The opening two lines obviously refer to "Innocence," the remaining six to "Experience":

> The Good are attracted by men's perceptions,
> And think not for themselves,
> Till Experience teaches them to catch
> And to cage the Fairies and Elves.
>
> And then the Knave begins to snarl,
> And the Hypocrite to howl;
> And all his good friends show their private ends,
> And the Eagle is known from the Owl.

Now, on the publication of the "Songs of Innocence" in 1787, Blake was twenty-nine; on that of the "Songs of Experience," thirty-six. No doubt he changed a little during that interval, but not so much as to make absolutely all the sentiments expressed in the later series the fruit of profound conviction: the mere similarity of the titles and the patent fact that he intended the second volume to be a contrast with the first, form a good literary ground for assuming that Blake (who was, when he wished, thoroughly consecutive in his engraving and painting) later undertook to make the "Songs of Experience" in every way a contrast with, and completion of, the "Songs of Innocence." There are sufficient obvious parallels to render this theory tenable.

But Blake did not follow out his scheme to its logical limits: the later series contains twenty-seven poems,—for we take it that all will grant *A Cradle Song* its rightful place there,—while the earlier series comprises only twenty pieces. And so, if we wish to maintain our theory that every song of "Innocence" has its re-echo in "Experience," we have in some instances to assign two poems in the later volume as completing one in the earlier. The task proves difficult to fulfil, and some of the parallels may seem to invite refutation; but it must be remembered that Blake was an unusual man and would consider as self-evident correspondences that we more prosaic people might deem hardly satisfactory. Yet even the problematic groupings will, on close examination and

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after serious reflection, be found not only feasible but also substantially justified.

The following, then, is the detailed list of inter-relationships between the "Songs of Experience" and the "Songs of Innocence," respectively:—*Introduction* together with *Earth's Answer,* two parts of one artistic whole, contrast with the earlier *Introduction*; *Holy Thursday* corresponds with the other poem of that title; *The Little Girl Lost* (*In futurity,* etc.) and *The Little Girl Found* (*All the night in woe*) contrast with *The Little Boy Lost* (*Father, father*) and *The Little Boy Found* (*The little boy lost in the lonely fen*); the later with the earlier *Chimney Sweeper*; the *Nurse's* songs form a pair, with similar first lines; *The Sick Rose* contrasts with *The Blossom,*—and likewise *The Sunflower* constitutes a philosophic, "experienced" variant of this same *Blossom*; *The Fly* makes a metrical companion to *Spring,*—this being the most superficial of the parallels; *The Angel* forms a seemingly recondite correspondence with *A Dream,* but dreams stood for much with Blake; *The Tiger* offsets *The Lamb*; *The Garden of Love* contrasts with the *Laughing Song*—asceticism with jollity; *The Little Vagabond,* casuistic, answers the naïve *Little Black Boy*; *London* opposes *The Shepherd,*—a grouping that recalls the age-old town-against-country debate; *The Human Abstract* goes with *On Another's Sorrow,*—perhaps the most difficult correspondence, but one that, philosophically justified, stands, by the further process of elimination, as quite feasible; *Infant Sorrow* contrasts with *Infant Joy*; *Christian Forbearance,* full of subtle sarcasm, offsets *Night,* rich in loving kindness,—guileful men set over against guileless animals; *A Divine Image* corresponds with *The Divine Image*; *A Cradle Song* (*Sleep, sleep, beauty bright*), first placed among the *Songs of Experience* by W. M. Rossetti, manifestly answers to the piece thus entitled in the earlier series; *The Schoolboy* offers a poignant alternative to *The Echoing Green*; and *To Tirzah* fulfils the same function for the later collection as *The Voice of the Ancient Bard* does for the earlier.

But, though that grouping disposes of all the "Songs of Innocence," there yet remain a few "Songs of Experience." We can, however, determine immediately the rôle of the companion poems, *A Little Boy Lost* (*Nought loves another as itself*) and *A Little Girl Lost* (*Children of the future age*); they resume and greatly

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add to the thoughts expressed in the contrasted pairs of poems concerning lost children that we have already noted.

Moreover, the three remaining songs of the later series form, along with one piece mentioned before, a curious group: each poem contains a theme both of innocence and of experience. In *The Fly* (corresponding only in metric with *Spring*), the 'insect youth' represents innocence, the reasoning man—experience; in *The Clod and the Pebble,* the clod speaks most innocently, the pebble sophisticatedly; *The Lily* points first to the fruit of experience, then to the blessing of purity and innocence; and *My Pretty Rose Tree,* best of all, concisely and lyrically illustrates the twofold subject in the one so-called song "of Experience." These double-theme poems result either from the poet's desire to expand the later series or from his occasional distaste for an absolutely regular plan.

This table of contrasts and correspondences will be further borne out by a study of the Tate Gallery collection of Blake's pictures, for some are unfinished and some very simple, and others—more especially the allegorical groupings—reveal a considerable intricacy of design and a careful balancing of themes.

Oxford. ERIC PARTRIDGE.

REVIEWS

Documentos lingüísticos de España. I: *Reino de Castilla.* Por Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919. 8vo., xii + 506 pp.

The present volume is published by the "Junta para ampliación de estudios e investigaciones científicas," and is to be followed by a second dealing with León, and a third devoted to Aragón and Navarre. While the book bears the date 1919, it was not put into circulation until the end of 1922, and it is to be hoped that this delay points to the early appearance of the remaining volumes of the series. It seems well to state at once that the undertaking is of primary and even monumental importance for the study of the Spanish language.

The texts of the 372 documents are paleographic, and give evidence of the utmost care in transcription and editing. In fact, for a large number of the texts the editor had at hand photographic

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copies, and for all documents of the Archivo Histórico Nacional the originals were used for correcting the proofs. Consequently, we can approach the subject of linguistics with full confidence in the accuracy of our printed material. The editor promises a second volume in which: "hablaré del valor lingüístico de los documentos, estudiaré algunos fenómenos importantes que en ellos pueden observarse, y daré un glosario completo de las voces que emplean."

All documents in the volume are published for the first time, with the exception of some thirty, which are duly noted. To these should be added numbers 302 and 303, which were published by Morel-Fatio in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo,* II, 35-38. The collection consists primarily of notarial texts in contrast to royal grants and decrees, and includes all the known "diplomas" of Castille that were written in Spanish between the years 1100 and 1230, and those written in Latin when they contain "formas romances interesantes." There is also one diploma of the eleventh century, and others of that century are to be published in a subsequent volume together with further texts illustrating the primitive period of the language.

The documents range, in date, from 1044 to 1492, and are distributed chronologically as follows: one of the eleventh century, forty-three of the twelfth, 175 of the first half of the thirteenth, ninety-six of the second half of the thirteenth, forty-two of the fourteenth, and sixteen of the fifteenth century. The basic arrangement is, however, geographical, and the fundamental divisions represent the kingdom of Castille as it gradually expanded until it included Granada in 1492. Consequently, we find the following linguistic groups, which depict at the same time the political, administrative, and cultural extension of the Castilian tongue: La Montaña, Campó, Castilla del Norte, Rioja, Álava, Burgos, Osma, Valladolid y Cerrato, Segovia y Ávila, Sigüenza, Toledo, Cuenca, Plasencia, Andalucía, and Murcia. Nevertheless, we find an occasional dialect form introduced by a Leonese or Navarrese notary, especially the latter (cf. pp. 114, 157).

The volume contains a historical introduction on the *Reino de Castilla,* and each geographical group has a similar introduction. These historical studies are models of clearness and scholarship, and form an admirable help to a critical knowledge of medieval

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history and of the historico-linguistic value of the documents. Finally, the book ends with a chronological index of the published texts.

Coming now to the documents themselves and bearing in mind their fundamentally linguistic purpose, we realize the importance of establishing the date and place of each. The problems in this connection are, at times, serious and involved, as Menéndez Pidal has so clearly set forth in his preface. The great majority of the texts contain the date; the rest, some eight in number, have been dated exactly or approximately, with one exception, number 165, which can be identified merely as previous to the year 1215. In the matter of place, on the other hand, more than one-half of the 372 documents contain no specific mention of the place where they were written. The establishment of the date and place forms part of the critical apparatus of each defective or obscure document, and we have, in consequence, some interesting analyses based on a comparative study of scribes, contracting parties, witnesses; even topography and historical phonetics are called into service (cf. nos. 5 and 150). Furthermore, the identifying of all place-names forms part of the critical material of each document. Other editorial material includes the present location of the various manuscripts, their size, status, and physical condition, the use of reagents, the presence and condition of the seal and ribbon. The notes on the handwriting not only record the scribal errors and carelessness, but describe the peculiarities of writing and devote special attention to the transcription of *ç, s, z,* and Visigothic *z.* Likewise, there is mention of the superfluous *tildes,* and for some texts these *tildes* are reproduced in illustration; for example, nos. 247, 248, 295.

As to the character of the documents, the large majority are, of course, records of sales, rents, mortgages, etc.; but we have also examples of wills, inventories, personal quarrels and truces, *fueros* (166), and even the business record of a frontier custom-house (355). Nor is this all, for two documents are written in Jewish Spanish (23, 24) and there are others in which Jews are the principal contracting parties. Similarly, no. 261 is a Spanish version of a grant on the part of a Mozarab, and Arabic signatures are not infrequent in other contracts. It is evident that such diversity of contents has its importance for linguistic study, but there is

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another side also. Back of the legal verbiage, clumsy syntax, and every-day vocabulary, the human element is not lacking, and we get into real personal touch with some of the hundreds of individuals who reveal their personal traits through the veil of notarial phraseology. To illustrate this point, however, would take us beyond the scope of the present review, and it must suffice to state that these notarial documents have a distinct value for the study of the culture of the race.

In a few instances we find items that bring us into contact with outstanding figures of Spanish literature itself. Thus the editor notes the occurrence of the name of Gonzalo de Berceo in documents of the years 1237, 1242, 1246 (p. 132), to which should be added a further item of 1228 where Berceo is witness to a sale of land in Logroño (87, 23). Other literary figures are Juan Manuel and Alfonso el Sabio, who are promulgators of several documents of the collection. The renown of Mio Cid is evidenced in two distinct ways. His epic name is recorded in 1212 in that of an utterly obliterated town, *Ribadella de Mio Cid* (208, note), not far from the present city of Burgos. Also the term *Mio Cid* was known in 1206 as the name of a certain *Pedro Ruiz Mio Cid* (266, 32), and in 1201 we have as a witness a certain *don Pelajo filjo de Meo Cid* (156, 16). We even have record of a *donna Cida* of Burgos in a document of 1188 (152, 36). Finally, traces of the Carolingian epic are seen in a document of 1277 which is signed at Toledo "en los palaçios que fueron de Galiana" (287, 75).

Approaching the book from the standpoint of language, I shall attempt to give some idea of the richness of the material and the opportunities for the study of problems that are fundamental in their application. As mentioned above, the editor has been at great pains to differentiate the various symbols for the dento-sibilants, *s, ç, z,* and even *ƫ* (*Diaƫ,* 107, 5), *sz* (*szapatero,* 156, 13), *sq* (*paresquiere,* 266, 71). The occurrence of the form *fegga* in the very first document suggests a study of the dento-palatals and the struggle of the medieval scribes to depict the sounds *č, š, ž*. For example, in *disso* (4, 15), *ss* has the value of voiceless *š,* whereas in *fegga* (1, 6), *peggare* (71, 28) the *gg* has the value of voiceless *č,* and in *figgo* (5, 15), *ualleggo* (39, 12) it represents voiced *ž,* as does final *g* in *ualeg de Rabina* (39, 11). Note also the variant

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teiho for *tejo* (3, 15), in contrast to *eiho* for *e yo* (155, 21), and *hyuez* for *juez* (212, 17); also *Sanggez* (36, 11), *Sangez* (1, 17), and even *Sanczo* (38, 10). Similarly, for the prepalatal we find such variations as *che* (13, 6), *ke* (1, 7), *cke* (147, 21), as also *ckarta* (159, 15), and even *Chastella* (161, 27).

In the case of the liquids, the symbols were more stable in their phonetic values, and this very fact throws light on the colloquial pronunciation of various word-groups. Thus final *n* may become *m* by partial assimilation to the initial labial of a following word: *em voz* (128, 6), *em Burgos* (150, 7), *som pagados* (128, 7), *Gyllem Pejdrez* (215, 36). In some instances we see complete assimilation, as in *co moiones* (273, 22), *errio* (4, 49) for *el rio, uolla* (340, 9) for *uos la.* This principle is especially in evidence with the title *don* when followed by initial *m*: *do Migaal* (2, 15), *do Malric* (12, 10), *dom Michael* (50, 19). We even find the form *do Micolas* (62, 43), which is clearly by analogy to *Michael, Malric,* and other baptismal names with initial *m.* A somewhat similar assimilation of voiced to voiceless consonant is seen in one case when *Lop Diaz* is written *Lop Tiaz* (90, 19), and inversely *Lob Lopez* (112, 17).

The baptismal name *Diago* shows a development that is rather clearly established by the documents. When followed by a family name beginning with *Go* (for example, *Diago Gomez*), we have *Diag Gomez* (3, 9), and the later development, *Dia Gomez* (2, 5), *Dia Goncaluez* (159, 9). Then the apocopated form *Dia* spreads to other family names, as, *Dia Perez* (61, 13), *Dia Bernaldez* (56, 16), *Dia Diaç* (106, 30), *Dia Sanchez* (60, 12). A final stage, representing the wearing away of final *a* in atonic hiatus in the stress-group, is seen in *Die Gutierres* (11, 4), which parallels the development of *Garcia* in *Garsie Ladron* and *Garsie de Aggo* (5, 41). The same general principle accounts for *villa* > *ville* in *Uille Gutierre* (22, 14). Likewise, the name *Ysabel,* as found in *Ysabel Martinez* (204, 18), undergoes an interesting analogical change when the husband's baptismal name begins with prepalatal or postpalatal *g*; thus: "Dona *Guisabel* la mugier de *Guillem* de Bordel" (169, 16), "Yo *Guysabel* Martinez muger que so del dicho *Garcia* Martin" (360, 4). The rare form *Sanct Caluador* (in which the scribe has omitted the cedilla) occurs in the year 1186 (15, 5), and is a welcome addition to the example in the

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Poema del Cid, 2924, and to the second in a document of 1196 cited by Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar,* I, 174. Menéndez Pidal's explanation of the form *Sant Çaluador* on the basis of dissimilation of the two initial consonants does not seem as probable as that the scribe was representing with phonetic accuracy the consonantal group final *t* + initial *S, i. e., santSaluador* > *sanÇaluador.*

The apocope of *fijo* to *fi* before a following personal name is well known in early Spanish, but our documents show such further forms as *fil de,* the plural *filos dalgo* (216, 18), the hybrid *filijo* (250, 6), and the reconstructed feminine form "*fia* de Munjo Royz" (225, 6). But in its strictly popular development the phenomenon of apocope does not stop here. *Fi de* should develop phonetically into *fid;* and before a word in the same stress-group, beginning with initial *d,* the final *d* of *fid* should disappear. Consequently, we are not surprised to find *fidon,* as the ultimate form of *fijo de don,* in *fidon Yague* (129, 12), *fidon Garcia* (129, 13). Possibly, the same explanation may account for the disappearance of orthographic *de* in *marido que so dona Sancha* (339, 5), which the editor is inclined to regard as a scribal error. Before dropping the question of personal names, it may be noted that the texts contain numerous examples of feminine *don* before personal names beginning with a vowel, for example: *don Oria* (151, 7), *don Urraca* (113, 34), *don Oro* (249, 4), *don Elo* (281, 5), which supplement the interesting collection of examples in *Cantar,* I, 206.

In illustration of the problems of morphology, we may note the not infrequent use of *so, mio,* as feminine possessive adjectives, a use that is not confined to the Leonese dialect; thus, *so muger* (262, 59), *mjo mulier* (214, 28), *so gracia* (93, 12), *sos casas* (41, 35), etc. In number 369 occurs an interesting differentiation between the days of male and female saints: *el san Johan, el san Michel,* but *la sancta Marja.* The same confusion of *fiesta* and *dia* is seen in "la sant Migael" (166, 14), in contrast to "el otro dia de Sant Iuhan" (193, 22).

The inflected verb-forms are, of course, full of interest and we simply note in illustration such variants as *arrentamos* (69, 5), *promedt* (327, 29), *viendo* (9, 5), *cuejan* (57, 37), *cuebran* (125, 7), *tene* (152, 23). The future subjunctive shows such forms as *demandartes* (34, 25), *fiziertes* (34, 36), *mandartes* (69, 21). The use of flexional *o* in the first singular of the future subjunctive is

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extended to the imperfect in *diesso* (58, 19), *pudiesso* (66, 14). Note also the rare present subjunctive *posseescades* (371, 60) and the past participle *frecho* (23, 29).

In the matter of syntax the problems are almost limitless, and many cry out for investigation and study. For the pronouns, note the adjectival use of *el cual,* with and without a following demonstrative, in documents of the years 1361, 1368, 1396: "*lo qual esto,* que dicho es que vos vendo" (297, 17; cf. l. 19), "*los quales estos* quatro çientos e çinquaenta morauedis" (298, 18), "*los quales dichos* morauedis" (301, 15). The conventional partitive phrase *della e della part* is found in 91, 51; but we have also the more striking phrases *todo o dello, todo o del, toda o della* in documents written in Córdoba (336, 19; 340, 18; 341, 17; 347, 19; 348, 18; 359, 20). Interesting illustrative material is found for the use of the relative adverb *que* as the equivalent of *a quienes* (244, 15) and *de quienes* (334, 7). The phrase *algunos parientes de nos* (257, 18) is remarkable on account of its rarity. Comparatively rare also is the anacoluthon similar to *Poema del Cid,* 181, in which *bien* or 'well and good' is understood: "e ssi ffuere mayor, ssi non, que non ssea menor de como agora esta" (72, 22). Finally, the adverbial phrase *entanamientre,* in a document of the year 1256 (344, 9), confirms the only other example known to the reviewer, namely, *Apolonio,* 347 d.

The syntax of the verbs is especially rich in suggestions. Note, in illustration, the not infrequent use of the future indicative in the preamble, "Sepan todos omnes qui esta carta *ueran*" (116, 5; etc.); and the dependent personal infinitive with *acaesçer,* "podria acaesçer fallesçer yo" (302, 22), "si acaesçiere morir yo" (302, 26).

It is hoped that the preceding observations and comments may give some idea of the exceptional scholarship of the *Documentos lingüísticos de España.* Such an editorial undertaking has necessitated knowledge and training in the various fields of history, paleography, philology, literature, and scientific method, and in all we see the same master hand that has already contributed so much to Spanish studies. It is hoped, furthermore, that the review has duly emphasized the richness of the material awaiting study, and that it indicates the eagerness with which Spanish scholars will await the appearance of the supplementary volumes of the series.

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In the following notes I have attempted to clarify several passages that remain obscure through scribal carelessness:

Examples of logical pre-position of descriptive adjectives are found in "amigables conponedores" (127, 8), "pacifica possession" (145, 17), "claresçida sennora donna Catalina" (243, 11); while "publico notario" (62, 70) is probably a scribal error.—The demonstrative adjective is separated from its noun in "e por que esta cosa mais firme sea, por auos e por ala orden, esta fazemos carta" (315, 19). The editor's comment on this passage is: "después de *orden* hay punto, y después de *esta* un signo extraño." The "signo extraño" may possibly be a scribal device for showing misplacement of the word *esta.* Otherwise, it seems advisable to disregard the "punto" and to put a comma after *esta,* thus making it modify the noun *orden* in post-position. Another passage that shows unusual and probably erroneous word-order of the adjective *tal* is "En tal, empero, manera fago a uos esta entrega" (371, 59).—The *por que* of 231, 44, which the editor queries, become intelligible if we place a comma or semicolon after the preceding word, *defendimiento,* and interpret *por que* as a conjunctive phrase meaning 'therefore' or 'consequently,' as in 290, 13; 329, 18; 363, 19.—In 333, 18, *que* has the force of a concessive conjunction, unless, as is more probable, we have a scribal lapse for *aun que;* cf. line 33 of the same document.—The use of *por que* in the following sentence is obscure: "Otrosi querellaron que los alcalles e los alguaziles que prendien los clerigos quando ffazien *por que,* e los non querien dar a sus perlados que los judguen assi como derecho es" (229, 46). It would seem that we must read: "quando [non] ffazien por que," or emend *por que* to *ya que,* 'algo.'—In "Testigos que este pleito uieron e lo dieron" (279, 49), the *lo* is probably *o* preceded by the identifying *c*-curve, and we may read: "uieron e odieron."—"E si por auentura fuere . . . que fuerza o dampno recebiemos (read *recebieremos*) . . . que perdian (read *pierdan*) todo esto quelles damos" (273, 35).—234, 43, read *mostrare* for *mostrara.*—194, 10, "en (read *con*) entradas e exidas."—286, 58, "en aguas corientes e (en) manantes."—231, 34, "(de) denoche."—117, 14, "Et [si] por auentura," also 336, 17.—328, 21, "la que [fue] de Gil Rromo"; cf. lines 19 and 22 of the same document.—334, 26, "tres o mas [o] los que oviese menester"; cf. l. 20 of the same document.—In 67, 33, the scribe

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was probably trying to say: "et si no[s] os dixiessemos, [o] otro omne por nos, que non fuymos bien pagados."—As to misprints and errata: p. 34, l. 5, read *16* and *35* for *15* and *33*; p. 223, number 177 should be added to the list of documents written by the scribe Lope de las Huelgas.

C. CARROLL MARDEN.

Princeton University.

Philippe Néricault Destouches. L'homme et l'œuvre. Par Jean Hankiss, docteur ès lettres, lecteur des langues allemande et française à l'université de Debreczen. Debreczen: Hegedüs & Sándor, 1920. Pp. 449.

This is an excellent book, well informed, interesting, remarkably thorough if we take into consideration the fact that it was completed in Hungary in September, 1918, only a few weeks before the collapse of the central empires. It contains a biography of Destouches, careful analyses of his plays with a study of their sources, a general criticism of characters, technique, the comic element, style, influence, etc. The author shows to what extent the work of Destouches was affected by the circumstances of his life both in France and in England, by his experiences as actor, protégé, diplomat, and "philosophe marié." Beginning with a dramatization of a tale by Cervantes, Destouches soon found his own field in a sort of imitation of Molière, by which, like his great predecessor, he wrote comedies of character but departed from his model through his fondness for moralizing and romancing. The latter tendencies show that he was a forerunner of the lachrymose drama of Nivelle de la Chaussée. "Il a écrit environ 25 comédies (dont 22 nous ont été transmises), une comédie héroïque et 4 divertissements. Il a puisé à des sources bien variées. Plaute et Térence, Shakspeare et Steele, Cervantes et Lesage, Corneille et La Bruyère, lui transmettent non seulement des sujets, mais encore des procédés et des tendances. . . . Il n'aspirait qu'à faire subsister la grande comédie régulière ou, tout au plus, à la rendre un peu plus édifiante, et il ne s'aperçut pas de ne plus tenir entre les mains que l'enveloppe ancienne qui allait se remplissant, peu à peu, d'un contenu tout nouveau."[1] M. Hankiss stresses particularly the

[1] P. 390.

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English influence and that of the dramatist's own experiences. Endowed neither with a highly poetic, nor with a highly comic genius, Destouches was able to supplement what talent he had by a certain technical skill and tireless application. When he failed to follow the teaching of his observation, it was because of his belief that there was nothing astonishing or unusual in moral conversions. His strong defense of the family foreshadows the work of Augier and Dumas fils. While neither this characteristic, nor the "ton sérieux ou touchant" was new, yet "c'est le mérite de Destouches de leur avoir assigné sur la scène une place honorable et considérable; car ce qui importait, au point de vue de l'évolution du genre, c'était moins la présence de ces traits si anciens, que la prédominance qu'ils pouvaient y obtenir." [2]

In so long and detailed a study there are naturally a number of passages to which the reader may take exception, in spite of the fact that the statements are usually accurate, the criticism sound. It is unfortunate that M. Hankiss was unable to consult an important article by M. Henri David [3] that appeared after he had completed his work, though before he published it. Had he done so, he would not have been so quick to accept the tradition that Destouches was a soldier or to date as he does his departure from the service of Puyzieulx. M. David has examined diplomatic documents inaccessible to M. Hankiss and brought to light various facts from which the latter's opening chapter would have profited. It is fortunate that M. Hankiss says little about the military career of Destouches, for the researches of M. David make it seem extremely probable that he was never a soldier.

It would be well to show whether or not any of the earlier adaptations of *El Curioso impertinente* listed on p. 59 exerted any influence upon Destouches's play of that name. I am by no means convinced that "la médisance n'est pas propre à captiver l'attention pendant cinq actes." [4] To his list of plays dealing with this subject M. Hankiss might appropriately add Hervieu's *Paroles*

[2] P. 394. It is worth noticing that, according to the table of representations at the Comédie Française given by M. H. on p. 412, D.'s greatest popularity was after his death, from 1760 to 1780 and from 1800 to 1820.

[3] "Un peu d'ordre dans la jeunesse orageuse de Néricault Destouches," *Revue du dix-huitième siècle*, juillet-décembre 1918, pp. 116-44.

[4] P. 90.

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restent. I have been unable to discover the "qualités neuves et remarquables" with which *l'Obstacle imprévu* is said to be filled.[5] The criticism of the *Philosophe marié* is too favorable, for Destouches does not satisfactorily express in dramatic form his concept of the hero. We are told that he is a "philosophe" and that he loves his wife, but until we reach the end of the play there is little evidence from his actions to support either statement. In the *Fausse Agnès* the "baronne" is the mother, not the step-mother of Angélique.[6] When reference is made[7] to Destouches's statement that the Lisette of his *Glorieux* creates a new type, it might be well to note her resemblance to the "suivante" in Corneille's play of that name. The second act of the *Dissipateur* is hardly mere "remplissage,"[8] for it gives us an opportunity to see the heroine winning the hero's money directly and to become acquainted with the kind of company he keeps. Without it we should neither see the lovers together before the fourth act, nor be informed as to the heroine's attitude towards her rival. In the discussion[9] of reasons assigned to characters for leaving the stage, it might have been pointed out that Destouches, unlike his seventeenth century models, often leaves exits and entrances unaccounted for. So important an element of technique as the unity of action deserves more attention than is given it on p. 352.

M. Hankiss tells us[10] that the war prevented his completing his study of the influence of Molière upon Destouches. To instances of borrowing mentioned by him I would add a few that have attracted my attention. The reply of Isabelle to the count (*Glorieux,* III, 2),

> Vous allez un peu vite, et nous devons peut-être
> Avant le mariage, un peu mieux nous connaître,

may be an echo of Alceste's reply to Oronte (*Misanthrope,* I, 2),

> Avant que nous lier, il faut nous mieux connaître.

In the *Dissipateur* when the baron reproves Cléon for his extravagance, the latter replies (I, 6),

> Asseyez-vous, Baron, vous prêcherez bien mieux,

just as in *Don Juan* the protagonist, rebuked by his father for his

[5] P. 109. [6] P. 137. [7] P. 161. [8] P. 184. [9] P. 335. [10] P. 264.

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crimes, says to him (IV, 4, ed. 1683), "Monsieur, si vous étiez assis, vous en seriez bien mieux pour parler." The attitude of Damon and Céliante towards each other (*Phil. marié*, II, 2) resembles strongly that of Alceste and Célimène (*Mis.*, II, IV, 3), even if there are also evidences of English influence, as M. Hankiss declares.[11] One can easily discern the influence of the *Médecin malgré lui* (III, 6) on *la Fausse Agnès* (III, 4), "Ma tante eut toutes les peines du monde à la faire parler; mais dès qu'elle sut parler, ma tante aurait voulu qu'elle fût redevenue muette," and the influence of M. Jourdain's discovery of prose (*Bourgeois Gent.*, II, 4) on a similar discovery by Angélique (*la Fausse Agnès*, II, 6). Finally, I consider the manner in which the character of the Glorieux is set forth and his first entrance on the stage delayed an imitation of the exposition in *Tartuffe* rather than an innovation of Destouches.[12]

Most of the typographical errors have been pointed out by the author in his list of *errata*.[13] They are not remarkably numerous if one remembers the length of the book and the fact that it was printed outside of France. One rather wonders that good paper and satisfactory printing could be obtained in Hungary in 1920, and that during the difficult period of the war a minor French dramatist attracted such extensive study and won such sympathetic criticism in an enemy country. Romance scholars, who must all deplore the loss to Hungary and to French letters of the late Professor Haraszti, will feel assured after reading this book that the learning, discernment, and appreciation of things French which characterized his work have survived in that of his disciple, M. Hankiss.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

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[11] Pp. 125-6.

[12] P. 156.

[13] The following have been overlooked: pp. 11, 13, different dates are assigned to the battle of Friedlingen; p. 16, read *la Voisin* for *La Voisin*, and, n. 1, *à* for *a*; p. 17, l. 22, *et* for *el*; p. 41, l. 11, *les* for *es*; p. 132, l. 20, *Le* for *La*. The note on p. 144 refers not to Arsinoé, but to Célimène, whose name occurs four lines above. On p. 173 the third note is incorrectly numbered. P. 183, l. 21, add *à* after *aider*; p. 201, l. 23, *ce* after *tout*. P. 240, n. 2, read *Audrey* for *Andrey*; p. 297, l. 7, *défroque* for *décharge*; p. 305, l. 27, *des* for *de*; p. 340, l. 19, *vagues* for *vogues*; p. 363, l. 26, *pire* for *plus pire*; p. 366, l. 3 and p. 378, l. 4, *à part* for *à part de*; p. 370, l. 7, *é* for *er*; p. 378, l. 24, *l'* for *d'*.

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Der deutsche Volksmund im Lichte der Sage, von HEINRICH LESSMANN. Berlin u. Leipzig, Haude und Spener, 1922. xxiv + 423 pp.

This work, published six years after the death of the author who fell a victim to the European War, proposes to trace back to myth and legend the origin of such expressions and current sayings as were not coined by definite and known authors. It is therefore a supplement to Büchmann's *Geflügelte Worte.* While turning his attention primarily to the German language and its dialects, the author does not treat his subject without frequent side-glances at the Classical, Oriental and Romance languages. Though several works were on the market professing to deal with the same topic, Lessmann found the field practically uncultivated, owing, no doubt, to the many difficulties which beset the path of the investigator who, unlike Lessmann, does not have both linguistic and mythological data at his disposal.

The author has acquitted himself remarkably well of the task he set himself, though in view of the vastness of the subject and its encyclopædic character it is evident that not all of his explanations are generally acceptable. But his discussions, always of rare lucidity, open up new vistas and stimulate thought. The text is followed by two indices of the authors quoted and the expressions explained.

If in the following pages I make observations on various points and offer suggestions differing from those of the author, it is not with a view of detracting from the merit of this valuable and scholarly work, but rather to direct the attention of folklorists and mythologists to it.

P. 2. Lessmann denies the existence of any essential difference between myth (*Göttersage*), heroic legend (*Heldensage*), and fairy-tale (*Volksmärchen*), inasmuch as all three contain mythical or legendary material. It is, however, not at all certain that the heroic legend necessarily contains such in all cases, and where it does, it is very probable, after the researches of F. Panzer, that early epic poets used fairy-tale motifs on a large scale to construct their plots.

P. 3. Lessmann accepts the theory of the Grimms who considered the *Märchen* as a humanized myth (*vermenschlichte Göttersage*). Recent researches, especially in the field of Greek myth-

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ology, have shown that the "Olympian" mythology is of a comparatively late date and presupposes a fairly developed civilization, that on the other hand the *daemones* (*Elementargeister*) are considerably older, a fact which was anticipated, some seventy years ago, by no less a scholar than Ludwig Uhland.[1] Now it is quite certain that the protagonists of fairy-tales bear, in many instances, a striking similarity with these *daemones*, while we should look in vain for an "Olympian" in any folktale. Hence the natural conclusion that the fairy-tales are older than the anthropomorphic gods of Olympus and Walhall.

P. 22. Lessmann derives the expression *einen Korb bekommen* (to be rejected as a suitor) from a story told by Musäus. The question may be asked whether the story was not made up to explain the saying, or, what is still more likely, whether both story and saying do not go back to a common source, some ancient custom, for it is of common occurrence that a custom no longer understood is explained by a story (ætiological myth). Such a conclusion would be corroborated by the following facts. The legend of Libuše is of Bohemian origin and hence would explain only the occurrence of the saying in the Bohemian language. We should then have to suppose the saying to have passed to the Bohemian Germans and from there to the other parts of Germany. This is rather unlikely, and if the expression migrated it probably went in the opposite direction, like so many others. But it is more probable still that it is derived from an ancient usage practised by both Bohemians and Germans and that the story of Musäus is merely a Bohemian ætiological myth.

P. 29. Lessmann proves quite conclusively that the Christian god-parents are but the human representatives of the fates who are supposed to appear at the cradle of the new-born child. This discovery is in line with the results of recent anthropological research, according to which the priest-king is the human representative of the chief god.

P. 42. Mention is made of the gossamer (*Altweibersommer*), believed to be spun by the Nornes. Lessmann might have added the popular German name of the toad-flax (*Linaria vulgaris*) com-

[1] *Schriften zur Geschichte der Dichtung und Sage*, Stuttgart, 1865-73, VII, 382.

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monly called *Frauenflachs,* evidently because it is supposed to be used by feminine spirits of the corn and the wild.

P. 51. It is very doubtful whether the proverb "Mit den Wölfen muss man heulen" can possibly contain an allusion to the Sigurd saga. It is far more likely that wolf had here the old meaning of "outlaw," "bandit."

P. 59. It is more than doubtful whether the wide-spread story underlying Schiller's poem *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer* is at all connected with the *Märchen* of the *Princess with the Golden Hair.* Its basis appears rather to be the universal truth expressed by the proverb "Wer andern eine Grube gräbt, fällt selbst hinein," and the theme of the second messenger who overtakes the first carrying a fatal message, a motif found in Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* (II. 10. 5), but unconnected with the Fridolin story.

P. 59. *Ich lege meine Hand dafür ins Feuer* has hardly any connection with the legend of Mucius Scaevola. The expression rather points to a prehistoric ordeal.

P. 61. The belief that the other world is separated from this one by a body of water is, of course, not particularly "Aryan," being found among widely scattered races.[2] Hence the universal occurrence of the bridge of the dead, the ferry of Charon and the custom of ship-burial.

P. 69. Legend of the "Iron Trunk" at Vienna. Again this seems to be an ætiological myth to explain the custom of driving nails into a trunk, a Teutonic parallel to the Roman practice mentioned on p. 77, probably for the purpose of nailing down all evil threatening the commonwealth.

P. 79. Derivation of the custom of burying the hatchet from a passage of the *þrymskviða.* Rather the passage in question owes its existence to the rite.

P. 80. The name of *Thors Hämmer* given by German soldiers to a type of hand grenade used in the last war is certainly due to learned influences and should have been kept out.

P. 82. *Der Krug geht so lange zum Brunnen, bis er bricht.* Cf. French *Tant va la cruche à l'eau qu'à la fin elle se casse.* Lessmann rightly observes: "Dass muss mythischen Ursprunges

[2] E. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind,* New York, 1878, p. 358; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity,* London, 1909-10, I, 185; R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche,* Leipzig, 1889, pp. 25, 27.

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sein. So bilderkräftig ist die Sprache an und für sich ohne den Hintergrund der Sage, nicht." The pitcher is in all probability a magic vessel, a fairy gift, which walks to the well by itself like the pestle in Lucian's φιλοψευδής and the broom in Goethe's *Zauberlehrling,* and upon which perhaps the prosperity of the owner depended as on the heirloom in Uhland's *Das Glück von Edenhall.*

P. 87. Derivation of the word *dragoon* from *dragon* and its connection with the insignia of certain bodies of troops worn to inspire the enemy with fear. Lessmann could have mentioned the war masks of savages of which the modern examples are but a "survival."

P. 92. *Schatz* (sweetheart) probably goes back to the *Märchen* of the *Princess with the Golden Hair,* as in this type the hero is called upon to acquire for his master first some priceless treasures and at last the princess.

P. 97. Add to the ancient parallels to the "Swan of Avon" Socrates' dream in Pausanias, *Descr. Gr.* I. 30. 30.

P. 105. *Er saugte sich die Weisheit aus den Fingern.* Of the same origin French *Mon petit doigt me l'a dit.*

P. 112. Golden horseshoes. Cf. G. Paris, *Romania,* IX, 515; H. Gering, *Islendzk Aeventyri,* Halle, 1883, II, 50; Kristensen, *Danske folke-aeventyr,* Viborg, 1888, No. 2, p. 14.

P. 115. Goose guides the Christian army in the First Crusade. Cf. the episode of the bird singing "Franceis que dis-tu" and guiding Charlemagne, as told in the *Iter Hierosolymitanum.*

P. 119. *Sich mit fremden Federn schmücken* goes certainly back to the well-known fable. For only a bird can be said to adorn itself with the plumage of others, not man, having none of his own. Lessmann seems to underestimate the influence of the Latin fable as propounded by the mediaeval preachers. Cf. also p. 164 *Die Trauben sind sauer.*

P. 132. *Sich den Kopf zerbrechen* has hardly the origin suggested. Cf. French *se rompre le nez,* Italian *stillarsi il cervello.*

P. 162. *Ulk* from *Ulenspegel* (Eulenspiegel); cf. French *espiègle.*

P. 185. *Ik will hoch h'rup'. säd' den Buren sin Soen und keem an'n Galgen.* Cf. the story of *Meier Helmbrecht.*

P. 189. *Im Schosse des Glücks sitzen;* cf. *Hamlet* II, 2:

Guildenstern. On Fortune's cap we're not the very button.

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Haml. Nor the soles of her shoe?
Rosencrantz. Neither, my Lord.
Haml. Then you live about her waist, or in the middle of her favours?
Guil. Faith, her privates we.
Haml. In the secret parts of Fortune? O, most true; she is a strumpet.

P. 190. It is doubtful whether the androgynous Christs in Southern Germany go back to the legend here mentioned. Both the images and the legend evidently developed out of androgynous Roman and Hellenic deities. It is to be noted that the images are practically limited to the parts of Germany once more or less under Roman control.

P. 194. Derivation of the custom of neglecting one's outer appearance until one has killed an enemy, from the story of Balder's death. Rather the Eddic myth is a reflection of the custom, found, besides, among many races.[8]

P. 196. *Ein lockerer* (*loser*) *Vogel,* hardly due to the myth of Loki and Geirröd, but to a good observation of nature. Certain birds had the same reputation of sexual licence among the Greeks. Cf. also the old folksong *Die Vogelhochzeit.*

P. 201. *Nach dem kräht kein Hahn mehr.* The rooster is hardly more than the domestic bird, symbol of house and home. Cf. the stanza of the Bavarian song *Kommt a Vogerl geflogen:* "Und es fragt halt ka *Katzerl,* ka *Hunderl* nach mir."

P. 210. Lessmann asks: "Sollte nicht überhaupt die russisch-byzantinische Sitte, die Gotteshäuser mit goldenen Kuppeln zu versehen, auf den Zug der Sage zurück gehen, dass die Halle der Götter mit Golde gedeckt ist?" While this is an open question, there can be no doubt that the impression which the Byzantine churches left upon the returning Scandinavians of the imperial guard was responsible for the identification of Asgard with Byzantium.

P. 215. *Luftschlösser bauen*; Italian *castelli in aria.* The French *châteaux en Espagne* may point to the introduction of Oriental fairy-tale motifs from Spain.

P. 237. *Glückspilz* has its origin probably in the rapid growth of mushrooms, especially since the German term is generally

[8] Sir J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul,* London, 1914, p. 261.

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applied to persons blessed with unexpected and often unmerited luck.

P. 243. *Staatsruder;* cf. the etymology of governor, κυβερνήτης.

P. 259. Derivation of *ein wunderlicher* (*sonderbarer*) *Heiliger* from Saint Vitus. But were there no other strange saints, the hero of *Decameron* I, 1, for example?

P. 262. *Er kömmt auf die grüne Wiese, wo die Musikanten sitzen.* Lessmann strangely omits to mention the conclusion of Grimm, *Märchen* 35, which reads: "Petrus musste den Schneider wieder hinaus vor den Himmel bringen, und weil er zerrissene Schuhe hatte und die Füsse voll Blasen, nahm er einen Stock in die Hand und zog nach Warteinweil, wo die frommen Soldaten sitzen und sich lustig machen."

P. 266. *Wenn man den Teufel and die Wand malt* etc. Cf. Goethe, *Faust* I, *Vor dem Tor:*

> Berufe nicht die wohlbekannte Schar,
> Die strömend sich im Dunstkreis überbreitet,
> Dem Menschen tausendfältige Gefahr,
> Von allen Enden her, bereitet.

P. 276. Old Ind. *naktamdivam*; Old Pers. *Chšapa-wā ročā-pati-wā*; cf. French *nuit et jour.*

P. 283. Origin of the Saturnalia; cf. also p. 317. Compare Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat,* London, 1913, pp. 306 ff.

P. 316. Valid reasons to identify *Harlekin* with the wild huntsman and the devil (cf. also F. Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperalia,* Hannover, 1856, pp. 173 ff.). Should this be the origin of the devil *Alichino* in Dante, *Inf.*, XXI, 118?

P. 357. *Reden ist Silber, Schweigen ist Gold.* The first part undoubtedly comes from the Bible (cf. our *silver-tongued* orators). The second part was added later in much the same way as in the saying "Mein Kind, wenn dich die bösen Buben locken, so folge ihnen nicht, *sondern geh voran.*"

P. 377. *Hrungnis Herz*; cf. the Suebian tale underlying W. Hauff's *Das kalte Herz.*

Space permits me to mention these points only. Whatever one may think of some of the author's conclusions, he is certainly in the right when saying, p. 379, "So viel nämlich merkte ich schon bei den ersten Versuchen der Stellungnahme zu den Leistungen Anderer auf diesem Gebiete, dass durch meine Ausführungen ein

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Quell für die Erklärung volkstümlicher Ausdrücke und Wendungen erschlossen wird, aus dem bisher nur sehr wenig geschöpft worden ist." Similar works covering other languages are highly desirable. There exist a number of Renaissance compilations purporting to explain the origin of current proverbs and sayings, notably the works of the Cieco da Ferrara and Aloise Cinzio dei Fabrizii. It would be of greatest interest to examine the *novelle* of these collections to ascertain whether or no they give reliable explanations of those proverbial expressions or merely "ætiological myths."

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

Flat River, Mo.

Esther and *Bérénice*. Two plays by John Masefield. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922.

The two short pages prefaced to this volume clearly give us to understand that John Masefield's primary aim has not been to emulate the numerous English adapters and translators of French classical tragedy. It appears that "a little company of amateur players who wished to try their art in verse plays" could not perform Elizabethan plays for lack of actors and of a sufficiently large stage, while Restoration or modern plays were unsuitable for their audience. Hence the idea of recurring to the French classical tragedy, which provides "fine situations and stirring declamation," although it requires no large cast and practically no scenery.

All this, however, will not prevent most university men, both in France and in the English-speaking countries, from being less interested in Mr. Masefield's achievement as a dramatic poet than in his handling of a literary *genre* in which the failures have been numerous and signal enough to justify the statement that England is unable to understand fully the classical genius of France.

It is therefore in the hope of finding at last in Mr. Masefield the ideal English interpreter of French classical tragedy that one reads first his "adaptation" of *Esther* and passes on to his "translation" of *Bérénice*. Needless to say, an evening thus spent proves a most delightful one, owing to the fine quality of the author's verse, but how is it possible not to feel slightly disappointed in the end, when one realizes that Mr. Masefield's attempt must be considered, not as a new and at last entirely suc-

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cessful departure in the rendering of French tragedy, but simply as one of the very best achievements of the old school of translators and adapters?

According to the preface, the play of *Esther* is "an adaptation and not a translation," and this for three reasons: first, "the audience asked for something more than the French formality allowed," second, "nothing could be made of Racine's choruses in translation," third, Racine's play was found too short and some additions were made, including a fourth act. Of course an adapter is perfectly justified in making alterations, adding or suppressing scenes and even acts so long as he remains faithful to the spirit of the original. It is not therefore on the grounds that Mr. Masefield has added one act and altered the choruses that we must decline to differentiate him from the other English adapters of French tragedy. It is because his various alterations and additions introduce that "something more" which French devotion to form did not allow that he fails to improve on the methods of his predecessors.

With regard to the "additions" we must, it is true, praise Mr. Masefield for having founded them—almost entirely—on passages of the original. The second act—the additional one—is nothing else than the elaborate staging of King Ahasuerus' sleepless night, tersely described by Hydaspes at the beginning of Racine's second act, and the long description of Haman's death in the fourth act is partly based on Hydaspes' report in Racine's third act. But, although founded on the original, these additions are as foreign as possible to the classical spirit. The second act is Shakespearian—and beautifully so—from beginning to end. One has but to compare the famous "Songe d'Athalie" to the apparition of Thares' ghost, with his "disguised, piping voice," to realize how remote Mr. Masefield is from Racine! As for the "description" of Haman's death, it is—as such—in conformity with classical ideals. But Mr. Masefield shows in it that same love of complications which has always characterised the English adapters. At the cost of a contradiction—since Haman and his wife almost decided to fly to the Hellespont in the opening scene of the fourth act—Mr. Masefield brings in "swordsmen," whom Haman had hired to kill Ahasuerus and crown him king in his stead; besides, the trick imagined by Haman to delay his own execution until the

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time appointed for these swordsmen to appear is at best "intensely romantic"!

The "alterations" have all been made in connection with Racine's choruses, and, no doubt, the stanzas of Mr. Masefield appear superior to Racine's songs, which—like all songs—lose all their beauty when separated from the music. One cannot but notice, however, that John Masefield has often sacrificed the classical *vraisemblance* to his love for romantic themes. In the first act, for instance, if he is quite justified in making the chorus sing of the defeat and captivity of the Jews,

> A myriad of Persians came against our town,
> Many in numbers as the blades of grass. . . .

we do not see how girls within "ten hours" of their death can feel inclined to muse—and at such length!—on the bitterness of an exile a thousand times less cruel than death!

> Here, from our prison gate, we see again
> The never-ending sand, the Persian plain,
> The long, long road, the stones that we should tread
> Were we but free, to our beloved dead.
>
> And in the Spring the birds fly to the west
> Over those deserts that the mountains hem,
> They fly to our dear land; they fly to nest;
> We cannot go with them.
>
> And in Springtime from the windows of the tower
> I can see the wild horses in the plain,
> Treading stately but so lightly that they never break the flower,
> And they fade at speed to westward and they never come again, . . .

Whatever the poetical merits of such alterations, we lack Racine's fitting comments on the horrors of the approaching massacre, the injustice of the Jews' fate and their hope in the God of Israel.

As a translator Mr. Masefield is—in our opinion—superior to such renowned translators of French tragedy as "The Matchless Orinda," Charles Cotton, Ambrose Philips, and William Whitehead. The reason is obvious: he is the one true poet of them all.

Most of the time his translation is a close line-for-line rendering, much more felicitous than the corresponding passages in Otway's *Titus and Berenice*—unduly praised, it seems, by Dorothea F. Canfield. Let us consider for instance the opening lines of the original and the translations of the two English poets:

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Arrêtons un moment. La pompe de ces lieux,
Je le vois bien, Arsace, est nouvelle à tes yeux.
Souvent ce cabinet superbe et solitaire
Des secrets de Titus est le dépositaire.
C'est ici quelquefois qu'il se cache à sa cour,
Lorsqu'il vient à la reine expliquer son amour.

Otway: Thou, my Arsaces, art a stranger here:
This is th' apartment of the charming fair,
That Berenice, whom Titus so adores:
The universe is his, and he is her's:
Here from the court himself he oft conceals,
And in her ears his charming story tells;

Mr. Masefield: Let us stay here a moment. I can see
That all this stately palace is unknown
To you, Arsaces.
This lonely room is where the Emperor comes
To find some quiet from the cares of court.
Here sometimes, too, he comes to see the Queen;

Often Mr. Masefield aims at a concision greater than that of the original . . . and he succeeds!

La reine, d'un regard a daigné m'avertir
Qu'à votre empressement elle allait consentir.

She granted your desire with a look.

He also avoids with great skill the "precious" traits rather too numerous in Racine's play:

Portez loin de mes yeux vos soupirs et vos fers.

Go sir, far from me, and forget your love.

Mr. Masefield is not, however, the ideal translator of French tragedy, for he sometimes "sins against the spirit." He omits some of those historical passages which the French classicists admired so much, the following one for example:

Antoine, qui l'aima jusqu'à l'idolâtrie,
Oublia dans son sein sa gloire et sa patrie,
Sans oser toutefois se nommer son époux.
Rome l'alla chercher jusques à ses genoux,
Et ne désarma point sa fureur vengeresse
Qu'elle n'eût accablé l'amant et la maîtresse.

Here and there we fail to see any reason for differences between the translation and the original. Thus:

Cette foule, ces rois, ces consuls, ce sénat,
Qui tous de mon amant empruntaient leur éclat,

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is translated:

> The crowd of Kings, the Consuls and the Senate
> All lending all their glory to my lover.

At other times nice shades of meaning are—it seems—unduly sacrificed:

> Quoi! Déjà de Titus épouse *en espérance*,

is worthy of a better translation than:

> Even if she be *about to marry* Titus.

There are a few examples of surprisingly weak and prosaic rendering:

> Titus, pour mon malheur, vint, vous vit et vous plut.
> Il parut devant vous dans tout l'éclat d'un homme
> Qui porte entre ses mains la vengeance de Rome.

> Then, to my sorrow, Titus came: he saw you,
> He pleased you, for of course he came before you
> In all the splendour of a man who bears
> The vengeances of Rome in his two hands.

We are left wondering, too, when such a passionate exclamation as "Dans quel trouble, Seigneur, jetez-vous mon esprit!" becomes "I am troubled," or when Bérénice, a classic queen, proclaims: "My mind's made up!"

Finally we regret the deliberate modernization of some classical expressions. We find, for instance, Antiochus described as "the most gallant man in the forlorn," and we hear of Roman Senators "backing" by solemn vote and "in full house" a proposal to rank Vespasianus with the Gods! This may be a favorite trick with Mr. Masefield, but it is just as efficient in this translation as it is in *Pompey the Great*.

To conclude, John Masefield, the poet, has performed the feat of raising to a poetical level it had probably never reached before, the *genre* of translations and adaptations of French classical tragedy. Unfortunately John Masefield, the Englishman, in spite of all his sympathy for the French spirit, has been unable fully to interpret the French classical tragedy to his countrymen.

M. Clavel.

University of Michigan.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Notes on Wordsworth

I have recently come upon two items, unpublished I believe, concerning Wordsworth. One of them deals with a change in the text of *Vaudracour and Julia* which Wordsworth made at the suggestion of his American friend Professor Henry Reed of the University of Pennsylvania; the other has to do with the publication of Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journals*.

Henry Reed, Professor of English and Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania in the 1840's, was distinguished as being the friend of Wordsworth, and was the editor of the first complete American edition of his *Poems*. I found in the possession of his grandson, Henry Hope Reed of New York City, the following letter from Edward Moxon, Wordsworth's publisher, to Professor Reed:

London, Nov. 7, 1839.

Dear Sir:

I take the opportunity of our sending a parcel to Messrs. Carey and Hart to thank you for your kindness in transmitting to me your admirable criticism on Wm. Wordsworth's *Poems*. I should have done this before but I forwarded your letter to Mr. Wordsworth—I thought he would be pleased with it—and he only returned it the other day. In the edition of his *Poems* which we are now printing, he has availed himself of your suggestion of substituting the word 'our' instead of 'your' in the tale of *Vaudracour and Julia*, as you will see by the accompanying slip.

Trusting that you will excuse this brief and tardy acknowledgment of your kindness, I remain, dear sir, your obliged and

Most obedient Servant

Edw[d] Moxon

I wish Mr. Wordsworth could be prevailed upon to publish his sister's Journals. She herself, though still living, has unfortunately been lost to her friends and the world for some years.

With this letter to Professor Reed, Moxon encloses a note in pencil in Wordsworth's handwriting. It bears neither date nor place, but is evidently contemporary with Moxon's letter. It is:

Dear Mr. Moxon,—

When you write to Mr. Reed, if you do so soon—pray tell him that I have adopted his substitution of *our child* for *your child* and think it a decided improvement. Mr. H. C. has not come near us for a long time, but Mrs. W. called and delivered your message some days since, when he promised that you should hear from him soon.

You shall have a sheet of correction from me in a day or two.

Yours Sincerely,

W. W.

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From time to time Professor Reed had made other minor suggestions to Wordsworth about words and phrases in his poems. (Cf. Letter of Wordsworth to Reed, Rydal Mount, Nov. 10, 1843, in Knight's *Life of William Wordsworth*, Edin., 1889, Vol. III, 317.) The subject of Wordsworth's three sonnets on 'Aspects of Christianity in America' was suggested to the poet by Reed. (Knight's *Life*, III, 312.) It is interesting to add to the list of these suggestions this minor one for the tale of *Vaudracour and Julia.*

In Wordsworth's note to Moxon he writes from memory in regard to the emended phrase and authorizes the change from *your child* to *our child.* According to the standard text, the phrase under discussion is our *boy,* not our *child:*

> With ornaments the prettiest nature yields
> Or art can fashion, shall you deck our *boy.*

Either Wordsworth misquotes himself or the text was altered in a later version.

The other point of interest in these letters is Moxon's postscript to Reed. With the acumen of a successful publisher, Moxon saw that Dorothy Wordsworth's Journals ought to be available in printed form; but they were not printed in full until Knight brought them out in the standard edition. Principal Shairp in 1873 edited Dorothy's *Recollections of the Tour in Scotland,* and Knight published excerpts from her Journals in his *Life of Wordsworth* in 1889. But all this was long after Moxon had pointed out the desirability of their being in print.

The delay in their publication sprang no doubt largely from deference to Miss Wordsworth's reluctance to come before the public. In the days when she was able to exercise a sound judgment on this matter she expressed herself definitely. On January 23rd, 1823, she wrote to Rogers on this subject, speaking of the unpleasantness of appearing in print, and of the sacrifice of privacy which it entailed. In 1824 Henry Crabb Robinson had advised her to publish her Journals of the Continental Tour. To this she replied May 23rd, 1824, as follows:

> . . . . Your advice respecting the Continental Journal is, I am sure, very good, provided it were worth while to make a book of it; i. e. provided I *could* do so and provided it were my wish; but it is not.

Moxon's wish to see her *Journals* in print was long unfulfilled. But the fact that he expressed it as early as 1839 is a tribute to his judgment and foresight.

Smith College. ESTHER CLOUDMAN DUNN.

CONCERNING GERMAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PUBLICATIONS

Plans have finally been perfected for reviving the two important Germanistic *Jahresberichte,* suspended during the war. Each is to

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include twelve *Bogen* and their surveys of literature will divide at the year 1700. The *Jahresb. f. german. Philologie* will continue to be issued by the Berlin *Gesellschaft f. deutsche Philologie* under Professor Roethe's editorship. The number for 1920 is now in the press, that for 1921 in preparation. The *Jahresb. f. neuere deutsche Literaturwissenschaft* has been taken over by the Berlin *Literatur-Archiv-Gesellschaft,* under Professor Petersen's editorship. The *Berichtsjahr* 1921 is in preparation and will appear this year, leaving the gap 1916-1920 to be filled by a special volume, to be issued later. It will be somewhat modified as compared with its predecessor down to 1915, and will cover literature down to the present day. The general business management is in the hands of Professor F. Behrend, *Archivar* of the Deutsche Komission of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, Unter den Linden 38.

Both societies solicit membership from American scholars and libraries. Membership in either costs $2.00 for 1923, which includes a copy of the *Berichtsjahr* 1921. The *Jahresb. f. germ. Phil.* for 1920 will be purchaseable separately at $2.00. The *Literatur-Archiv-Gesellschaft* offers members the current number of its *Mitteilungen* (*Das Literatur-Archiv*)[1] as an alternative for the *Jahresbericht,* or with it for $1 additional. It has also earlier sets of its publications from the *Archiv* to sell directly.

Subscribers to both societies may forward their names and options to the Emergency Society for German and Austrian Science and Art, care of Professor Franz Boas, Columbia University, New York, which will attend to the delivery of the volumes when published. Immediate payment is desirable, but may be deferred till receipt of the volume. Subscription to membership insures receipt of the publication at a reduced price and is important for those who wish to maintain their files intact, as under present conditions there is no certainty that a sufficient number will be available for later purchase through trade channels.

Review copies of works published in this country should be forwarded to Professor Behrend, marked for the editor. This is very important, in order that the bibliography may include all American contributions to Germanics.

ROBERT HERNDON FIFE,
of the American Committee.

Columbia University.

A WORD ON THE SOURCES OF *The Charge of the Light Brigade*

In a note on *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (*The Works of Tennyson,* Eversley Edition, vol. II, p. 369), Tennyson states,

[1] Under this name it is planned to open a new series of publications from the *Archiv's* manuscript material. The first two years of the series will contain the letters of Elise Reimarus to Hennings.

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"Drayton's *Agincourt* was not in my mind; my poem is dactyllic, and founded on the phrase, 'Some one had blundered.'" And in the *Memoir* by his son (one-volume re-issue, 1905, p. 320), we find, "On Dec. 2nd he wrote 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' in a few minutes, after reading the description in the *Times* in which occurred the phrase 'some one had blundered,' and this was the origin of the metre of his poem."

However, both the spirit and form of the *Ballad of Agincourt* do suggest themselves as the general background for Tennyson's poem, though the influence may of course have been subconscious. That Tennyson's poem is dactyllic is true; but is it not equally true that, for instance, the following stanza from Drayton's poem is dactyllic?

Glo'ster, that duke so good,
Next of the royal blood,
For famous England stood,
With his brave brother,
Clarence, in steel so bright,
Though but a maiden knight,
Yet in that furious fight
Scarce such another.

So far as stanza-form is concerned, Thomas Moore's *Here, while the moonlight dim* is perhaps even more like Tennyson's poem than is the *Ballad of Agincourt.* I quote the first stanza of Moore's poem, from the Oxford Edition, p. 285:

Here, while the moonlight dim
Falls on that mossy brim,
Sing we our Fountain Hymn,
Maidens of Zea!
Nothing but Music's strain,
When Lovers part in pain,
Soothes, till they meet again,
Oh, Maids of Zea!

That Tennyson was well acquainted with Moore's poems, and that he admired at least one of them, we know from the account in the *Memoir,* pp. 476-477. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Moore has contributed something to the form of *The Charge of the Light Brigade.*

But the most striking influence on Tennyson's poem, both as regards subject-matter and form, seems to be Chatterton's *Songe to Aella.* I quote the third stanza, from the Oxford Edition of *The Rowley Poems,* p. 24:

Drawne bie thyne anlace felle,
Downe to the depthe of helle
Thousandes of Dacyanns went;
Brystowannes, menne of myghte,
Ydar'd the bloudie fyghte,
And actedd deeds full quent.

Compare this, as regards form, with Tennyson's last stanza:

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> When can their glory fade?
> O the wild charge they made!
>   All the world wonder'd.
> Honour the charge they made!
> Honour the Light Brigade,
>   Noble six hundred!

Apart from Chatterton's extra syllable at the end of the third and sixth lines, these two stanzas are almost alike in form. This similarity of form might, however, be accidental; but there are certain striking similarities of subject-matter and imagery between the two poems. In Chatterton's stanza quoted above, the second and third lines seem to be the almost inevitable source of Tennyson's

> Into the mouth of Hell
> Rode the six hundred.

Other similarities suggest themselves; for instance, both are exultant war-poems, both deal with almost superhuman heroes, both emphasize the terrible carnage, both chant the deathless fame of the heroes. Finally, each poem has six stanzas, and in each poem the meter and the length of the stanzas are varied somewhat, suggesting the ode. It is not likely that these correspondences are entirely accidental. However, it is not necessary to believe that Tennyson was consciously borrowing from Chatterton.

University of Texas. THEODORE T. STENBERG.

On the Title, "Our Mutual Friend"

Mr. G. K. Chesterton, in love with the Dickens of the earlier farcical period before he was "gradually absorbed by modern culture and good manners," dwells with "gloomy pleasure" on the "illiterate title," *Our Mutual Friend.* With "unholy joy" he comments on it, in the introduction to the Everyman edition of this novel, as an indication that Dickens was "still the old self-made man with its disadvantages and its merits." He is no doubt right in his main contention that Dickens was still in 1864 distinctly a man of the middle class, liable to slip in his speech. But is he right in presenting the title as concrete evidence of Dickens's imperfect education? Is he right in assuming that Dickens did not know the distinction between "mutual" and "common"? in assuming that Dickens used the title ignorantly?

The text does not support Mr. Chesterton's conclusion. The title is first used on page 105 in the Everyman edition, chapter ix, Book I by old Boffin. Boffin, not Dickens, made the mistake—old Boffin to whom "all print" was not "open"; to whom even the word "secretary" was a source of confusion. Dickens prepared for Boffin's malaprops in the famous bargaining scene. He made him admit his neglected education, and confess his inability "to

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begin shovelling and sifting at alphabeds and grammar books"; for he was "getting to be a old bird." And when Boffin hired Silas Wegg to read "The Decline and Fall of the Rooshan Empire" to him, he made the crowning blunder that prepared amply for the illiterate title "Our Mutual Friend."

Dickens intentionally and appropriately seized upon the phrase of an ignorant man, feeling that in the end his readers would prefer it to the correctness and the ambiguity of *Our Common Friend,* and to the simplicity of *John Harmon.* To interpret the title as an error of Dickens's is to miss its humor and its suggestiveness.

Urbana, Ill. EVA M. CAMPBELL.

THE GENESIS OF MAUPASSANT'S *La Main*

La Main was first printed in *Le Gaulois,* 23 décembre 1883. A preliminary sketch appeared in 1875, intitled *La Main d'Ecorché,* over the signature Joseph Prunier.[1] Another story, *L'Anglais d'Etretat,*[2] appeared in *Le Gaulois,* 29 novembre 1882. It is the basis of the study of Swinburne, written as a preface for the translation by Gabriel Mourey of the *Poems and Ballads.* It may then be taken as recounting an actual occurrence. Maupassant tells how he had met Swinburne in 1867 or 1868. Swinburne and a friend had bought a cottage on the Norman coast. The peasants regarded the visitors with suspicion and all manner of strange tales were current about them. Maupassant was invited to dinner after having gone to the rescue of Swinburne who was in danger of drowning. The Englishmen struck him as belonging to "cette race particulière d'hallucinés de talent dont sont sortis Poë, Hoffman et d'autres encore." Among other peculiarities in the house, Maupassant noticed "une affreuse main d'écorché qui gardait sa peau séchée, ses muscles noirs mis à nu, et sur l'os, blanc comme de la neige, des traces de sang ancien." Two years later the house was closed and the furniture sold. "J'achetai, en souvenir d'eux, la hideuse main d'écorché."

Sir John Rowell of *La Main* belongs to the same "race." Here the scene is in Corsica. The ex-prefect, who tells the story, made the acquaintance of the Englishmen in a hunting incident. The hand is described almost in the words quoted above, in both *La Main* and *La Main d'Ecorché.* It seems certain that this relic, which was purchased by Maupassant, inspired both of his stories. In the second, the hand is bought from the effects of an old sorcerer in Normandy. The possessor hangs it on his door-knob "pour effrayer *ses* créanciers," a bit of fantasy doubtless suggested by the "nom[3] audacieusement impudent" that Swinburne had nailed on

[1] *Boule de Suif.* (Ed. Conard.) [2] *Le Rosier de Madame Husson.*
[3] The name is not given by Maupassant.

his cottage. In both stories the hand brings about the violent death of its owner.

BENJAMIN M. WOODBRIDGE.

Reed College.

NOTES ON PLAYS

1. Sir A. W. Ward in the bibliography to his edition of Lillo's *London Merchant* and *Fatal Curiosity* mentions seven editions of the *London Merchant* as prior to the collected edition of 1750. I last year acquired a battered copy of the play which on the title page is described as the Eighth Edition, corrected and revised, printed for John Osborn, at the Golden Ball in Paternoster Row.[1] This copy curiously has its date 1643 which is an obvious misprint for 1743.

2. Some critics (e. g. Messrs. Tatlock and Martin in their *Representative Plays,* The Century Company, 1916) find fault with Jaffeir as a tragic character in Otway's *Venice Preserved.* The sentimentalism in the play is explained as due to Otway's personal character. May it not, however, be due to the fact that Otway's period in the history of the English drama is not very far away from that of the popularity of the heroic play? In the latter play there is always the contest between love and honor, (cf. Davenant's play of that name) and is not the character of Jaffeir one that wavers between these traditional stimuli?

3. In Dekker, *The Shoemakers' Holiday,* Act I, Scene 1, l. 168 and *passim,* Simon Eyre swears "by the life of Pharo" (see A. F. Lange's text in C. M. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies,* III), which seems to be a reminiscence of Captain Bobadil's favorite oath. Cf. Jonson, *Every Man in His Humor,* Act I, Scene 4, l. 74 and elsewhere (C. H. Hereford's text in C. M. Gayley, *op. cit.,* II).

4. John Fletcher in *Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed* tried to write a companion piece to *The Taming of the Shrew* (cf. Sir Israel Gollancz, Temple ed. *Taming of the Shrew,* p. xi). Perhaps Fletcher started his study of the latter play very early, for in *The Wild Goose Chase,* Act I, Scene 3, l. 207 (text of W. A. Neilson, *Chief Elizabethan Dramatists*), Mirabel exclaims, "Have at thee, Kate," which is suggestive of a remark made by Petruchio to Katherine in her contest with the Widow (Cf. *Taming of the Shrew,* ed. cit., Act V, Scene 2, l. 34).

ALLEN R. BENHAM.

University of Washington.

[1] In the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften,* I, 161-168 (1757) there is a review of *The London-marchant or the history of George Barnwell—by Mr. Lillo, the ninth edition with Several additions and improvements by the author. London printed for Henry Lintot 1754.* 70 pp. octavo. A translation of the last scene of the play (pp. 163-168) shows that this ninth edition of 1754 descends from the seventh edition of 1740 (cf. Ward, p. 111). W. K.

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The Bottom of Hell

Chaucer's Somnour, it will be remembered, points out in a rather disgraceful manner that the habitation of friars in Hell is located in the meanest part of Satan's anatomy (*C. T.*, D, 1689 ff.). Professor Tatlock thinks that the "jape" in question may be the vulgarization of a story found in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum* (*MLN.* xxix, 143). But so far as I am aware nobody has suggested why Chaucer should have associated the lowest Hell with that particular part of Satan's body, or why, in translating "Vous en irez ou puis d'enfer" (or even according to some Mss. "cul d'enfer") for *The Romaunt of the Rose,* 7578-9, he should have condemned an allegorical criminal to the same place.

I venture to suggest that the poet may have had in mind parts of Canto XXXIV of Dante's *Inferno.* Virgil and Dante have come to the fourth and last round of the ninth circle of Hell where those who have betrayed their benefactors are suffering cold punishment. In their midst is Lucifer, who appears half out and half incased in ice. The adventurers descend at the back of Lucifer, holding fast to his shaggy hide, until the leader,

> Quando noi fummo là, dove la coscia
> Si volge appunto in sul grosso dell' anche (76-77),

turns himself about with great difficulty so that his head is where his feet were before. Dante, also inverted, is surprised to find that Lucifer's legs are now held upward:

> E s' io divenni allora travagliato,
> La gente grossa il pensi, che non vede
> Qual è quel punto ch' io avea passato (91-93).

This turning "point" is, of course, the center of the universe; but it seems quite likely that Chaucer—in the person of a Somnour —is for the time being one of the "grosser sort" who associates the curious "point," the lowest Hell, with that part of Satan's body which figures in the Somnour's joke.

Vanderbilt University. WALTER CLYDE CURRY.

BRIEF MENTION

An Enterlude of Welth and Helth. Eine englische Moralität des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von F. Holthausen. Zweite verbesserte Auflage (Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1922). Holthausen's first edition of this play was published at the University of Kiel in 1908. This second edition provides an occasion to notice a series of events in the external history of the text. The first copy of the play to become known in modern times was "discovered in Ireland in the spring of 1906 and sold at Sotheby's

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on 30 June, when it was purchased for the British Museum at the price of one hundred and ninety-five pounds" (Greg). This copy (designated A by Holthausen) was promptly published in facsimile for the Malone Society (and in Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1907) in the winter of 1906-7. In the year 1907, John S. Farmer included the play (A) in his volume entitled *Recently Recovered 'Lost' Tudor Plays*. This is independent of Greg's edition, and of less scientific value. But in the spring of 1907 another copy, the property of Lord Mostyn, was offered for sale, and in June was acquired by Thomas J. Wise. This copy (B) restored the line that Mr. Greg had declared missing in A (namely line 758; see also *Mod. Lang. Review* IV, 116), and "also showed that the newly discovered copy was not only more legible than [A], . . . but also varied definitely in a number of readings" (Greg).

The next step was necessarily a complete reckoning with B. Mr. Greg therefore, promptly availing himself of the kindness of Mr. Wise, collated B with A and published the result in *Collections* Part I, i (Malone Society, 1907) in two lists; (1) corrections supplied by B of doubtful or indistinct readings in A; (2) "the instances in which the readings of the two copies actually differ." Mr. Greg adds "notes on the fancy Dutch and Spanish" in the play, supplied by Professors W. Bang and L. Brandin, and in a postscript there is an indication of the interest of scholarly critics aroused by the newly found play; this indication is now more complete in Holthausen, p. ix, n. 2 (cf. *Beiblatt zur Anglia,* XXIX (1918), 369).

The present edition of the play is therefore obviously in welcome response to an imperative demand for an edition in which all accumulated critical material may be duly represented. The editor's apology will be accepted: "Unter möglichster Schonung der Überlieferung, besonders der Schreibung, habe ich jetzt einen besseren, von den zahlreichen Fehlern gereinigten und mit moderner Interpunktion versehenen Text zu geben gesucht." In Professor Holthausen's painstaking and trustworthy manner, the text is now critically edited, with an 'Introduction' of a dozen pages, and with ten pages embracing 'Notes' and 'Index of Notes.' The whole is compressed into a modest volume of less than seventy pages,—an indispensable booklet and one that begets the wish that more of the Moralities be made equally accessible in carefully edited form.

The 'Introduction' is chiefly reproduced from the edition of 1908; but a rehandling of the question of the date of composition has been made necessary by the suggestions offered by Mr. Hunter and Mr. Greg (*Mod. Lang. Review,* III, 366 ff.; IV, 115 ff.). Dr. Holthausen sums up the probabilities as pointing to the years 1493-1503 or 1509-1519, with the confession: "Eine Entscheidung wage ich nicht zu treffen." The author, of course, remains unidentified,

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and no new light has been thrown on the subject unless it be reflected from a relationship between the play and Skelton's *Magnificence* (see Greg, *Mod. Lang. Review,* IV, 117). Mr. Greg's words are significant: "Anyone who reads *Wealth and Health* and *Magnificence* together cannot help, I think, being struck by the fact of some evident but by no means easily determined relation between the two." Mr. Greg has here set a problem. Not only is Liberty as a character peculiar to these two plays, and Felicity probably "an alias of Welth," but "there is also one curious little point that becomes suggestive when considered in this light. In *Magnificence* [Ramsay's ed., p. 11] there suddenly occurs the puzzling remark: 'It was a Flemynge hyght Hansy.'" Mr. Greg cannot resist offering tentative conjectures as to how Skelton came to make this capricious reference to Hansy, and sees in it a question that "will some day have to be solved" by "the historian of the drama." Professor Holthausen has, of course, not been unmindful of the review of his first edition, in which Mr. Greg disclosed this new problem; but Professor Holthausen does not assume the *rôle* of the required 'historian,' for the rather naïvely conceived reason, "da wir nicht wissen, welche von beiden Moralitäten die ältere ist" (p. xviii).

Professor Holthausen's special industry and scholarship in matters textual and lexical are well exhibited in the revised and augmented 'Notes' of this edition. For this division of the booklet (altho one must protest against the fashion of printing notes in this unattractive form) unstinted thanks are due. And thanks will always, as now, be due to a trustworthy editor of a Morality for making more accessible the material required for the more complete study of the conventionalities of the *genre* thruout its periods of change and re-adaptation. J. W. B.

Modern Essays. Selected by Christopher Morley. (Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921. vii, 351 pp.) The publisher who asked Mr. Christopher Morley to choose and edit a collection of contemporary essays doubtless foresaw the result—a homogeneous book, in which preface, biographical notes, and selections share alike the manner of the friendliest of familiar essays. One is not surprised to learn that the editor has interpreted the term essay broadly, regarding it "as a mood rather than a form" and looking upon the frontier between the essay and the short story as a boundary "as imperceptible as is at present the once famous Mason and Dixon line." He confesses that he conceives the art of the anthologist to be the art of host and his duty "gossip along the shelves" ended by pulling down some special volume for the guest to take to bed with him. One's first impression is that there is a predominance of young men among the essayists, but it is not borne out by a scrutiny of the table of contents; there are Sir William

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Osler and Professor Saintsbury and others not many decades their juniors. It is true, however, that the selections, which come from both sides of the Atlantic, do run somewhat to the journalistic and that humor prevails among them, and that each is, as the editor insists, in its way a work of art. In such an anthology there are necessarily some regrettable omissions; it seems a pity that the book would not stretch enough to include Dr. Crothers.

Mr. Morley confesses a secret ambition that a book of this sort may be used in the classroom. It won't do, for two reasons: the class would read it all through the first day and they would like it too much. After all, may there not be some truth in the ancient pedagogic principle "that it doesn't matter much what a boy studies so long as he hates it"? J. C. F.

George Gissing: An Appreciation, by May Yates (Manchester, The University Press, 1922), is so good a piece of work that one wishes that it were better; or perhaps it would be fairer to say that the inquiry into certain phases of Gissing's writings is so excellently accomplished that it might well have been extended in various directions. Miss Yates has very little to say of the novelist's technique and she does not probe the problem of the influence on Gissing of the theories of Naturalism in the novel that were entering England from France during his earlier years. There is no such close relationship between Gissing on the one hand and Zola and the de Goncourts on the other as existed between the French novelists and Mr. George Moore; but that some connection exists there can be no doubt. Nor does she do more than touch on the important question of Gissing's social theories. But she presents an admirable though brief chapter on "Gissing as a Man of Letters"; I have myself meditated on a possible essay on Gissing as a critic of literature, and Miss Yates has deftly handled this attractive theme. Her opening chapter on "Personal Characteristics" is also well done, and it serves as a corrective to the warped portrait contained in Mr. Morley Roberts' curious and inexplicable book, *The Private Life of Henry Maitland.* I am unable to follow Miss Yates the entire way in her appreciation of Gissing's style; it is frequently laboured and more frequently, as in *Thyrza,* somewhat *rococo.* A large number of the novels (such as *Will Warburton* and *My Friend the Charlatan*) are essentially trivial, and it is by a few books—four or five novels; the volume on Dickens; the beautiful travel-book *By the Ionian Sea;* and of course *Ryecroft*—that Gissing will be remembered. The growth of his fame has been severely handicapt by the lack of a complete library edition of his works many of which are out of print and hard to come by. I am glad to hear that a New York publisher has on foot a project for the much needed definitive edition.

S. C. C.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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GUSTAV GRUENBAUM WILLIAM KURRELMEYER

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

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Modern Language Notes

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THE THEORY OF "NATURAL GOODNESS" IN ROUSSEAU'S *CONFESSIONS*

Although much has been written about what is commonly called Rousseau's theory of the "natural goodness of man," yet it seems not to have been made the object, until very recently, of any thing like detailed study. Professor Schinz has contributed two valuable articles treating from this point of view the First and the Second Discourses.[1] The writer of this present article recently published a study of the theory, or its opposite, in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*.[2] Perhaps a similar investigation of the *Confessions* may not be without value in helping to clarify our thinking about this subject which is so fundamental a part of Rousseau's ideas. It is hoped that the study may be made sufficiently objective to carry conviction and to avoid, as far as may be, the controversy which is still, it seems, so inseparably connected with Rousseau. But, after all, controversy is a tribute to the living quality in Rousseau's thought. Men do not fight about the dead. If conflicting opinions about Jean-Jacques are still violent, as they were during his life time, it is because his thought and his personality, whether for good or for evil, are still with us and underlie, often unrecognized, many of our most characteristic beliefs and institutions. It is because his opinions are both fundamental and potent that his adversaries and his advocates, even at the present day, are often equally intense

[1] Albert Schinz, "La notion de vertu dans le Premier Discours de J. J. Rousseau," *Mercure de France*, 1er juin 1912. "La théorie de la bonté naturelle de l'homme chez Rousseau," *Revue du XVIIIe siècle*, 1913.

[2] "The Theory of 'Natural Goodness' in Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*," *M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 385-394.

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and violent. But, however that may be, the time seems at length ripe for an attempt to find out what Rousseau really said and thought about the important and interesting subject of "la bonté naturelle." In this connection the *Confessions,* his last major work, constituting, as they do, his most complete estimate of his own character and of his attitude toward life and conduct, have a very special interest.

There would seem to be only two methods by which this subject can be studied with the maximum of accuracy and the minimum of personal bias. These methods supplement and complete one another and both are essential. The first involves the consideration in their context of all relevant passages. The second demands taking account, where possible, of the trend of the work as a whole. As in his study of the *Nouvelle Héloïse,* the writer of this present article has tried to practice both these methods with due care and impartiality. If he has failed in any particular to reach conclusions fully convincing, he has at least brought together the materials without which no accurate conclusions can be formed.

If we endeavor first to discover the meaning Rousseau here attaches to the word *nature,* we find its occurence slightly less frequent, but its meanings no less varied than in the *Nouvelle Héloïse.*[3] We need not take time to discuss in detail uses of the word which have no bearing upon the subject in hand. Thus the words, *nature, naturel,* and *naturellement,* may signify: 1) accord with truth or probability, appropriateness; 2) the physical universe; 3) the existing scheme of things; 4) the physical human or animal body or life; 5) sort or kind. What is of real interest and importance to note is the fact that in more than half of the cases where these words are used they mean either: 1) the original creative force in the universe; or, 2) that which is due only to this original creative force: namely, that which is primitive, non-artificial, instinctive, or inherent. Primitivism, absence of artificiality, inherentness, as opposed to what is acquired through education or training or social prejudice, these are the dominant meanings of the words in question.[4] Thus, Rousseau refers to

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 386, n. 8.

[4] I trust an attempt to analyze the uses of these words, *naturel* (adjective), *naturellement, nature,* as they are used in the *Confessions,* may not be without value, though of course I realize that the dividing line between

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"ces fantasques humeurs qu'on impute à la nature, et qui naissent toutes de la seule éducation."[5] He tells us that "tout nourrissoit dans mon cœur les dispositions (Var., penchants) qu'il reçut de la nature."[6] He compares "l'homme de l'homme avec l'homme naturel."[7] "Il faut," he says, "à travers tant de préjugés et de passions factices, savoir bien analyser le cœur humain pour y démêler les vrais sentimens de la nature."[8] But these are uses of the word *nature* entirely to be expected in Rousseau, a few examples serve as illustrations, and we need not dwell upon them longer.

In contrast to this state of primitivism is the present state of mankind. Man now is evil, thinks Rousseau. He himself must have had "un grand penchant à dégénérer."[9] If one would not commit evil, the only wise course, he tells us, is to avoid temptation.

different meanings is not always easy to draw and that different individuals, even the same individual at different times, might make a somewhat different classification. This variation, however, would hardly affect seriously the final results of the study, which are as follows. The references are to the Hachette edition, the Vulgate of Rousseau.

I. The Original Creative Force of the Universe, twenty-seven times. VIII, 1, 8, 65, 73, 76, 100, 108, 113, 116, 142, 222, 225, 226, 227, 235, 235, 245, 253, 269, 277, 307, 308, 320; IX, 70, 72, 73, 77.

II. That which is due only to this original creative force, hence a primitive, instinctive, non-artificial, inherent state, character, or impulses, fifty-six times. VIII, 1, 5, 104, 146, 253, 299, 20, 35, 58, 100, 110, 113, 126, 175, 234, 240, 315, 328, 335, 385-86, 12, 19, 47, 53, 61, 66, 85, 128, 135, 167, 205, 228, 231, 246, 255, 263, 269, 277, 279, 315, 345, 375, 376; IX, 2, 11, 31, 63, 8, 16, 29, 29, 35, 39, 72, 75, 80.

III. Accord with Truth or Probability; Appropriateness, thirty times. VIII, 9, 29, 139, 175, 299, 325, 14, 35, 47, 56, 59, 102, 102, 126, 139, 167, 190, 210, 217, 315, 388; IX, 35, 59, 62, 78, 11, 18, 26, 55, 74.

IV. The Physical Universe, seven times. VIII, 39, 115, 168, 265; IX, 71, 72, 72.

V. The Existing Scheme of Things, five times. VIII, 228, 312; IX, 37, 73, 21.

VI. The Physical Human or Animal Body or Life, six times. VIII, 39, 76, 162, 306-07, 328; IX, 13.

VII. Sort, Kind, or Character, nine times. VIII, 17, 74, 277, 289, 289, 289, 320; IX, 40, 56.

VIII. Ordinary, Usual, once. VIII, 27.

[5] J. J. Rousseau, *Œuvres* (Hachette ed.), VIII, 5.

[6] *Ibid.*, 8.

[7] *Ibid.*, 277.

[8] *Ibid.*, IX, 2. Cf. VIII, 104, 299, 307 and *supra*, note 4.

[9] *Ibid.*, VIII, 20.

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"J'en ai tiré cette grande maxime de morale, la seule peut-être d'usage dans la pratique, d'éviter les situations qui mettent nos devoirs en opposition avec nos intérêts et qui nous montrent notre bien dans le mal d'autrui, sûr que, dans de telles situations, quelque sincère amour de la vertu qu'on y porte, on faiblit tôt ou tard sans s'en apercevoir, et l'on devient injuste et méchant dans le fait, sans avoir cessé d'être juste et bon dans l'âme." [10] Thus, while intending good, one may unconsciously slip into doing the easier thing, evil. Rousseau is as familiar with this possibility as we ourselves. The intentional coldness he uses to rid himself of his companion Bâcle on the road back from Turin shows some want of "natural goodness" in the usual acceptation of the term.[11] Rousseau agrees with La Rochefoucauld that man is evil,[12] adding that in youth "l'on n'aime pas à voir l'homme comme il est." If men would not talk when they had nothing to say, "les hommes deviendroient moins méchans." [13] Rousseau himself, shortly after, has occasion to be ashamed of the ignoble thought that he will inherit the clothes of Claude Anet.[14] The Abbé de Saint-Pierre was unpractical, said Rousseau, because he thought that men were guided by their reason instead of by their passions.[15] Grimm was right, wrote Rousseau, in thinking men evil, but the value of this passage is somewhat discounted by the fact that Rousseau has in mind the supposed plot against him, in which Grimm is thought to be a leading spirit.[16] Jean-Jacques considered that he had received an exceptionally good and sound education and upbringing. "Si jamais enfant reçut une éducation raisonnable et saine, ç'a été moi." [17] Why then did his youth turn out so badly? Was it that, as he might have said, society was so corrupt that he could not do otherwise? Or was it, as he himself had said previously, that he must have had "un grand penchant à dégénérer?" [18] We are not concerned here with seeking the real answer to the question. It is sufficient for the present that Rousseau himself recognizes,

[10] *Ibid.*, 38. Cf. pp. 192, 317.

[11] *Ibid.*, 72.

[12] *Ibid.*, 78. Cf. the incident of the song recalled because of the *risqué* words, *ibid.*, 105.

[13] *Ibid.*, 144.

[14] *Ibid.*, 146.

[15] *Ibid.*, 302.

[16] *Ibid.*, 354.

[17] *Ibid.*, 42.

[18] *Ibid.*, 20.

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sometimes at least, that there are evil *penchants,* as well as good, and that these former are strong and dangerous.

Here then we have seen Rousseau, the realist, conscious of the existence of evil tendencies in himself and in others and pessimistically seeing man at his worst. It is, if you like, only a way of admitting that society, including himself, has fallen from its hypothetical state of pristine goodness into its present evil condition, which at all events, whatever its origin, offers much to combat.

But Rousseau himself takes no pleasure in evil. "Jamais je n'ai pris plaisir à faire du mal."[19] He loves virtue. "L'amour du bien," he says, "n'est jamais sorti de mon cœur."[20] In his childhood he did not abuse the liberty accorded him. "On nous laissoit presque une liberté entière dont nous n'abusâmes jamais."[21] He is not deaf to "la douce voix de la nature."[22] Evil is not inherent, it is an abuse of one's natural faculties. "De tous ces maux, il n'y en avoit pas un dont la Providence ne fût disculpée, et qui n'eût sa source dans l'abus que l'homme a fait de ses facultés plus que dans la nature elle-même."[23] The value of this idea lies chiefly, no doubt, in its being a reaction against the theological doctrine of predestination. "Natural feelings" are to be found most readily among the lower classes of the people, says Rousseau.[24] They are evidently to be considered closer to nature. Love of justice, he holds, is innate in man.[25] Right instincts, however, may go with wrong judgment and this accounts for much of the evil that is committed. "Ce sont presque toujours de bons sentimens mal dirigés qui font faire aux enfans le premier pas vers le mal."[26] Mme de Warens, "au lieu d'écouter son cœur, qui la menoit bien, . . . écouta sa raison qui la menoit mal."[27] Here Rousseau puts the *heart,* meaning probably conscience, above the sophistries of a false philosophy taught by her first lover. Her virtuous intentions make Rousseau more indulgent toward her conduct, for he says: "Votre conduite fut répréhensible, mais votre cœur fut toujours pur."[28] Rousseau is in no way unique when he regrets his youthful state of goodness and innocence,[29] but he is somewhat more so

[19] *Ibid.*, 5.
[20] *Ibid.*, 312. Cf. pp. 186, 292.
[21] *Ibid.*, 16.
[22] *Ibid.*, 253.
[23] *Ibid.*, 307.
[24] *Ibid.*, 104.
[25] *Ibid.*, IX, 65.
[26] *Ibid.*, VIII, 21.
[27] *Ibid.*, 140.
[28] *Ibid.*, 187. Cf. p. 141.
[29] *Ibid.*, 12.

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when he calls attention to the fact that money was no temptation to him and required of him no struggle. "Mais encore une fois, je ne convoitois pas assez pour avoir à m'abstenir; je ne sentois rien à combattre." [30]

In these different passages we have seen mainly the theoretical Rousseau, looking back affectionately upon Nature as a kind mother, who had endowed mankind with a love of right and virtue, an instinct, which, if he will follow it, if he will not let it be obscured by bad judgment, will lead him aright. Evil as man may be, he is not inevitably predestined by an inexorable law of nature to remain so. He can escape if he will.

But it is indeed curious to note that Grimm believed in the doctrine of un-discipline so often considered to sum up all of Rousseau's own thought as, for instance, in this phrase of Beaudoin's: "Dans son système, suivre sa nature est toute la morale." [31] So Grimm is said to have held that "l'unique devoir de l'homme est de suivre en tout les penchans de son cœur." [32] There is a certain piquancy in seeing Rousseau here forestall some of his own later critics. "Cette morale, quand je l'appris, me donna terriblement à penser, quoique je ne la prisse alors que pour un jeu d'esprit." [33] Rousseau then, here at least, does not believe in the doctrine of following one's impulses wherever they may lead.

In contrast to this effortless morality, or un-morality, so often considered to be his whole teaching, we find him very frequently expressing the idea that virtue requires a struggle. "La vertu ne nous coûte que par notre faute; et, si nous voulions être toujours sages, rarement aurions-nous besoin d'être vertueux. Mais des penchans faciles à surmonter nous entraînent sans résistance." [34] Let us note especially this interesting phrase, "des penchans faciles à surmonter," so different from the idea of following one's inclinations exclusively. Again Rousseau says: "Je pris bien la ferme résolution de me combattre et de me vaincre si ce

[30] *Ibid.*, 24.

[31] H. Beaudoin, *La Vie et les Œuvres de J. J. Rousseau* (1891), II, p. 513.

[32] Rousseau, *Œuvres*, VIII, 336. Grimm appears to Rousseau as one of "ces voluptueux de parade," mentioned in the *Dialogues*, IX, 198.

[33] *Ibid.*, 336. Rousseau continues: "Mais je vis bientôt que ce principe étoit réellement la règle de sa conduite. . . . C'est la doctrine intérieure dont Diderot m'a tant parlé, mais qu'il ne m'a jamais expliquée."

[34] *Ibid.*, 44. Cf. p. 63.

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malheureux penchant venoit à se déclarer,"[35] and he continues: "Je l'exécutai courageusement, avec quelques soupirs, je l'avoue, mais aussi avec cette satisfaction intérieure, que je goûtois pour la première fois de ma vie, de me dire: 'Je mérite ma propre estime, je sais préférer mon devoir à mon plaisir.'"[36] The fact that good action is not easy is tacitly admitted by Rousseau when he prudently advocates avoiding temptation rather than trusting to ability to conquer it.[37] The struggle idea appears also in other passages. "J'ai souvent senti depuis lors, en y repensant, que si les sacrifices qu'on fait au devoir et à la vertu coûtent à faire, on en est bien payé par les doux souvenirs qu'ils laissent au fond du cœur."[38] Or note such a passage as this: "J'eus bien des plaisirs à la fois; mais je puis jurer que le plus vif fut celui d'avoir su me vaincre."[39] He states that he uses his will power to follow out the course of action upon which he has determined. "Mais les principes sévères que je venois de me faire, et que j'étois résolu de suivre à tout prix, me garantirent d'elle et de ses charmes."[40] He finds the struggle, however, very great. "Les obstacles que j'eus à combattre, et les efforts que je fis pour en triompher, sont incroyables."[41] But such efforts of the will are not natural to him. "Il auroit fallu, pour me tirer de tous ces tracas, une fermeté dont je n'étois pas capable."[42] Of Julie in the *Nouvelle Héloïse,* he says he has portrayed her as yielding to love before her marriage but finding afterwards "des forces pour le vaincre à son tour."[43] He himself desires to surmount his weakness. "L'indignation que j'en ressentis contre moi-même eût suffi peut-être pour surmonter ma foiblesse, si la tendre compassion que m'en inspiroit la victime n'eût encore amolli mon cœur."[44] But he is determined to conquer himself. "J'étois déterminé tout à fait à me vaincre."[45] Saint-Lambert's expressions of esteem and friendship in a critical moment "me donnèrent le courage et la force de les mériter. Dès ce moment je fis mon devoir. . . . Cette lettre me servit d'égide contre ma

[35] *Ibid.*, 185.
[36] *Ibid.*, 186.
[37] *Ibid.*, 38, 192, 292.
[38] *Ibid.*, 199.
[39] *Ibid.*, 241.
[40] *Ibid.*, 255.
[41] *Ibid.*, 257.
[42] *Ibid.*, 261.
[43] *Ibid.*, 312.
[44] *Ibid.*, 321.
[45] *Ibid.*, 332.

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foiblesse . . . . Elle [Mme d'Houdetot] fut sensible aux efforts que j'avois faits pour me vaincre. . . . J'avois repris l'empire de moi-même. . . . J'étois d'un courage que je ne m'étois jamais senti: toutes mes forces étoient revenues." [46]

Here Rousseau speaks the common language of mankind. His theories fade into the background before the consciousness that, however much he may love virtue, however much he may desire to do right, he can seldom do it without an effort of the will and a struggle against other and less worthy tendencies. Just as the *Nouvelle Héloïse,* in M. Lanson's phrase, "est dans le plan du réel," [47] so also in the main are the *Confessions.* Here also Rousseau is probing his own memories, his experience. Considered as a whole, are not the *Confessions* the narrative of Rousseau's slow and painful uprising from the mire and filth of his early years? Slowly his conscience develops and he forms for himself a moral sense lacked by many of the greatest of his contemporaries. Because Rousseau was severe in his ideal for himself, posterity has oftentimes been oversevere with him. We see him in his early years almost completely unmoral. Even in middle life he abandons his children, as it seems, without qualm or scruple. But he lives bitterly to regret the day and to condemn himself for it, while out of the pain and suffering and struggle of this experience came finally to fruition a character which, with all its imperfections, was definitely on its upward way under the guidance of its own conscience. Again M. Lanson gives us a summary, in a sentence, of Rouseau's evolution. "Il a fallu que Rousseau fût supérieurement moral, pour n'avoir pas mal fini, après ses commencements." [48]

Even the theoretical language which crops out from time to time in the *Confessions* hardly means an effortless morality or following one's appetites, as Rousseau himself seemed to perceive when he heard what might have been his own occasional phrases hurled back at him in a quotation from Grimm.[49] Those of Rousseau's contemporaries and of his later critics who have found

[46] *Ibid.*, 343, 344, 350.

[47] G. Lanson, "L'unité de la pensée de J.-J. Rousseau," *Annales de la Société J.-J. Rousseau*, VIII, 24.

[48] G. Lanson, *Histoire de la litt. fr.* (1912), p. 790.

[49] See *supra*, n. 32 and text.

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in his works nothing but a justification for doing as they pleased, for following their instincts, have done so simply because they did not take all of Rousseau, but have noted in their reading only those passages which stand out because of their novelty or their paradoxical quality. The more numerous passages, which express the traditional attitude of moral struggle, have attracted less attention than they deserve. They show that Rousseau did not after all take his feet so far off the ground as has sometimes been thought.

Are we then with this idea of a struggle for virtue far from our original subject of "natural goodness"? No: for Rousseau, idealizing the past, yearned by struggle against present evils to win back to a supposed state of pristine innocence. In studying Rousseau, criticism should never lose sight of his realistic attitude toward the present and his idealistic attitude toward the past. We of this present age are inclined to put our Garden of Eden ahead of us, instead of behind.

What was the significance of the idea of "natural goodness" for Rousseau's own age? Rousseau wished to give, and did give, moral problems first place in his consideration. So Faguet says: "Pour Rousseau la préoccupation morale est la préoccupation dominante, et pour ainsi dire unique." [50] Of what value was progress, if it were not above all a moral progress? Any age may well ask and ponder the same question. Rousseau wished to react sharply against the fatalism of predestination and the damnation of unbaptized infants and of the non-elect. He wished to preach a return from the artificiality of *salon* and *boudoir* life to a more wholesome simplicity, frankness, and naturalness. How should he do this except by employing the language of his age? So he endeavors to show that by *nature,* without recourse to a special act of *grace,* man has it in him to be good, though this following "nature" will generally be the very reverse of effortless. The "natural goodness" theory means the turning over to the individual conscience rather than to theology of the problem of human conduct. It emphasizes the moral worth and the liberty of the individual, his freedom from theological bondage. This is the conclusion to which one comes, if Rousseau's thought is interpreted in the light of its historical background, of what it was

[50] E. Faguet, *Rousseau penseur*, p. 105.

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intended to combat, and not made merely the subject of easy mockery after the fashion of many Rousseau critics.

Are these ideas now dead for us? We speak another language, we do not talk in these days of "natural goodness," but we have increasing confidence in mankind and in his ability to progress, albeit blunderingly enough. Certainly we think little of "natural depravity," but, if we do not talk of "natural goodness" now, the concept itself is no less potent for all that. Shall we then think that this whole attitude of mind goes back to Rousseau alone? Certainly not, though he was indeed a very powerful influence in that direction. But Rousseau himself was only part of a much larger movement toward greater confidence in mankind and that movement we are accustomed to call the Renaissance. Not the least important result of that movement was the theory of the "natural goodness of man," which Rousseau made his own and so powerfully espoused.[51]

George R. Havens.

Ohio State University.

NOTES ON OLD ENGLISH

I. Ælfric's *Hexameron*

The *Hexameron of St. Basil,* as it was called by Hickes in his *Thesaurus,* was first edited by H. W. Norman in 1848 and reissued as an enlarged edition in 1849. It has not been reëdited except as a selection was given by A. S. Cook in his *First Book in Old English,* p. 189 f. Norman misunderstood the text in certain places, as shown by his punctuation and translation. For example, the first few lines of Chap. V should be printed as follows:

Secunda die fecit Deus firmamentum—'On ðæm oðrum dæge ure Drihten geworhte *firmamentum*' ðe men hateð rodor, se belycð on his bosome ealle eorðan bradnysse. And binnan him is gelogod eal ðes middan eard, and he æfre gæð abutan swa swa yrnende hweol and he næfre ne stent stille on anum. And on anre wendinge—ða hwile ðe he æne betyrnð—gæð witodlice forð feower and twentig tida, ðæt is ðonne ealles an dæg and an niht.

[51] This article has been read in manuscript by Professor G. Chinard of the Johns Hopkins University. Without in any way rendering him responsible for any errors it may still contain, it is a great pleasure to acknowledge my obligation to his knowledge and judgment and my appreciation of his cordial helpfulness.

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Norman did not clearly perceive that Ælfric had purposely embodied in his sentence the Latin *firmamentum,* explaining it in the following clause. So he quotes and usually explains particular Latin words in other places, as *Omnipotens Deus* in Chap. VI, *Paradisum* twice and *lignum vitæ* once in Chap. XVI, and both the latter again in Chap. XVIII. More important is it that Norman did not properly divide the following clauses. Especially he makes *on anre wendinge* a part of the preceding sentence and begins the new one with *ða hwile ðe he æne betyrnð,* instead of making the last clause a parenthetical explanation of *anre wendinge.*

I have also ventured to make the *se*-clause of the first sentence a relative modifier of *firmamentum.* There are three examples in the treatise of somewhat similar syntax. In Chap. I we have *ærðam ðe se Ælmihtiga God se ðe ana is Scyppend, he gecydde Moyse on ðam munte Sinai.* Here, after the quasi-parenthetical clause, the writer repeats the subject in *he.* In Chap. XIII the true relative is again used: *Ælc ðing hæfð anginn and ordfruman ðurh God butan se ana Scyppend þe ealle ðing gesceop, se næfð nan anginn ne nænne ordfruman* etc. For a similar sentence in the Alfredian *Bede* see Wülfing's *Syntax Alfreds des Grossen* I, 396: *neah ðære ceastre ðe Romane heton Verulamiam, seo nu from Angelðeode . . . W. is nemned,* where *seo* translates Lat. *quae.* Norman makes *se* a personal pronoun, translating "it," and Cook says of it "nearly = hē," making it the subject of a new sentence. Another relative use of *se* occurs in the same chapter two sentences below:

> Ðone rodor God heton heofon. He is wundorlice healic, and wid on ymbhwyrfte se gæð under ðas eorðan ealswa deop swa bufan, ðeah ðe ða ungelæredan menn ðæs gelyfan ne cunnan.

Here again Norman uses a personal pronoun for *se,* thus destroying the connection between the two clauses. Cook separates the *se*-clause by a semicolon, referring to his note on the preceding *se.* In both examples, as I believe, the *se* is a true relative.

Three expressions in Chap. VII require a word. Two of these are phrases in which OE. *getacnung* is used with a meaning not hitherto recognized. The two passages may be quoted together:

> God geworhte . . . ðone monan on æfen mannum to liehtinge on nihtlicere tide mid getacnungum. . . . Næron nane tida on

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ðæm gearlican getæle ærðam ðe se Ælmihtiga Scyppend gesceop ða tunglu to gearlicum tidum on manegum getacnungum on lenctenlicere emnihte.

To take the second example of *getacnung* first, I suggest that the meaning must here be 'sign of the zodiac.' OE. *tacen* (*tacn*) was already rarely used in this sense, as about 1000 in the *Leechdoms* (I, 164; III, 242), and a little later in *Byrhtferhth's Handboc* VIII, 303. The second passage in the *Leechdoms* refers explicitly to *ða twelf tunglena tacna.* This meaning remained into early Modern English, as shown by the use of *token* in Coverdale's *Bible* (2 *Ki.* 23, 5).[1] OE. *tacnung* (*getacnung*) has not been noted in this sense, but its Middle English equivalent *tokenynge* is quoted by the *NED.* from the *Secreta Secretorum* (about 1400): *þe firste tokenynge of þe crabbe.* There can be little doubt, therefore, that OE. *tacnung* (*getacnung*) also had the meaning 'zodiacal sign,' as in the passage above.

The first example of *getacnung* can hardly be explained in this way. Astrononomical fact and the passage itself do not justify assuming signs of the zodiac as having any connection with the moon's lighting of the night for men. I suggest that 'phases' would fit the place exactly, and would not be a considerable extension of the meaning which belonged to OE. *tacen* (*tacn*), and probably to *tacnung* (*getacnung*). These two new meanings and uses may reasonably be added to those now given in our Old and New English dictionaries.

The third word of Chap. VII which merits some remark is *Eastron* in the sentence, *And ne beoð næfre Eastron ær se dæg cume ðæt ðæt leoht hæbbe ða ðeostre oferswiðeð.* The word is clearly plural and a variant of *Eastran,* plural of the weak *Eastre,* although no example of such a plural is given in the Toller-Bosworth *Dictionary.* Nor is it necessary to say, "a plural used as a singular," as does Cook in a note. "And there shall never be Easters" etc. is at most a colloquial way of stating the fact.

[1] The Coverdale sentence reads: "He put downe also them that brent incense unto Baal, to the Sonne, and the Mone, and the twolve tokens, and to all the hoost of heaven." The King James version has "the planets" for "the twolve tokens," but the reading in the margin is "the twelve signs, or constellations."

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II. The Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*

The Old English *Apollonius of Tyre* was edited by Thorpe in an edition of 1834 and the text was printed by Zupitza in the *Archiv der Neueren Sprachen* xcvii, 17 f., while there are selections in Cook's *First Book in Old English* (p. 164) and Wyatt's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (p. 28). Zupitza also published some notes in *Anglia* i, 463. May I add the following suggestions?

Comparison with the Latin text assists in the reading of certain sentences. For example, a text of the Laurentian form (Riese, *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* 23, 2-5) must have been before the English translator in the following:

> Et ut plenius misericordiae suae satisfaceret, exuens se tribunarium suum, scindit eum in duas partes aequaliter et dedit unam juvenis dicens, etc.

This the English writer makes into,

> Þa git he wolde be his mihte maran arfæstnesse him gecyðan, toslat þa his wæfels in twa and sealde Apollonige þone healfan dæl, þus cweðende.

By his capitalization Thorpe shows he understood the two clauses were parts of one sentence, and Zupitza so punctuates, but Cook and Wyatt break the connection by placing a semicolon after *gecyðan.*

Again, the Latin indicates (Riese, p. 25, 2-4) that two sentences, as punctuated by all four editors, properly belong together. The Laurentian text, some close variant of which was before the English writer at least at the beginning of the sentence, reads as follows:

> Tunc rex Archestrates, cum sibi notasset juvenis velocitatem, et, quis esset, nesciret et ad pilae lusum nullum haberet parem [or probably in this clause the Oxford variant, et quia sciebat se in pilae lusus neminem parem habere], ad suos ait, famuli, etc.

This the English translator has rendered:

> Se cyngc, ða oncneow þæs jungan snelnesse, þæt he wiste þæt he næfde his gelican on þam plegan, þa cwæð he to his geferan etc.

In the clause *þæt he wiste þæt he* etc., which Cook says "is not very clear," *þæt* may be equivalent to 'so that' as sometimes in Old English (see Toller-Bosworth *þæt* iii), or perhaps better to

Lat. *quia* of the Oxford variant, as in the West Saxon *Matt.* 16, 8. The clause is at least explanatory of that beginning *ða oncneow*. Moreover, the *ða oncneow* clause is subordinate to the *þa cwæð* clause, the two, with the explanatory *þæt* clause, forming one sentence.

In Riese (p. 27, 6) the Latin of the Oxford form, which probably was before the English writer, reads:

Apollonius cunctis epulantibus non epulabitur, sed auram, argentum, vestes, ministeria regalia dum flens cum dolore consideret, quidam senex invidus juxta regem etc.

Here the English writer has rendered the Latin more freely, placing everything after *dum flens* in a new sentence:

And Apollonius nan ðingc ne æt, ðeah ðe ealle oðre men æton and bliðe wæron, ac he beheold þæt gold and þæt seolfor and þæt deorwurðan reaf and þa beodas and þa cynelican þenunga.

Thorpe by his capitalization recognized that these two clauses make one sentence, as does Zupitza by his punctuation, but Cook places a period after *wæron* and Wyatt a semicolon, thus destroying the necessary connection between the two clauses. The English writer then caught up the *dum flens* etc. in the following sentence:

Ða ða he þis eal mid sarnesse beheold, ða sæt sum eald and sum æfestig ealdorman be þam cynge.

One of the passages in the *Apollonius* which has given most trouble in the English version reads in the Oxford text (Riese, p. 37, 4), which is here nearer than the Laurentian to the Old English:

Apollonius ait, "Domina, nondum mulier et mala, sume potius codicellis, quos tibi pater tuus misit, et lege."

This is Englished,

Apollonius cwæð, "Hlæfdige, næs git yfel wif, nim ðas gewrita, ða þin fæder þe sende, and ræd."

In *Anglia* I, 466, Zupitza notes that Thorpe in his brief *annotanda* had said of *næs git yfel wif*, "of these words I can make no sense," and had left a gap in his translation. He also quotes Leo's elaborate explanation and his paraphrase, "noch war keine herrin ein schlechtes weib." Zupitza himself proposed that *næs* was not *ne wæs*, but *ne ealles*, as if Apollonius had said, "Herrin die du noch

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keineswegs ein schlechtes weib bist." Wyatt omits the *næs*-phrase in his text, indicating a break, but has no note. Cook puts the words between dashes and says in a note, "not clear either in the Latin or the English," yet indicating by his punctuation that they are part of the remark of Apollonius.

I suggest considering the Latin expression *nondum mulier et mala* and the corresponding English *næs git yfel wif* as the parenthetical words of the narrator, rather than of Apollonius at all. It will be remembered that the classical story had been modified here and there by a Christian monk or cleric. Here I take it, influenced by his clerical conception of celibacy as the "holy" state, he opposed *mulier* in its meaning of 'married woman' to *domina,* which in this case he knows belongs to an unmarried princess. To *mulier* 'married woman' he then added his strong disapprobation of the married state in *et mala.* The English translator has merely made the expression more clearly parenthetical by adding *næs* 'she was not.' With this interpretation all that is necessary to clear the passage is to indicate the separation of the speech from the parenthetical words, partly by dashes as Cook does, but more fully by adding quotation marks after *Hlæfdige* and before *nim.*

Finally, a passage which has received too little attention from annotators may perhaps be explained by comparison with the Latin text. Arcestrates has dismissed the three suitors for the hand of his daughter by telling them they have chosen an unfortunate time for their purpose, since his daughter was engaged in her studies. The English version then goes on as follows:

> Ða gewændon hi ham mid þissere andsware. And Arcestrates se cyngc heold forð on Apollonius hand, and hine lædde ham mid him na swilce he cuma wære, ac swilce he aðum wære.

The only note on this passage, so far as my records show, is one of Wyatt who says, "*heold forð on* still clasped," but with no parallel examples or further explanation. Now the Oxford text, which is nearest the English, reads (Riese, p. 40, 6),

> Et dimisit eos a se. Ipse autem comprehendit manum jam non hospitis sed generi sui. Intravit in domum regiam.

I suggest, therefore, that *forð on* may be *forðon* in the rarer adversative sense discussed by Marjorie Daunt in *Mod Lang. Rev.* XIII, 474, and noted by W. W. Lawrence in *Jour. of Eng. and*

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Germ. Phil. IV, 460 (not XVII as Miss Daunt gives it). That is, Arcestrates was not only undisturbed by the incident of the three suitors, but 'notwithstanding (nevertheless, in spite of that)' was drawn more closely to the exiled Apollonius. A disjunctive not only occurs in the Latin, but is germane to the situation. Besides, *And Arcestrates* clearly begins a new sentence, as punctuated by Zupitza and Wyatt, rather than being part of the sentence preceding as by Cook.

O. F. EMERSON.

Western Reserve University.

ALTE UND NEUE WORTGESCHICHTEN

II

†**Dreibord** N. 'schmaler Fischernachen' am Mittel- und Niederrhein, schon spätmhd.; dazu eine moselfränkische Nebenform *Draubert* = *Drauport* 'ponto' Ostermann 1591 *Vocab. analyt.* I, 51 (aus mhd. **driubort*); vgl. *Seemannssprache* S. 194.—**Dreidecker** M. 'Schiff mit drei Decken' zuerst bei Röding 1794 *Wb. d. Marine* I, 454. Belege seit der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhs. *Seemannssprache* S. 194.—**Dreimaster** M. 'grösseres Segelschiff mit drei Masten' (Fockmast, grosser Mast, Besahnmast); zuerst bei Campe 1807 gebucht, aber bei Röding 1794 *Wb. d. Marine* I, 479; II, 158 noch fehlend. Frühe Belege: M. Claudius 1774 *Sämtl. Werke* I/II, 42 und Nettelbeck 1821 *Lebensbeschr.* I, 216. Dafür ndd. *drêmast* Schütze 1800 *Holst. Idiot.* I, 248. Nachbildung **Fünfmaster** erst um 1900 aufgekommen (zuerst bei Stenzel 1904.) —Übertragen 'dreieckiger Hut': Heyse, *Novellenschatz* VII, 273; ndd. *drêmast* zur Zeit Schützes.

Glückskind N. in der heutigen Bedeutung seit Frisch 1741 gebucht und seit Gellert 1746 *Loos in der Lotterie* IV, 1 belegt; aber dafür bei Stieler 1691 'albae gallinae filius.' Wohin lat. *fortunae filius,* Horaz, *Satiren* II, 6, 49?—**Glückspilz M.** seit Campe 1808 verzeichnet: ursprünglich 'Emporkömmling.' Belege: Mylius 1785 *Per. Pickle* II, 264; Bretzner 1790 *Leben eines Lüderlichen* I, 144. Innerer Zusammenhang mit engl. *mushroom* 'Pilz,' dann 'Emporkömmling' wahrscheinlich.

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Sonnenschirm M. zunächst durch die ganze nhd. Zeit hauptsächlich in Reisewerken über südliche Länder und Völker gebraucht, z. B. Andersen 1669 *Orientalische Reisenbeschr.* S. 14, 135; Gröben 1694 *Guineische Reise-Beschr.* S. 99. Seit Maaler 1561 und Stieler 1691 allgemein gebucht.

Stachelschwein N. erst frühnhd. (spätmhd. dafür *dornswîn* z. B. bei Megenberg); gebucht bei Maaler 1561 und Crusius 1562 *Gramm. graeca* I, 235. Das entsprechende frühneuengl. *porkepín* = afrz. *porc espin* (ital. *porco spino*) beweisen den Ursprung des nhd. Wortes aus einem mlat. Vorbild *porcus spinae.*

Sterbenswort N. in der Verbindung "kein Sterbenswort (-wörtchen)," ursprüngl. "kein sterbendes Wort"; vgl. Bürger 1774 *Kaiser und Abt* Str. 35 "Auch weiss ich kein sterbendes Wörtchen Latein"; Gregorovius 1904 *Wanderjahre in Italien*[8] II, 345 "Sie wissen von Petrarca . . . auch nicht ein sterbendes Wort."

Stimmenmehrheit F. im 18. Jahrh. z. B. Wieland 1774 *Abderiten* IV, 8; Jean Paul *Grönl. Prozesse* S. 121, 130 neben älterem "Mehrheit der Stimmen" z. B. *Abderiten* IV, 4; Bretzner 1790 *Leben eines Lüderlichen* II, 115. Vgl. auch *Mehrheit* und *Handmehr.*

Streckvers M. von Jean Paul 1804 *Flegeljahre* (Hempel) I, 23, 47 willkürlich gebildet, von Campe 1813 unter *Polymeter* gebucht, seit Sievers *Altgerm. Metrik* 1893 in die Technik des Alliterationsverses eingeführt.

tolldreist Adj. seit Adelung und Campe gebucht und belegt; Bildung wie *dummdreist.*—**tollkühn** seit frühnhd. Zeit geläufig und seit Stieler 1691 gebucht; meist gedeutet als 'in toller Weise kühn,' aber eher vielleicht addierend gemeint, weil H. Sachs "ein toller kühner Mann" verbindet. Vgl. auch *taubstumm.*

Verfasser M. eine puristische Wortschöpfung Zesens 1656 *Helikon*[4] II, S. iiia, der dafür aber auch *Schriftverfasser* sagt; seit Stieler 1691 gebucht. Beleg: Leibniz (erschienen 1717) *Unvorgreifl. Gedanken* § 110 "es kommt auf den Geist und Verstand des Verfassers an." Mit dem Beginn des 18. Jahrhs. sind *Schriftverfasser* und *Verfasser,* aber auch *Schriftsteller* langsam durchgedrungen. Die Ztw. *verfassen* und *abfassen* waren schon früher üblich. Vgl. Gombert 1900 *Bemerkungen* S. 8.

Wagehals M. bei 1691 gebucht, aber schon seit frühnhd. Zeit

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mit den Nebenformen *Waghals* und *Wagenhals* allgemein üblich. Wie *Springinsfeld* eine Wortzusammensetzung mit der Bedeutung eines Wahlspruchs; vgl. auch *Haberecht* eigentl. "ich habe recht" und *Schaffenicht* "ich schaffe nichts"; also ursprüngl. *Wagenhals* "ich wage den Hals" d. h. das Leben. Vgl. *Störenfried* und *Springinsfeld,* sowie *Wendehals.*

watscheln Ztw. (vom Gang der Enten und Gänse) mit *l*-Suffix erweitert für ursprüngl. *watschen* aus mhd. *wakzen* = spätmhd. *wacken* 'wackeln'; mit *wackeln* verwandt. Belege: Wieland 1771 *Amadis* x Str. 22—*Abderiten* III, 8.

Weibsbild N. Zusammenrückung aus gleichbed. mhd. *wîbes bilde,* wie *Mannsbild* aus gleichbed. mhd. *mannes bilde,* mhd. *bilde* auch 'Körperbildung, Gestalt'). Stieler 1691 verzeichnet *Weibsbild* 'femina' neben "ein artlich, schön, sauber, nettes, liebes Bild, effigies venusta, elegans, decora." Noch im 18. Jahrh. zeigt sich *Bild* 'Fräulein, Mädchen' z. B. 1744 *Zwey im Koffee-Lande herumschweiffende Avanturiers* S. 99, 139.

Weihrauch M. mhd. *wîchrouch* (*wîhrouch*) ahd. *wîhrouch* M.; das entsprechende asächs. *wîhrôk* (mndd. *wîrôk wîrek wîrk*) enthält als erstes Wortglied das unter *weihen* behandelte asächs. *wîh* M. 'Tempel, Altar' und bedeutet eigentl. wohl 'Tempel-, Altarräucherwerk'; vgl. das verwandte angls. *récels* (daraus entlehnt das gleichbed. anord. *reykelse*) 'Weihrauch' eigentl. 'Räucherwerk' (s. auch *Rauch*). Im Angls. begegnen zwei dunkle Synonyma: *stór* und das mit mlat. *cozymbrium* zusammenhängende nordhumbr. *cursumbor.*

Weisheitszahn M. bei Adelung und Campe gebucht. Beleg bei dem Schwarzburg-Rudolstadtischen Arzt Cron 1717 *Candidatus chirurgiae oder Barbier-Geselle* S. 156 "dentes sapientiae oder Weissheits-Zähne, dieweilen sie erst nach dem 20. bis gegen dem 30. Jahr hervorkommen." Alter Gegensatz wohl *Milchzähne.* Die gleichbed. engl. *wisdom-tooth* und frz. *dent de sagesse* hängen mit neulat. *dens sapientiae* zusammen, ebenso gr. *σωφρονιστήρ* 'Weisheitszahn.'

Windhund M. (im 16. Jahrh. z. B. *Zimmersche Chronik* 4, 240) —*Windspiel* N. aus gleichbed. mhd. *wintbracke wintspil:* das nhd. *Windhund* ist eine Verdeutlichung des mhd. ahd. *wint* 'Windspiel' (vgl. *Elentier, Maultier* und *Murmeltier*). Eine geläufige Annahme verbindet ahd. mhd. *wint* = mndd. mndl. *wint* als Ent-

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lehnung mit einer mlat. Bezeichnung des Windhundes: *vertragus veltrahus veltrus velter,* die selber kelt. Ursprungs ist. Eher liegt Herkunft des deutschen Wortes aus einem alten Völkernamen vor, der mit dem Namen der Wenden und dem uralten Namen des Stammes der *Venet(h)ôs Venedôs* (ahd. *Winid* angls. *Wineð*) zusammenhängt, wie neuerdings Suolahti, *Neuphilol. Mitteilg.* (Helsingfors) 1918 S. 16 erkannt hat. Über den Zusammenhang von Tiernamen mit Völkernamen vgl. *Pinscher, Reuss* und *Wallach.*

Friedrich Kluge.

Freiburg, Baden.

CHESTERFIELD'S OBJECTION TO LAUGHTER

Among the instructions with which Chesterfield indefatigably bombarded his son in his persistent wish to make him a fine gentleman, no idea appears as whimsical in its perversity as his objection to laughter. To cry down in angry tones a habit as old as the race seems a strange undertaking for a man who had a reputation as a wit. But there can be no doubt that Chesterfield was in earnest; with faith in the persuasive power of repetition he returned to the matter in more than one letter. However, it is probable, I think, that Chesterfield's doctrine was not original with him; and in any case it illumines in a rather interesting way the eighteenth century conception of decorum. For the purpose of comparison I give the passage in which he states his idea for the first time and more fully than he does subsequently. The passage, as I shall show, has points of contact with contemporary literature.

"Having mentioned laughing, I must particularly warn you against it: and I could heartily wish that you may often be seen to smile, but never heard to laugh while you live. Frequent and loud laughter is the characteristic of folly and ill manners: it is the manner in which the mob express their silly joy at silly things; and they call it being merry. In my mind there is nothing so illiberal, and so ill bred, as audible laughter. True wit, or sense, never yet made anybody laugh; they are above it: they please the mind, and give a cheerfulness to the countenance. But it is low buffoonery, or silly accidents, that always excite laughter . . . . a plain proof, in my mind, how low and unbecoming a thing laughter is. Not to mention the disagreeable noise that it makes

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and the shocking distortion of the face that it occasions. Laughter is easily restrained by a very little reflection; but, as it is generally connected with the idea of gaiety, people do not enough attend to its absurdity. I am neither of a melancholy, nor a cynical disposition; and am as willing, and as apt, to be pleased as anybody; but I am sure that, since I have had the full use of my reason, nobody has ever heard me laugh."[1]

The letter of which this passage is an excerpt, is dated March 9 (O. S.), 1748. Now in 1747, in Garrick's farce, *Miss in her Teens,* the effeminate fop, William Fribble, played by the dramatist himself with great success, had been satirically delineated in the traditional fashion. The play, probably on account of its success, immediately occasioned a vividly written pamphlet, entitled, *The Pretty Gentleman; or Softness of Manners vindicated from the false Ridicule exhibited under the Character of William Fribble, Esq.*[2] Addressed to Garrick under the pseudonym of Philautus, this pamphlet which pretends to be a defence of the principles and manners of the fop, caricatured in *Miss in her Teens,* is, in fact, only a more hilarious, irresponsible satire of the type.[3]

The writer asserts that, in order to "polish the British Manners," the pretty gentlemen have organized a society, and formulated their principles of good breeding. On one occasion when they had assembled to read Garrick's play, they would have laughed loudly at an apt witticism directed at the farce,

"were it not that such Bursts of Mirth are looked upon as the Marks of savage Manners. A governed Smile or so—they judge to be not at all ungraceful. Nay, an Half-Laugh, upon a very extraordinary Occasion, is not esteemed a Departure from Decorum. But then, the utmost caution imaginable is taken, that it proceed no further. And it is pleasant enough to see the little Difficulties they struggle with in suppressing the Inclination. The tickling Sense of the home-felt Conceit, puts the risible Features into Motion; but then it is instantly checked by the quick Impulse of fine Sensation. The one prompts to give full Vent to the rising Joy; the other bids—forbear. It is this pretty altercation, which produces the tempered laugh, which plays with such a Grace on the Countenance of a Pretty Gentleman."

[1] *Letters of . . . Earl of Chesterfield,* Edited . . . by John Bradshaw, 3 vols., London, 1892. Letter LIX; cf. Letters LXXXI, CV, CLXXV.

[2] Reprinted by Dodsley in *Fugitive Pieces, on Various Subjects by several Authors.* Vol. I, London, 1765.

[3] Philautus is the pseudonym of Nathaniel Lancaster (*DNB.*).

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Kesseltreiben N. 'rund umstelltes Jagen' von allen Wbb. der Neuzeit nicht verzeichnet, auch nicht vom *DWb.*; eigentlich ein Wort der Weidmannssprache, die aber im 18./19. Jahrh. *Kesseljagen* dafür bevorzugt, z. B. Täntzer 1682 *Jagtgeheimnüss,* Vorwort, Frisch 1741 und Adelung 1774. Frühster Beleg in einem Brief vom 6. 8. 1870 in v. Roons *Denkwürdigkeiten* II, 441. *Kessel* in der Weidmannssprache 'der rings geschlossene Platz, wohin das Wild getrieben wird.' *Kesseltreiben* noch nicht in Kehreins *Wb. d. Weidmannssprache* 1871.

Kleinod N. mhd. *kleinôt* N. mit der Nebenform *kleinœte* N. = mndd. *klênôde:* eigentlich 'feine zierliche Sache, wertvolles Geschenk (Gastgeschenk'). Im Ahd. Asächs. zufällig noch unbezeugt, aber sicher eine altertümliche Zusammensetzung mit einem verloren gegangenen ahd. mhd. **ôt* 'Habe' = asächs. *ôd* 'Besitz.' Die Zusammensetzung (mlat. *clênôdium*) erinnert an mlat. *alodium* 'Allod,' und erklärt zugleich die mhd. Nebenform *kleinœte.* Das erste Wortglied ist unser *klein* (ahd. *kleini,* asächs. *klêni*) in der Bedeutung 'fein, zierlich,' die auch in der Zusammensetzung *Kleinschmied* (erst frühnhd.) für 'Schlosser' vorliegt.

kreuzfidel Adj. erst seit Vollmann 1846 *Burschicos. Wb.* S. 274 gebucht und durch das 19. Jahrh. geläufig, aber in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhs. noch nicht durchgedrungen: Nachbildung von *kreuzbrav.*

Kriegsschauplatz M. bei Campe 1808 gebucht. Belege: Goethe 1793 *Belagerung von Mainz* (*Werke* 33) S. 304; Jean Paul 1797 *Kampaner Thal* S. 66; Schiller 1800 *Piccolomini* 2, 7; Jean Paul 1807 *Schmelzle* S. 12. Am Ende des 18. Jahrhs. nach frz. *théâtre de la guerre.* Älter "Schauplatz des Krieges," vgl. Schauplatz.

Laufbahn F. im 18. Jahrh. vordringend in Nachahmung von lat. *curriculum* und seit Frisch 1741 gebucht.[1] Beleg: Jean Paul 1793 *Unsichtb. Loge* S. 154.

Laufpass M. seit Campe 1809 gebucht (bes. in der Redensart "jem. den Laufpass geben"): seit etwa 1800 geläufig z. B. *Origines Backel*[2] I, 92. Wohl aus der Soldatensprache stammend.

Lebenslauf M. Nachbildung von lat. (Cicero) *curriculum vitae:* seit Stieler 1691 und Frisch 1741 gebucht; seit dem 18.

[1] Schon Steinbach 1734 *Deu. Wörter-Buch* I, 61 verzeichnet: "Lauffbahn, *stadium, curriculum.*"—W. K.

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Jahrh. geläufig z. B. Wieland 1767 *Idris* II, Str. 103, III, Str. 139.

†**Löschhorn** N. 'Löscher des Kerzenlichts' (Stieler 1691); im Nürnberger Fastnachtspiel des 15./16. Jahrhs. (z. B. H. Sachs) Scherzwort für 'Nase.'

†**Mackes** Plur. 'Fehler, Schläge' als Pfälz. Dialektwort zuerst gebucht bei Klein 1792 *Provinzialwb.* II, 3; in Kindlebens *Studentenlex.* 1781 als jüdisches Wort verzeichnet: im deutschen Westen und Südwesten verbreitetes Volkswort aus judendeutsch hebr. *makkōth* (*th* = *s* vgl. *Schabbes*). Vgl. Spitzer *Zfrom. Phil.* 40 (1920) 703 f.

minderjährig Adj. seit Campe 1801. 1809 gebuchtes puristisches Ersatzwort für lat. *minorennis;* zufrühst Ostermann 1591 *Vocab. analyt.* I, 126 "minorennis, ein minderjäriger, der oder die noch under 25 Jaren ist."

Narr M. mhd. mndd. *narre* ahd. *narro* M. 'Verrückter': ein ursprünglich nur hd. Wort von umstrittener Herkunft. Die Ableitung aus einem spätlat. (Gloss.) *nârio* 'Spötter' hat Diez *Et. Wb.* S. 646 empfohlen; dann muss ahd. *narro* für **narrio* stehen, wie *Graf* für mlat. *grâfio.* Das Verhältnis dieses **narrio* zu ursprüngl. *nario* hat Parallelen.

Nase[2] F. weit verbreiteter oberd. Fischname (ndd. in Holstein *nese*); im Mittelalter nur selten bezeugt (mlat. *naso* zufrühst in der Fischnamenliste des lat. *Ruodlieb* (11. Jahrh.). Nach dem *Schweiz. Idiotikon* IV, 800 hat der Fisch seinen Namen von dem vorstehenden Oberkiefer.

Pistole F.—**Pistol** N. seit dem 30 jährigen Krieg allgemein üblich und seit Schottel 1663 und Stieler 1691 gebucht. Belege: Wallhausen 1616 *Kriegsmanual* S. 27; Duez 1652 *Nomenclator* S. 211; Andersen 1669 *Orient. Reisebeschr.* S. 194. Früher mit frz. *pistole,* engl. *pistol* fälschlich gedeutet als eine aus der ital. Stadt Pistoja stammende Waffe; vielmehr ist die Waffe zuerst während der Hussitenkriege zwischen 1421-1429 in schlesischen Geschichtsquellen bezeugt und beruht auf dem gleichbed. tschech. *pist'al.* Die ältesten Zeugnisse bei Kurrelmeyer *Mod. Lang. Notes* 36 (1921) 488. Gleichzeitige Entlehnung *Haubitze.*

Prahlhans M. 'Prahler' seit Stieler 1691 gebucht und seit dem 16. Jahrh. allgemein üblich: Wortbildung wie die bei Stieler verzeichneten "Fabel-, Feder-, Gaff-, Karsthans" usw. Vgl. Kluge, *Abriss der Wortbildungslehre* § 44, sowie *Schmalhans.*

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Rebensaft M. seit dem 16. Jahrh. Dichterwort für 'Wein'; seit Stieler 1691 gebucht. Belege: Fischart 1575 *Gargantua* S. 125; Keppler 1616 *Oesterr. Wein-Visier Büchlein* (Vorrede). Synonym *Traubensaft* Wieland 1771 *Amadis* XII, Str. 17. Jüngere Nachbildung *Gerstensaft* für 'Bier.'

Regenschirm M. erst bei Adelung und Campe verzeichnet (aber noch nicht bei Amaranthes 1715 *Frauenzimmerlex.* S. 1416. Wort und Sache sind erst langsam im 18. Jahrh. (von Frankreich aus) vorgedrungen. Beleg: Hermes 1789 *Für Töchter* I, 219. Vgl. *Sonnenschirm.*

Schamade F. 'zum Rückmarsch oder Abzug die Trommel rühren' Kindleben 1781 *Studentenlex.* S. 183;[2] Beleg: Schiller 1781 *Venuswagen* v. 215. Auch in Campes *Verdeutschungswörterbuch* 1813 verzeichnet: Fremdwort des 18. Jahrhs. nach frz. *chamade.* Klassischer Beleg: Bismarck 1898 *Gedanken u. Erinnerungen* II, 91 "vorher klang es wie Chamade, jetzt wie eine Fanfare" (Worte Moltkes).

Schauplatz M. im 16./17. Jahrh. Ersatzwort für *Theater:* "ein Wort, das die Errichtung und Einrichtung der deutschen Bühne des 15./16. Jahrhs. auf einem öffentlichen Platze zur Voraussetzung hat" Heyne, *Deutsches Wb.* III, 281; aber in der Zusammensetzung *Kriegsschauplatz* (s. d.) in der sinnlichen Grundbedeutung. Über *Schaubühne* vgl. unter *Bühne.*

Schildbürger besonders in der bei Wieland 1774 *Abderiten* I, 1 belegten Zusammensetzung *Schildbürgerstreiche* weist auf den Ort Schilda bei Merseburg, dessen Bewohnern seit Jahrhunderten dumme Streiche nachgesagt werden, die zum erstenmal in dem Volksbuch von 1597 ("Wunderseltzame, abentheuerliche, unerhörte und bisher unbeschriebene Geschichten und Thaten der Schiltbürger in Misnopotamia") gesammelt worden sind. Weil ein Ortsname *Schilda* kaum zu einer Einwohnerbezeichnung *Schild-*

[2] Beleg aus dem 17. Jahrh.: *Neueste . . . Kriegs- und Siegs- Wie auch Freud- Leid- und Streit-Händel,* Nürnberg 1684, S. 35: "liesse er die weise Fahne ausstecken und auf allen Attaquen die Chamade schlagen." Auch Belidor 1765 *Kriegs-Lexicon* S. 56 verzeichnet: "**die Chamade schlagen,** dieses geschiehet entweder im Felde, wenn zwey Armeen gegen einander stehen, und die eine der andern durch den Trommelschlag zu verstehen gibt, dass man etwas zu tractiren habe; oder aber, es geschiehet in einer belagerten Festung, wenn der belagerte Theil zu capituliren verlangt."—W. K.

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bürger führt, nimmt man seit Campe 1810 gern an, dass *Schildbürger* mit *Spiessbürger* innerlich verwandt ist: eigentlich 'mit Schild bewaffneter Städter'?

Schlosser[3] M. 'Zylinderhut' neuere Bezeichnung nur in Schwaben; redender Beleg bei Keller 1856 *Leute von Seldwyla* II, 131. Wahrscheinlich Name eines ältesten Fabrikanten? Zuerst gebucht bei Sanders 1885. Vgl. auch *Angströhre* und *Klapphut.*

Schmalhans M. seit Stieler 1691 gebucht mit der Bedeutung 'Hungerleider' ("tenax, cuminisector—hier wohnet Schmalhans cerebro passerino hic vivitur, caput halecis pro obsonio est"); dann seit dem 17. Jahrh. auch 'Hunger' ("hier ist Schmalhans Küchenmeister = Hunger ist der beste Koch"). Vgl. auch *Hans* und *Prahlhans.*

Schneiderkarpfen M. Scherzwort für 'Hering'; bei Stieler 1691 *Schneiderskarpen* neben gleichbed. *Schusterskarpen;* Colerus 1640 *Calend.* S. 9 "in Seestädten nennt man diesen Fisch Schusterkarpen oder Schneiderkarpen." So heisst man im Bergischen die Ziege *Bergmannskuh;* vgl. auch *Schustersrappen.*

Schutzengel M. durch das 18. Jahrh. geläufig und seit Frisch 1741 gebucht.[3] Belege: Bretzner 1788 *Leben eines Lüderlichen* III, 202; Cramer 1796 *Raphael Pfau* II, 208.—**Schutzgeist M.** seit Adelung gebucht und seit Wieland 1767 *Idris* v, Str. 15. 23 belegt (auch Bretzner 1788 *Leben eines Lüderlichen* III, 213).—**Schutzheiliger** M. erst im 19. Jahrh.

Sieben F. bei Stieler 1691 gebucht als eine bestimmte Spielkarte, aber auch in der Verbindung "eine böse Siebene" 'ein böses Weib' und in dieser Verbindung durch das ganze 17. Jahrh. belegt. Die Bedeutung 'eine bestimmte Spielkarte' geht durch das 16./17. Jahrh. und hängt zusammen mit dem *Karnöffel* genannten Spiel; vgl. Spangenberg 1562 *Wider die böse Siben* S. A4b "der Teuffel heisst im Karnöffelspiel Siben." Daraus entwickelt sich mit dem 17. Jahrh. die zweite Bedeutung Stielers "die böse Sieben." Über die komplizierte Wortgeschichte vgl. das *DWb.* unter *Karnöffel* und *Zeitschr.* I, 363.

[3] Früher Beleg im *Jammer-Bericht von der . . . Beängstigung Der Französischen See-Flotta an die . . . Handel-Stadt Genua.* Nürnberg 1684. S. 6: "gleich ob sie so viel Schutz-Engel . . . selbst bekommen hätten." Auch bei Steinbach 1734 *Deu. Wörter-Buch* I, 342: "Schutzengel, *angelus tutelaris.*"—W. K.

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mont, is that repose of feature is a constituent of beauty.[12] He refers to Le Brun "who published a very pretty Treatise, to show how the Passions affect the Face and Features." This question he takes up himself, and argues that all emotions, if expressed intensely, are essentially ugly. To be alluring the feelings must be kept under restraint. Then, even a comparatively plain face has attraction if there be sensibility in the eyes, good-humor in the expression, and "perhaps a little agreeable smile about the Mouth." Spence's caution is significant.

In spite of the fact that, in the history of design, Hogarth's S-curve as the line of beauty is in reaction against the straight lines and rectilinear forms of neo-classic art, his *Analysis of Beauty* (1753) shows plainly enough to what an extent he would formalize the movements of the body. His last chapter would have delighted Chesterfield. Here Hogarth points out that his principles of beauty may be exhibited in physical action so as to make one "genteel and graceful in the carriage of his person." In the past people of quality have been dependent upon the dancing and the fencing master for the development of grace—an inadequate method because it left the pupil in ignorance as to why certain movements had charm. This uncertainty Hogarth now proposes to remove. In performing his task he reveals the thoroughness of a man who is determined to establish the universality of a theory. With the utmost gravity he shows how the S-curve may be described in the presentation of a fan or a snuff-box, or in the movements of the head, it being possible to achieve grace in the latter, we are assured, even without the aid of a mirror if one has "sensibility." Then he analyzes the bow and the curtsey, and he gratifies us with the information that a bow to a monarch "should have but a very little twist, if any." Next dancing, and especially the minuet, because of its opportunities for the serpentine in bowing, engages his close attention. So Hogarth is not at all surprised to hear a famous dancing master assert that "the minuet had been the study of his whole life, and that he had been indefatigable in the pursuit of its beauties, yet at last he could only say with Socrates, he knew nothing." Such ideas need no comment; they belong to an age that admired the formalities of studied beauty.

[12] Reprinted in Dodsley's *Fugitive Pieces*, Vol. I, 1765.

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In his chapter, entitled, *Of the Face,* Hogarth commits himself to similar particularities. Here too he seems incapable of conveying any humor from his palette to his pen. He expatiates upon the linear characteristics of "a face of the highest taste, and the reverse." Whether an expression be beautiful or not depends upon the lines which it creates in the countenance. His example is significant. "The lines that form a pleasing smile about the corners of the mouth have gentle windings, but lose their beauty in the full laugh as the expression of excessive laughter, oftener than any other, gives a sensible face a silly or disagreeable look, as it is apt to form regular plain lines about the mouth, like a parenthesis, which sometimes appears like crying."

This passage would be read sympathetically by Hogarth's fastidious contemporaries who set great store by the dignity and reserve. Moderation in laughter is an element of good breeding, but to specify solemnly the degree of risibility permissible is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle. How very differently does Carlyle speak of laughter! In truth, we can only conclude that Teufelsdröckh's laugh—"loud, long-continuing, uncontrollable, a laugh not of the face and diaphragm only, but of the whole man from head to heel"—is the gigantic merriment of a romantic rebel.

Clearly Chesterfield's conception of laughter as a social indiscretion belongs to the age that was passing, the age of reason and convention rather than to the age of feeling, imagination, and individualism. His *Letters* are the quintessence of the social ideal of the classical era. To train his son in conformity with his ideal, he ignores no matter as trivial. He lays down as fundamental that native talents must be developed by a long course of training, and that education involves not only the acquisition of knowledge, but also a widely varied social experience without which that knowledge will be of little avail to its possessor. The *Letters* have many of the substantial merits of the classical period, but they are not prophetic of the tendencies which were to transform the spirit of the last half of the eighteenth century. Just about the time that Marcel, the dancing master of fashionable Paris, was teaching young Stanhope how to enter a drawing-room, Rousseau was idealizing simplicity and natural beauty. But unlike the sentimentalists, Chesterfield wishes nothing from the hand of nature unadorned. His ideal man is one who has a profound respect for

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social conventions and who, out of deference for it, has learned to repress his feelings, and to conform to prevalent standards of decorum. Indeed, in social matters Chesterfield is the Thomas Rymer of the drawing-room and the ceremonial occasion; he insists on the importance of rules and models. Incessantly he urges the observation of fashionable men and women as the only means of acquiring good breeding and the inestimable art of pleasing. He distrusts any individualistic manifestations of personality. How sharp the contrast with the offspring of Rousseauistic teaching who were to challenge conventions and strut in the pride of self-confident egotism! Chesterfield wanted his boy to be no child of nature with the frankness of an Emile, but a highly artificial product of an highly polished, sophisticated society. He is expected to gain the art of self-control so perfectly that no one can guess what is in his heart or his mind. No irresponsible laughter to disturb his dignity! Easily and smoothly he is to move among his fellows, striving to please his inferiors no less than his equals and superiors. Rousseau's criticism of Parisian society is, in reality, a criticism of the Chesterfieldian ideal.

E. Sprague Allen.

New York University.

THE SOURCES OF IZQUIERDO'S *LUCERO DE NUESTRA SALVACION*

Mr. Rouanet[1] has noticed that there is much similarity between Ausias Izquierdo Zebrero's *Auto llamado Lucero de nuestra salvacion, que trata del despedimiento que hizo nuestro señor Jesucristo de su bendita madre, estando en Betania, para ir a Jerusalen, etc.,*[2] and the *Auto del Despedimiento de Christo de su madre.*[3] "Il existe," says Mr. Rouanet, "entre l'*auto* d'Izquierdo et celui de notre recueil de grands points de ressemblance, et l'un d'eux est certainement une imitation de l'autre. Mais lequel est le premier en date?"

[1] *Colección de Autos, Farsas y Coloquios del siglo XVI.* Barcelona-Madrid, 1901, IV, 281.

[2] *Romancero y Cancionero sagrados,* ed. Justo de Sancha, *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, XXXV (1872), 385-388.

[3] Rouanet, nr. LIV.

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In his comments on the auto immediately preceding the *Despedimiento,* entitled *Aucto de las Donas que embio Adan a nuestra Señora con Sant Lazaro,* Mr. Rouanet incidentally also notices some resemblance between the latter *auto* and the *Lucero.* This resemblance seems stronger than indicated by Mr. Rouanet; in the *Aucto de las Donas* the Virgin finds in a wedding-chest sent by Adam the instruments of Christ's Passion; in the *Lucero* a series of letters from Adam, David, etc., are read to her, describing the tools of her son's coming death. This part of the *Lucero* appears to be a direct *degradation* of the *Aucto de las Donas,* by means of the letter device so common in the pastoral drama. It would seem that here lies the answer to Mr. Rouanet's above-quoted question; using his own indications to fuller advantage, it might be argued definitely that the *Lucero* is built on a combination of the two latter *autos.*

The construction of Izquierdo's *auto* may be described as follows: The Virgin expresses her desperate sorrow on hearing of Christ's coming ordeal, much as in the *Despedimiento,* although more briefly and without any preliminaries, dispensing with John, Peter, Martha, and Lazarus. The entrance of Adam, with the cross, arguing the necessity of Christ's Passion to undo the original sin provides the *soudure,* the connecting-link with the *Aucto de las Donas que embio Adan.* In Izquierdo's *auto* not only Adam, but also (by the familiar process of extension) David, Moses, Jeremiah, and Abraham are used to bring home to the Virgin the coming of her son's inevitable death. A series of letters is read aloud by an Angel: the letter from Adam calls her attention to the cross, just as in the *Despedimiento* Adam brought in the cross, and letters from the other Old-Testament figures each describe one other instrument of torture, just as in the *Donas* each one was taken out of the chest and its use explained to the Virgin by *Humanidad.* Thus the essential idea of *Las Donas que embio Adan* is welded with the *Despedimiento.*

Such a process of combination is usual and not difficult of execution, but the reverse, namely the splitting up of an *auto* into two others would appear much less likely. Besides, Izquierdo's *auto,* though not devoid of merit, sinks into comparative insignificance compared with the two others, which are truly exceptional, the *Donas* because of the striking idea, well developed; the *Despedi-*

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The resemblance between this passage and that in Chesterfield is striking. Is it not likely that Chesterfield with his almost congenital interest in etiquette had read the pamphlet, especially as it concerned a popular play by a famous actor? If he did read it, it is evident that he discounted the satire, and followed sympathetically what was said about decorum as it probably confirmed what he already believed. His recollection of the ideas that impressed him, colors, we may then infer, his letter to his son. To paraphrase a passage which contained ideas of which he approved was in accord with Chesterfield's method of instruction, for he frequently quotes or summarizes, for the benefit of his son, oral and written criticisms of the youth's conduct, or recommends to him books for his perusal. If Chesterfield was not acquainted with the satiric pamphlet, the occurrence of the same ideas in *The Pretty Gentleman* and in the *Letters* indicates the prevalence of the opinion that laughter should be discountenanced in fastidiously polite circles. That this was indeed the case we shall soon see.

From the moment of the publication of the *Letters* in 1774, Chesterfield's critics, whether playful satirists or austere moralists, did not overlook his blacklisting of laughter. Alert to capitalize every current folly, Samuel Foote had first thought of depicting the ironic situation of a father, victimized by the very son to whom he had taught the Chesterfieldian ethics. When informed of this design, Johnson expressed his approval, at the same time pointing out how the poetic justice of the plot might be further intensified.[4] But *The Cozeners* shows no trace of Foote's excellent dramatic idea. What Foote does is to introduce among the dupes in *The Cozeners* Mr. and Mrs. Aircastle and their booby son, Toby—a comic family group whose idiosyncrasies as seeds in Goldsmith's imagination were destined to mature in *She Stoops to Conquer.* As Foote represents them, Mr. and Mrs. Aircastle have come up to London to marry off their clownish son advantageously. Mrs. Aircastle has read Chesterfield's *Letters,* and desperately anxious to make Toby presentable instructs him in "the graces" and urges him not to laugh, but merely to smirk "to show his teeth and his manners." But Mr.

[4] *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (Birkbeck Hill). Vol. IV, 384.

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Aircastle is not impressed; he expresses the opinion that his son has "neither grace nor grease." [5]

In Samuel Pratt's *The Pupil of Pleasure* (1776), a novel, designed to unmask the iniquity of Chesterfieldian ethics, the hero, Philip Sedley, assiduously puts in practice the principles he had culled from the *Letters*. As the heartless destroyer of susceptible females, he anticipates the philosophical villains who, as disciples of William Godwin, flaunt their viciousness in the anti-revolutionary fiction of the last decade of the century.[6] Loyal to his master, Sedley congratulates himself, after a sojourn at a fashionable spa, that he has never laughed out since his arrival there.[7] Vigorous merriment he leaves to the boors, while he carefully controls his own muscles of risibility.

Curiously enough, one of the most elaborate criticisms of Chesterfield's doctrines occurs in the first American comedy, Royall Tyler's *The Contrast* (1787). Written in a spirit of national egoism, the play exemplifies the smug formula that becomes traditional in all subsequent dramas exhibiting in juxtaposition the American and the foreigner. In this case we have the contrast between the American who has remained at home, keeping his integrity unimpaired, and the American who, after a sojourn in England, returns to his native shores, corrupted by foreign vices. Dimple and his dandified servant, Jessamy, consult Chesterfield's *Letters* with the thoroughness of a theologian looking for scriptural guidance. Jessamy is greatly distressed because Jenny "has something so execrably natural in her laugh," and reproaches another clumsy fellow-servant, a native American, because he laughed outright at the play when he should have only tittered. Jessamy's description of Dimple's guide-book for prospective laughters deserves quotation.

Jessamy. . . . . My master has composed an immensely pretty gamut, by which any lady, or gentleman, with a few years' close application, may learn to laugh as gracefully as if they were born and bred to it.

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[5] Act II, Sc. I.

[6] See the present writer's article, "The Reaction against William Godwin," *Modern Philology*, Vol. XVI, No. 5.

[7] *The Pupil of Pleasure*. 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1778. Vol. I, Letter XXXII. Platt wrote under the pseudonym of Courtney Melmoth (*DNB*.).

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Jonathan. Mercy on my soul! A gamut for laughing—just like fa, la, sol?

Jessamy. Yes. It comprises every possible display of jocularity, from an *affettuoso* smile to a *piano* titter, or full chorus *fortissimo,* ha, ha, ha! My master employs his leisure-hours in marking out the plays, like a cathedral chanting-book, that the ignorant may know where to laugh; and that pit, box, and gallery may keep time together and not have a snigger in one part of the house, a broad grin in the other, and a d——d grum look in the third. How delightful to see the audience all smile together, then look on their books, then twist their mouths into an agreeable simper, then altogether shake the house with a general ha, ha, ha! loud as a full chorus of Handel's, at an Abbey-commemoration.

Jonathan. Ha, ha, ha! That's dang'd cute, I swear.

Jessamy. The gentlemen, you see, will laugh the tenor; the ladies will play the counter-tenor; the beaux will squeak the treble; and our jolly friends in the gallery a thorough bass, ho, ho, ho!

Jonathan. Well, can't you let me see that gamut?

Jessamy. Oh! yes, Mr. Jonathan; here it is. (*Takes out a book.*) Oh! no, this is only a titter with its variations. Ah, here it is. (*Takes out another.*) Now you must know, Mr. Jonathan, this is a piece written by Ben Jonson, which I have set to my master's gamut. The places where you must smile, look grave, or laugh outright, are marked below the line.[8]

Probably much of this satire against Chesterfield's effort to put laughter on the index is to be accounted for by the fact that by 1774, the date of the publication of the *Letters,* Rousseau's influence was gradually permeating European thought. Saint-Simon, by no means a eulogist of Louis XIV, could, nevertheless, not restrain his admiration for the skill with which the King by the nature of his bow precisely differentiated the rank of the person he was recognizing: to some he merely touched his hat while to others he took it half-off and held it for a moment or two against his ear.[9] For such refinements Rousseau had only

[8] Act V; Scene I. For additional criticism of Chesterfield, see (1) *The Mirror,* Nos. 12, 35, 38, and 40. (2) *The unalterable nature of virtue and vice,* a sermon, preached at St. James's, London, 1776, and (3) Mrs. Inchbald's comedy, *Such Things Are.* Commenting on a spirited exchange of boyhood reminiscences between Garrick and Johnson, Hannah More remarks: "We all stood round them above an hour, laughing in defiance of every rule of decorum and Chesterfield." *Johnsonian Miscellanies* (Birkbeck Hill), Vol. II, 186.

[9] *Mémoires de Saint-Simon.* Paris, 1865. Tome VIII, 123.

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contempt. His attacks upon the artifice of Parisian society in Saint-Preux's letters in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and his incessant campaign in behalf of naturalness, sincerity, and spontaneity discredited the social standards which had been dominant during the classical period. To attempt to outlaw laughter seemed ridiculous to a generation, being taught to see only beauty in the overflow of emotion. Chesterfield belonged to the older time, and his ideas encountered the opposition, inevitable in a reactionary period.

In his edition of the *Letters,* Bradshaw has cited some evidence to suggest the probability that Chesterfield was not entirely exceptional in his attitude toward laughter as a violation of decorum.[10] It can be shown even more definitely, I think, that at the time Chesterfield was instructing his son in "the graces," other writers were voicing opinions more or less similar to his own.

In *The Polite Philosopher or An Essay on that Art which makes a Man happy in himself, and agreeable to others* (1734) conduct, as the title indicates, is put among the arts as something regulated by principles the subtlety of which can be appreciated only by people of taste.[11] What is especially significant is the analogy which the author draws between correct behavior and architecture. He believes that the qualities that distinguish the most formal of the arts, should also characterize the etiquette of social intercourse.

> That true Politeness we can only call,
> Which looks like Jones's Fabric at Whitehall.

The age that was only just beginning to tire of the formal quincunx and the goose-foot in garden-design, desired that the modes in which personality expressed itself, should not be individualistic, but possess the uniformity and repose of a Palladian façade. To anyone who seriously advocated symmetry and proportion in conduct, only other names for decorum, spontaneous laughter might easily seem as out of place as a gargoyle on a majestic classic cornice.

The outstanding idea in *Crito, or a Dialogue on Beauty* (1725), written by Joseph Spence under the pseudonym of Sir Harry Beau-

[10] Vol. I, 94, footnote.

[11] Reprinted in Dodsley's *Fugitive Pieces*, London, 1765, Vol. I.

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miento for its rare emotional touches. It would be strange if out of the two parts of a merely passable *auto* two exceptional ones had been made, one of these, the *Donas,* containing a theme of unusual pathetic appeal.

This theme, the source of which (as also that of the *Despedimiento*) must lie in some medieval book of devotion hitherto unidentified, has apparently no analogues in the dramatic literature of other nations, except in Portuguese. In Gil Vicente's *Auto da Alma* (1508) [4] the Soul, on its way through life, arrives at a resting-place where the allegorical figure of the Church is seated before a table. To this table the four doctors of the Church, Thomas, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine, bring four platters containing food for the Soul, namely the *sudarium,* the lash, the crown of thorns, and the nails. In Spain the theme first appears in the fifteenth century, in a Christmas play of Gómez Manrique, the *Representacion del Nacimiento de nuestro Señor,*[5] where the martyrs present to the child Jesus the instruments of his torture, and it reappears much later in Timoneda's *Desposorios de Cristo,*[6] where the instruments figure as the different courses at the wedding-feast of Christ with *Naturaleza Humana.* In Lope de Vega's *La fianza satisfecha* (*cf.* Schack, Mier's translation, III, 170 ff.) the hero, Leonido, after a life of crime flees to the desert and there meets a shepherd, who is Christ, looking for a lost sheep. Opening his knapsack to him, the Lord declares:

> En este zurron pobre
> Está lo que me debes; considera
> Si es justo que lo cobre,
> Pues lo pagué por tí.

And Leonido finds in it the crown of thorns, the lance, and the nails. Incomparably the most effective use of this idea, however, is the one found in the *Aucto de las Donas.*

The date of this *Aucto* and that of the *Despedimiento* are not

[4] Gil Vicente, *Obras,* Lisboa, 1852, vol. I.

[5] In Gómez Manrique's *Cancionero,* ed. Paz y Melia, Madrid, 1885, II, 292-296. It is placed by Kohler (*Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen,* Dresden, 1911, p. 4) between 1476 and 1481, but may well be earlier. *Cf.* Buchanan, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.,* XXXVII (1913), 504.

[6] First published in the second *Ternario Sacramental,* 1575, reprinted by Pedroso, *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.,* LVIII.

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known, but most of the plays in Rouanet's collection, if not all of them, were written before 1570, and some of them perhaps twenty or twenty-five years earlier. Izquierdo's *Lucero,* as Escudero,[7] correcting an error of long standing, has pointed out, was probably first published in 1582.

JOSEPH E. GILLET.

University of Minnesota.

A POEM OF JEAN ROTROU ADDRESSED TO LE ROYER DE PRADE

When M. Henri Chardon was writing his *Vie de Rotrou mieux connue,*[1] he sought to complete the dramatist's bibliography by collecting the complimentary verses he had addressed to contemporary writers and which had been printed with their plays. After pointing out where a number of such poems could be found, he gave up the hunt, leaving it to those to whom obscure seventeenth century plays were more accessible. One poem that he failed to find was addressed to Jean le Royer de Prade and published as a portion of the introduction to a collection of occasional verses, two plays, and a treatise on heraldry, printed in 1649 and 1650.[2]

[7] *Tipografía hispalense,* no. 721.

[1] Paris, Picard, 1884, p. 37.

[2] The permission to print all of these is dated May 17, 1649; the date on the title-page of the plays is 1649; that of the *Œuvres poétiques* and the *Trophée d'armes héraldiques* is 1650. They were printed at Paris, 4°, by Targa and Nicolas and Jean de la Coste. Targa tells us in an *Imprimeur au lecteur* that the poems and plays were written seven or eight years before, but this remark is probably not true of all the poems. Little is known of Le Royer de Prade. He was born in 1624. M. Lachèvre in his *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs,* II, 336, 423-425, mentions various poems published by him between 1648 and 1661, as well as a *Discours du Tabac* (1668, reprinted as *Histoire du Tabac,* 1677) and a *Histoire d'Allemagne* (1677). His *Arsace,* written in 1650 and announced to be played at the Hôtel de Bourgogne and the Marais, was finally represented by Molière's troop on six occasions in November, 1662, and was printed by T. Girard, 1666, 12°. In an interesting *Au lecteur,* quoted at length by the Frères Parfaict, X, 13-15, mention is made of Rotrou, Scudéry, Quinault, the two Corneilles, and other dramatists who thought well of *Arsace.* The Frères Parfaict state elsewhere (VIII, 154, 155) that Prade was said to have had some part in the composition of Quinault's *Coups de l'amour et de la Fortune.*

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The poem praises these productions in turn. It runs as follows:

A. M. de P. sur ses œuvres Poetiques et son Trophée d'armes Heraldiques

STANCES

I'Idolatre ta Muse, et profane, et Chrestienne,
Ialoux, ou furieux ton stile me rauit,
Et si i'en puis iuger la Harpe de Dauid
Eut moins de melodie en sa main qu'en la tienne.

Soit que d'vn desespoir tu decriues la rage,
Ou d'vn cœur penitent nous exprimes les vœux,
Tu rends également par l'vn et l'autre ouurage,
Et les amoureux saincts, et les saincts amoureux.

Siluanus que le sort ou propice, ou contraire,
Auoit monté si haut pour le faire perir,
T'est bien plus obligé qu'il ne fut à Tibere
Car tu le fais reuiure, et luy le fit mourir.

Ce fameux Annibal, qu'vn renom equitable,
A fait victorieux de cent siecles diuers,
Avecque tant de gloire éclatte dans tes Vers,
Qu'aux portes des Romains il fut moins redoubtable.

Si tu produis souuent des ouurages si dignes,
Ie ne t'estime pas au poinct que ie le doy,
Si ie n'ose auancer, que pour n'ouyr que toy
La Scene imposera silence à tous ces Cygnes.

En fin tu sçais ietter par l'art dont tu blasonnes,
De si doux aiguillons aux cœurs de nos guerriers,
Que la France est ingratte, ou te doit des couronnes,
Son or est épuisé, mais elle a des lauriers.

ROTROV.

The allusions in this poem are transparent enough to anyone who has examined the book in which it is published. When Rotrou speaks of David's harp and descriptions of despair and repentance, he has in mind Prade's translations of the first and sixth psalms, especially the latter, found in his *Œuvres poétiques.*[3] "Siluanus"

[3] Though Rotrou is concerned with the psalms only, it may be of interest to note among Prade's poems one to Cyrano, "l'auteur des estats et empires de la Lune," reproduced by Lacroix in his edition of the latter book, another from "Charles IX à Ronsart," an epigramme from "Don Quixot au Barbier de son Liure," another on "Ionas dans le ventre de la

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indicates Prade's first tragedy, *la Victime d'Estat,* based on Tacitus, *Annals,* IV, 22, and concerned with the death of Silvanus's wife, his trial before Tiberius, and his execution. By changing the murder of the wife into suicide and having the hero's death take place against the Emperor's will, Prade succeeds in making "Siluanus innocent et Tibere genereux," as his editor puts it, though Rotrou's reference to Tiberius is based more directly upon the historical account. "Ce fameux Annibal" refers to Prade's tragedy, *Annibal,* in which the hero, established in Apulia, hesitates between advancing on Rome or lingering at Salapia with the Roman captive he loves. After various efforts on the part of his generals, his wife, and his prisoners, Hannibal solves the problem by pardoning his would-be murderers, marrying to his rival the woman whose affections he has been unable to win, and ordering the march to begin.[4] Rotrou's last lines have reference, of course, to Prade's treatise on heraldry, the *Trophée d'armes héraldiques.* The poem is certainly one of the last Rotrou wrote, for he died in June, 1650 and he could hardly have known long before that date that these four works would be made into a single volume.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

Balaine," and complimentary lines to "M. de Bouti . . . sur le Selin" [Le Vayer de Boutigny, *le grand Selim*, Paris, de Sercy, 1643, 4°.] and to "M. de la Motte le Vayer sur ses Opuscules." On account of this last poem M. Magne places Prade among the *libertins*. Cf. *Une amie inconnue de Molière*, Paris, Emile-Paul frères, 1922, pp. 28 and 118. It would be more exact to say merely that he was a friend of three *libertins*, Cyrano, La Mothe le Vayer, and Le Vayer de Boutigny.

[4] The publisher states that the plot is derived from a reference in Pliny's *Natural History*, III, Ch. 11, to Salapia, a town "Hannibalis meretricio amore inclutum." Prade probably used also Livy and Appian and certain contemporary dramatists. In Rotrou's *Hercule Mourant* (played, 1634) the hero threatens to destroy a girl's lover if she refuses to become his mistress, just as Hannibal threatens to put to death Octalie's brother under similar circumstances. He seeks, moreover, to make this brother persuade his sister to yield to him, as does the king in the case of the heroine's father in La Calprenède's *Edouard* (published, 1640). Aronce, a captured Roman who has murdered two of Hannibal's generals instead of the Carthaginian leader, confesses his mistake to Hannibal, just as Scévole confesses to Tarquin in Du Ryer's *Scévole* (played as early as 1644). Most obvious of all is the influence of Corneille, after whose *Cinna* the *dénouement* is modeled.

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REVIEWS

Die Legende um Dante. Von ALBERT WESSELSKI. Weimar: Alexander Duncker, 1921. 16mo., 96 pp.

Ten years ago I reviewed in *Modern Language Notes* (XXVII, 112-115) G. Papini's *La Leggenda di Dante,* Lanciano, 1912, and compared it with the more scholarly work of a similar nature by G. Papanti, *Dante secondo la tradizione e i novellatori,* Leghorn, 1873, which had been long out of print. Another competent scholar has now traversed the same ground as his predecessors, but in a somewhat different manner. Papanti gave the original texts arranged in chronological order by authors, so that the same anecdote had to be sought in different places. Papanti's notes contained a good deal of valuable bibliography, but made no pretense to an exhaustive study of sources. Papini arranged his material, so far as possible, in chronological sequence, grouping, however, the different versions of the same story. He also gave the original texts, unfortunately disfigured by inexcusable errors. Papini was able to add a few stories to those of Papanti, but his comparative notes are of no great value.

There was still room for further treatment of the subject, and that has now been furnished by a master in the field of the comparative literature of jests, to which class belong the largest number of Dante legends. Wesselski's work differs from those of his predecessors in that he does not reproduce the original texts, and usually confines himself to one version of each anecdote. It is difficult to understand Wesselski's arrangement of his material. He begins (pp. 7-12) with the story of the trial at Avignon in 1320 of Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti for an attempt on the life of Pope John XXII, from which it appears that Dante in his lifetime was suspected of sorcery (Papini, pp. 105-108). Then (pp. 13-14) follows Boccaccio's anecdote of the women of Verona who believed that Dante had really returned from hell. Wesselski, by the way, cites Geibel's poem on this subject, but does not mention Rossetti's *Dante at Verona.* In the three following anecdotes (pp. 15-23) Dante is connected with Cecco d'Ascoli (story of the Cat and the Candlestick), and is shown to have labored under the suspicion of heresy (he defends his poem before the inquisitor of

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Toulouse, and discusses the origin of the Credo). Wesselski next gives (pp. 24-26) Sacchetti's story of the gamester who takes the candles from the altar, and places them on Dante's tomb. This is followed (pp. 30-31) by the dream of Dante's mother, and (pp. 31-36) by Boccaccio's account of the discovery of the first seven cantos of the *Inferno* and of the last cantos of the *Paradiso*. The remainder of Wesselski's book is occupied with the numerous anecdotes regarding Dante, mostly in the nature of jests.

It will be seen from what has been said above that Wesselski's work contains no texts, is not arranged in chronological or logical order, and does not add to the store of anecdotes already published by Papanti and Papini. What then constitutes the value of Wesselski's volume? It is the body of notes at the end, which furnish a great mass of information in regard to the sources and diffusion of the various stories. The scope of these notes is very broad, and ranges from mere jests to medieval *exempla* and Oriental tales. Profound as the editor's erudition is, it would be easy to add to his references. I shall mention only a few, of which the first is registered in Miss Fowler's *Catalogue of the Dante Collection Presented to Cornell University by Willard Fiske. Additions, 1898-1920.* Wesselski, as I have remarked above, begins his book with an extended notice of the trial of the Visconti for an attempt on the life of Pope John XXII. The documents in the case were published in 1895-1898 by Jorio, Eubel (not Aubel, as Papini has it), and Passerini, but it was not until 1909 that Robert Michel gave in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (*École Française de Rome*), XXIX (1909), 269-327, a definitive version of them. In the following year (1910) an anonymous writer in the London *Times* (May 28, p. 12) called attention to Michel's article, and a few days later (May 31, p. 10) Mr. Paget Toynbee called attention to the interesting fact that Cardinal Bertrand du Pouget (or Poyet), cardinal legate to Lombardy, one of the commissioners for the trial, was the one who publicly burned the *De Monarchia* and wished to scatter the poet's ashes.

The most widely spread of the jests concerning Dante is the one of the banquet at the court of Can Grande della Scala, where the practical jokers piled the bones under the table at Dante's seat. Wesselski's note is a marvel of erudition, but he has overlooked Rossetti's fine version in the poem cited above.

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Equally interesting and learned is the note on the story in Sercambi's *Novelle,* No. X (Papanti, pp. 67-71, and Papini, pp. 70-73), where the ass's "sterco quadrato" is explained by the push in the rear given by Noah when the ass hesitated to enter the Ark.

I shall close with a reference to some medieval *exempla* cited by Wesselski (pp. 95-96) in connection with the story of Dante's vainglory and punishment when he enters the pulpit to preach and suddenly becomes dumb. To Wesselski's note may be added Herbert's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum,* III, 694 (no. 21); see also R. Renier, *Cronaca, Giornale storico della letteratura italiana,* IX, 341, and C. Cipolla, *Nuove congetture e nuovi documenti intorno a maestro Taddeo del Branca, ib.,* pp. 415-430. To the references in my *Jacques de Vitry,* No. LXXII, cited by Wesselski, may now be added: Frenken, *Die Exempla des Jacob von Vitry,* München, 1914, p. 56; Herbert, *op. cit.,* pp. 60, 342, 473, 528, 551, 557, 592, 667, 671; *Englische Studien,* XIV, 165, XVI, 434, XIX, 177; *Caesarius von Heisterbach,* ed. Meister, Rome, 1901, p. 214, app. II, no. 1; and, finally, the notes of Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm,* III, 463-471 (no. 206), which exhaust the wealth of material.

There is one illustration, the frontispiece, in colors, of a "contemporary miniature in the collection of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol in the Vienna Hofmuseum." Apparently this portrait has not been mentioned or reproduced before. At least I can find no reference to it in Holbrook, *Portraits of Dante,* London, 1911; in Mather, *The Portraits of Dante,* Princeton, 1921; or in G. L. Passerini, *Il Ritratto di Dante,* Firenze, 1921.

T. F. CRANE.

Cornell University.

Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega. By J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD. Philadelphia: 1922. 198 pp. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Extra Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures, No. 7.)

At last we have a comprehensive survey of the pre-Lopean drama. No gap in the history of Spanish literature more needed to be

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filled. Schack and Schaeffer are, for this period more than for others, inaccurate and out of date. Sr. Bonilla y San Martín's extensive Academy discourse, *Las Bacantes* (Madrid, 1921), is a sort of preliminary sketch for his long-announced *Teatro español anterior a Lope de Vega,* but it makes no pretense to completeness, and the publication of the fuller work may not be immediate. Professor Crawford's book, for that matter, does not pretend to be exhaustive. He expressly states that limitations of space have prevented him from writing more than an outline. Outline is too modest a word; what he gives us is a ripe and discreet survey of the whole field, from the *Auto de los reyes magos* to Miguel Sánchez, with brief summaries and estimates of the more important pieces, and a full bibliography.

Not all the material is new. Professor Crawford's research has long been focused chiefly upon this field, and there are long verbatim extracts from articles first published in journals.

The author's unostentatious erudition moves easily to Latin and Italian fields. The comparison of literatures is one of the most valuable sides of his work. On the whole, it is informative rather than critical. Clarity and accuracy are its outstanding qualities. But beneath the surface lies a keen critical perception and a balanced judgment of facts and of diverse arts.

The classification of dramatic *genres* in the sixteenth century, a period of groping and stumbling, is not easy. Of his eight chapters, Professor Crawford devotes one to the origins, one to Juan del Encina, two to religious drama (*i. e.,* before and after Lope de Rueda), one to festival and pastoral plays, two to comedy ("Romantic Comedy and the Comedy of Manners Before Lope de Rueda," "Lope de Rueda, Italianate Comedy and the Farce"). The final chapter is called "Tragedy and Later Comedy."[1] With this classification, some authors' names appear in two or more chapters.

It was, apparently, Professor Crawford's intention not to leave unmentioned any single work, however insignificant, of the period. We should note, therefore, the following which are nowhere named, since reasons for their omission are not obvious.

[1] One may compare Sr. Bonilla's classification: *estilo pastoril; estilo artificioso; bando toscano; estilo trágico;* with the minor departments of *drama sagrado, danza de la muerte,* and *imitación de la antigüedad clásica.*

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Juan Fernández de Heredia, *Colloquio en el qual se remeda el uso, trato y platicas, que las damas en Valencia acostumbran hazer,* etc., 1562. See Henri Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia,* p. 664.

Bartolomé Aparicio, *Misterio de Santa Cecilia* (date?). See Milá y Fontanals, *Obras,* VI, 228 and 360.

The fragments of the *Farsa,* sometimes called *Farsa pastoril,* of the early sixteenth century, published by Cotarelo in his *Revista española de literatura, historia y arte,* I (1901).

The anonymous *Comedia llamada Hypolita,* 1521. See La Barrera, *Catálogo, ad verb.* The only known edition is in the British Museum. A Ms. copy is in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid.

An *auto* by Juan de Rodrigo Alonso, or de Pedreza. See *Las Bacantes,* p. 142.

The data furnished about the versification of the plays are not very complete and not always accurate.[2] Thus (p. 38), Encina used neither *décimas* nor *quintillas,* in the proper sense of these terms. P. 48: It is not certain that Gil Vicente followed Torres Naharro in his modification of the *arte mayor* stanza. Vicente may have been the first. P. 153: The *Tragedia de la Castidad de Lucrecia* was not composed in *quintillas de pie quebrado,* but in six-line *coplas de pie quebrado.* P. 160: In speaking of Juan de la Cueva's plays, the author remarks that his audience must have felt delight "in hearing ballads recited which they had known from childhood." This rather ambiguous remark is likely to help perpetuate the old error of Schack, who said that Cueva employed ballad meter in his plays. The truth is that he glossed ballads in *redondillas.* Similarly (p. 170), the anonymous *Famosos hechos de Mudarra* did not introduce "familiar ballads," but only their subject-matter. P. 161: There are no heptasyllables in Cueva's *sueltos.* P. 163: How are the verse-measures of Cueva's *Comedia del Tutor* "too ponderous for a farce," when this piece contains ninety-two per cent. *redondillas?* No other play of his has so small a proportion of Italian meters. And many seventeenth-century *entremeses* were composed entirely in hendecasyllables. P. 179: The expression "a bewildering variety of metrical forms"

[2] The writer has completed a study of this subject, to be published in the *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal.*

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seems ill applicable to the plays of G. Lobo Laso de la Vega, since the number of forms is less with him than with Virués or Argensola.

Other miscellaneous suggestions may be made as follows. Pp. 41-42: In connection with the life of Gil Vicente, whose many-sided literary genius is properly emphasized, one would expect at least a mention of his trade of goldsmith; the fact may now, I suppose, be regarded as established. Pp. 55, 185: Since the publication of Professor Crawford's book, Pedro Altamira's (or Altamirando's) *Auto de la Aparición* has been reprinted by Professor J. E. Gillet (*Romanic Review,* XIII [1922], 228-251) from an edition of Burgos dated, according to the reprinter, 1603: "M.DC.iij." Apparently he did not notice that the same edition is described by La Barrera (*Catálogo,* p. 511) as of 1553: "M.DL.iij." From the fact that the copy is printed in *letra gótica,* one would infer that La Barrera, of the two, is probably right. P. 58: The anonymous *Farsa sacramental* was not *printed* in 1521; its Ms. bears that date. P. 81: The *Farsa llamada Cornelia* was written by "Andrés Prado, estudiante." Pp. 85, 187: An error of long standing, found in all the treatises, including this one, is the statement that Joaquín Romero de Cepeda's *Comedia Metamorfósea* was written in four acts, so published in 1582, and reduced to three acts by Ochoa in his *Tesoro del Teatro,* 1838. On the contrary, it had three acts in a Ms. of 1578, seen by Moratín (*cf.* his *Orígenes,* under date of 1578), it has three acts in the 1582 *Obras* of Cepeda (although the last *Jornada* is by error labeled "Jornada Quarta"), and Ochoa printed it, in this respect at least, as he found it. Pp. 104, 188, 195: *Auto de Clarindo,* not *Clorindo.* P. 105, last line of text: before 1511, not 1512, according to Kohler. P. 106: What is the authority for the date 1522, assigned to Castillejo's *Farsa de la Constanza?* Is there any except Moratín's guess? P. 126: The date of the *Farsa Rosiela* is 1558, not 1557. P. 169: Francisco de la Cueva (I presume identical with the author of the *Tragedia de Narciso*) wrote also an unedited *Farsa del obispo D. Gonzalo;* see *Rev. filol. esp.,* II, 10 and 131. P. 171: Argensola's *Isabela* exists in a Ms. copy of 1581. It is not necessary to derive this information from La Barrera at second hand via Schaeffer, as did Professor Crawford in an article in the *Romanic Review,* v, 32. The statement is found in the

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former's *Catálogo,* p. 518. P. 176, note 1: The list of three-act plays before the time of Virués should be extended to include, besides Avendaño's *Com. Florisea,* 1551, the *Auto de Clarindo,* 1535?; Francisco de las Cuebas' *Mártires Justo y Pastor,* 1568; Lope de Rueda's *Discordia y Questión de Amor* (though its original form may not have had three acts); and Romero de Cepeda's *Metamorfósea,* 1578, just spoken of. There is also the anonymous *Famosos hechos de Mudarra,* 1583 or 1585, to be reckoned with. Virués only gave the final push to a movement that had been gathering momentum.

The Bibliography is perhaps the most valuable single feature of the book. Many pre-Lopean plays are accessible only in periodicals, some rare, and in odd editions. Hitherto it was a question of months to "get up" this field properly. Now the requisite information is available immediately for all.

The Index, which is constructed so as to be a necessary link between the text and the Bibliography, needs careful revision. Some of the omissions from it are: the anon. *Égloga interlocutoria* (pp. 27, 184); the *Entremés del Mundo y No Nadie* (pp. 134, 190); Lope de Rueda, entire. Several page references are lacking; thus, Carvajal, 191; *Cornelia* (*Farsa llamada*), 187; Izquierdo Zebrero, 190; *Los Cautivos* (should be listed under C, not L), 192; Pedraza, 191.

Specialists may detect slight errors, but no one can impugn the general accuracy and competence of the work. Of course, nothing really definitive can be done in this period (or in most others) in the present state of Hispanic studies. Professor Crawford's book is likely to remain for some years the standard work of reference for its field.

S. Griswold Morley.

The University of California.

Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays, by Levin L. Schücking. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1922.

The translation of Professor Schücking's *Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare* (1919), evidently by himself since no translator is mentioned, and its publication in England and America may be in response to his conviction that "the knowledge which

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English and American scholars have of German Shakespeare research rarely reaches further than the extracts given in the Variorum edition of Furness" (p. 153 n). The reasoning which led to this excellent conclusion would be good if the first premise were sound, for undoubtedly more persons interested in Shakespeare will know of this work in translation than they would if it were preserved only in its original German. America was not ignorant of the book even in its first form.

The thesis of Professor Schücking's work is that Shakespeare's art-form is a mixture of highly developed and quite primitive elements and that these "elements . . . really contain the key to his art, while the more highly developed elements . . . will fall in line when the more obscure, primitive ones are understood." Among these primitive elements are direct self-explanation, as by villains and heroes, the reflection of the characters in the minds and words of other persons, detached scenes and inserted episodes so that "unity of character is disturbed for a part of a scene," a tendency to forget the whole in absorption in the part so that one scene is not consistent with another, or a character is not consistent with itself, or a conflict arises between character and action, and the explicit statement or the imputation of motives.

The acceptance of this thesis clears away much that has been furiously discussed by Shakespearean critics for a century. It is in many cases the letting in of the light of common sense upon much stumbling and fumbling in the dark. Instead of seeing in Oliver's and Iago's and Edmund's confessions of villainy a contradiction between their characters and their words, for a villain does not ordinarily discourse on his own villainy, we find in this self-revelation merely a primitive device for revealing the innate villainy of Oliver or Iago or Edmund. Likewise, similar speeches by heroes such as Henry V, Brutus, and Caesar are not to be regarded as ignoble boasting unworthy of a noble soul, but again as the means the primitive dramatist uses to reveal the inmost soul of his hero. Whatever the character says about himself must, therefore, be accepted at its face value. Similarly, we must believe what the villain says about the hero, even though that may seem to belie the villain's character, for the primitive device was employed to show the character of the hero. We do not try to explain Iago's strange words about Othello, that he "is of a constant, loving,

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noble nature," when at the same time Iago suspects Othello of having been illicitly intimate with Emilia. These words are merely intended to put Othello in the most favorable light.

An apparent exception Schücking finds in Lady Macbeth's speech about her husband, "Yet I do fear thy nature," etc., since he holds that Macbeth's nature as here disclosed does not agree with what is revealed elsewhere or understood by Lady Macbeth elsewhere. Schücking does not believe that she thought Macbeth had too much of the milk of human kindness to catch the nearest way. So the rather remarkable conclusion is reached that "we must assume the possibility of a certain misrepresentation or error of characterization which is not without analogy. The poet for a moment misjudges his own creation" (p. 83). It seems incredible of such an important passage, the very first one in which Lady Macbeth speaks of her husband. Macbeth had up to the murder of Duncan led a wholly blameless life as far as overt acts were concerned. In the course of the play he became as lacking in humanity as he grew indifferent to night shrieks. It took all Lady Macbeth's efforts to get him to take the first plunge in crime, but then he murdered without any feeling of humanity or fear of consequences. His milk of human kindness and his conscience, of which latter he had more, it seems to me, than Schücking grants him, soon vanished after he had taken the first fateful step. Later, he does not hesitate to catch the nearest way, but that was after she had poured her spirits in his ear. What she says about him is true before he had bettered her instruction. And this agrees with Schücking's main thesis.

On the other hand, Schücking's contention that we are to believe what the Queen says about Ophelia's death as being accidental, in oposition to the grave-digger's gossip that she committed suicide, ignores the statement of the priest that

> her death was doubtful;
> And, but that great command o'ersways the order,
> She should in ground unsanctified have lodg'd
> Till the last trumpet.

Schücking instances several cases in which Shakespeare is writing out of character, as when Polonius gives his good advice to Laertes, thus disposing of unavailing efforts to reconcile words of wisdom with the mind of a fool. Not so convincing is he when he

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condemns Mercutio's "Queen Mab" speech as inappropriate to "the coarsest fellow of the whole company," the "bully" [and not in the Rooseveltian sense] Mercutio. Such fellows may not think or speak such poetry—in Germany, but we have met their like in England and America. It is strange that all these years we have been associating with such a scoundrel as Mercutio and thinking him one of the finest fellows in the Shakespearean gallery.

Schücking's treatment of Hamlet as an instance of "the filling in of the given outline of the action" is excellent, in that it gives more fully than Bradley's brilliant *Shakespearean Tragedy* the genetic relations of the melancholy type, to which Hamlet undoubtedly belongs. In an admirable discussion of *Lear* as "action adjusted to the development of character" Schücking shows how Shakespeare departed from the early story for the sake of character development. In this connection he takes exception to the view of Bradley and others that in Lear's pity for the Fool and the

> Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
> That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,

is no indication of the regeneration or purification of Lear, for nowhere else in Shakespeare is sympathy for the poor regarded as indicating a higher moral standpoint. And yet even if this outburst of feeling on Lear's part does stand alone, it is so perfectly the opposite pole from the arrogant and selfish imperiousness of Lear when king that it seems more than merely intended "to furnish him with a sympathetic trait" (p. 186).

Under the heading, "The general causes of disagreement between character and action," Schücking considers the unpleasant situations in *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure,* and disposes of both cases as instances of Shakespeare's "neglect in the most flagrant manner to employ his highest artistic faculties" (p. 194). But, as Lawrence (*PMLA.* XXXVII, 418 f.) has pointed out, Shakespeare was but following the mode of his day; in other words, he introduced a primitive element here when he used a medieval plot that was still acceptable to his Elizabethan audience. He was writing for the more or less uneducated crowd who took their views of the conduct of Helena and Mariana from popular tradition and not from the limited circle represented by Overbury and Hall. Schücking is here falling into a pit similar to the many pits he

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has himself uncovered. In this respect Shakespeare was not ahead of his time.

Professor Schücking's work is one of the most satisfactory and interesting books of recent years. It is excellently written; it has a quiet sense of humor; "it is," in the words of the jacket, "intriguing." And it has the uncommon virtue of common sense.

JAMES W. TUPPER.

Lafayette College.

L'Influence de Clément Marot au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles. Par W. DE LERBER. Paris: Champion, 1920. Pp. xvi + 128.

Although it is a well-established fact that Marot exerted considerable influence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that his name has been perpetuated as that of the founder of a specific style in poetry, the "style marotique," no scholar has devoted a serious study to the extent and character of that influence. M. Walther de Lerber, doctor of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, has given such a study. In the first part of the book he treats the history of the reputation of Marot: editions and appreciations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The second part of the work is devoted to the influence of Marot in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the last, to his influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The book is a very conscientious and thorough piece of work.

From statistics compiled by M. Daniel Mornet (*Rev. d'Hist. Litt.,* 1910, p. 460) and reprinted by M. de Lerber, we see that Marot's complete works passed through three editions in the seventeenth century, while separate poems figured in many collections of the period. In the eighteenth century there were six editions of his complete works, and it is interesting to note that of 500 libraries studied by M. Mornet the *Dictionnaire* of Bayle was to be found in 288, Marot's complete works in 252, Voltaire's works in 173, Ronsard's poems in 56. These figures show conclusively that Marot was widely read in the seventeenth and even more so in the eighteenth century.

At the end of the sixteenth century Marot and his disciples were completely overshadowed by Ronsard and his Pléiade. It was only with the first years of the "poésie précieuse" that

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Marot's fame returned. Critics of the seventeenth century, such as Colletet, Mlle de Scudéry, Boileau, Mme de Sévigné, Fontenelle and La Bruyère agree that Marot was a poet of high rank, even though some of them condemn his libertine poems and his rather impious life. In the eighteenth century he is again the object of praise from men like Goujet, Bayle, La Harpe and even Voltaire, who, though very unjust to Marot, admits that some of his poems are pleasing.

M. de Lerber devotes a chapter of the second part of his book to a minute study of the characteristics of Marot's verse, of his language, syntax, genres, his style. He shows how Voiture, then Sarrazin, Malleville, Chapelle and others brought into vogue the old forms, such as rondeaux, ballades, triolets, épîtres. Voiture, it is true, does not directly mention Marot in any of his works, but he does speak of Victor Brodeau (a study of whom by M. Pierre Jourda appeared in 1921 in the *Revue d'Hist. litt.*), one of Marot's disciples. M. de Lerber cites a rondeau of Voiture, "Ma foi, c'est fait de moi, car Isabeau . . . ," as an example of Voiture's effort to "retrouver le ton plaisant et naïf de Marot." He seems to be unaware of the fact that M. Morel-Fatio, in an article entitled *Le Sonnet du Sonnet* (*Rev. d'Hist. litt.* 1896, p. 435), has shown conclusively that Voiture's poem is an imitation of a sonnet of Lope de Vega, beginning: *Un soneto me manda hazer Violante.* The imitations of Voiture, in other poems, are not only those of form and genre, but show an influence of tone and spirit. The burlesque literature of the seventeenth century, also, shows the direct influence of Marot, especially in the works of Sarrazin, Scarron and Saint-Amant.

The influence of Marot on La Fontaine is treated in great detail by M. de Lerber. M. Regnier, in the Grands Écrivains edition of La Fontaine's works had already pointed out the resemblances between La Fontaine's style and that of Marot, and his debt to Marot for some of the subjects of his fables and épîtres, material which we find in the volume under consideration. M. de Lerber's statement that "C'est certainement à Marot qu'il a emprunté sa fable du 'Lion et du Rat,'" may be questioned, for the sources of the fable are many—it is a blending of several versions; and M. de Lerber himself admits that although the subject is the same, Marot's poem is much more amplified than La Fontaine's. M. de

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Lerber says of Marot's influence on La Fontaine: "Nous avons discerné une imitation de fond, des idées et une imitation purement extérieure, toute de forme. . . . Dès sa jeunesse La Fontaine s'est nourri de Marot; il l'a étudié et le connaît très bien, aussi n'est-il que tout naturel qu'il l'ait imité; surtout dans ses œuvres de jeunesse. Il s'est reconnu l'élève de Maître Clément, mais il en est presque l'égal."

Passing over a study of the minor poets of the seventeenth century, Chaulieu, La Monnoye and others, and a detailed treatment of the "style marotique"—artificial archaisms, inversions, decasyllabic verse and, as for genres, épîtres, ballades, rondeaux, épigrammes . . . we see that, apart from the outstanding figure of La Fontaine, we have in the beginning of the century two schools that take their inspiration from Marot and at the end, after La Fontaine, there is only an imitation of the light and bantering verse of Marot. It is strange that along with the works of the classic period we have a flourishing of the "style marotique" with even authors like Racine writing epigrams in true Marot vein.

In the eighteenth century poems in the style of Marot abound in the literary journals and collections of verse. Minor poets such as Hamilton, Grécourt, Du Cerceau, write poems which, though in the form of Marot's verse, have nothing of the master's spirit. When we come to the greater men, J. B. Rousseau, Piron, Voltaire, Lebrun, the influence is a deeper one. Voltaire, as was mentioned before, although having succumbed in his youthful works to Marot's charm, condemns his style. Piron often imitates Marot both in subject matter and in form; he is a true disciple of the valet de chambre of François Premier. As for the minor poets, the authors of idylles, such as Berquin, of romances, such as Moncrif, they too affect the naïve and bantering tone of Marot.

The nineteenth century, together with the eighteenth, was a period in which the *Psalms* were translated rather frequently. None of those translations, however, enjoyed the success of Marot's translation, which, retouched by Conrart and revised by Geneva, is still in use in French protestant churches.

The conclusion to which M. de Lerber comes is that Marot's influence was continuous through three centuries, that it was sometimes both one of form and of spirit, sometimes only the one or the other, that there are very few poets whose influence was so

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great and of such long duration, and that Marot exerted this influence because he was a great poet.

M. de Lerber's book is not entirely free from the tendency which is very often found in a study the object of which is to establish literary relations between one author and another, or to glorify one particular author. After all it is very dangerous to say, because we find in a certain poem of the seventeenth century an inversion or the use of a phrase which is to be found in Marot, that the author of that poem was directly influenced by Marot. It is true that very often the imitation is voluntary, but can we not also say that the traits to be found in Marot were also characteristic of his school and were even common before Marot himself?[1] The problem of literary influence is more complicated than M. de Lerber occasionally would like us to believe.

HÉLÈNE HARVITT.

Columbia University.

Gaston Esnault, *La Vie et les Œuvres comiques de Claude-Marie Le Laé* (1745-1791), Paris, Ed. Champion, 1921, 292 pp.

While scholars and devotees of Irish and Welsh literature have, during the past twenty or more years, shown extraordinary activity in the publication of texts, this has not been equally true of those interested in Breton. Little beyond the religious literature, so well known to us, and folk lore of various sorts, has received the attention that it deserves. Happily, distinguished savants such as Messrs. Ernault, Vendryès, Dottin, Loth, etc., have realized the inadequacy of our knowledge of the Breton dialects and texts and are directing attention toward fields hitherto almost entirely neglected.[1]

To most of us Le Laé is a mere name. Even Breton antiquari-

[1] If there is any doubt as to whether the predecessors of Marot were read in the eighteenth century, one may note that the works of Jean Marot and of Guillaume Crétin were published at Paris in 1723.

[1] An example of a work of this nature is the useful study of Sommerfeld, *Le Breton parlé à St.-Pol-de-Léon, phonétique et morphologie*, Paris, 1921, 246 pp.

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ans such as Kerdanet,[2] Kergomard,[3] Souvestre,[4] La Villemarqué,[5] did not seem to have any knowledge of the man and his work except hearsay which,—because each accepted unsubstantiated statements of his predecessors without question—was rapidly becoming fact. But this failing is not limited to Celtists alone.

About 1904 M. Esnault first turned his attention to this author, and some six years later discovered, by the merest chance, in the notarial papers of Le Buorz, literary heir of Le Laé, manuscripts of the utmost importance. Unfortunately, during the four years (1785-9) they were in the possession of the economical notary, these manuscripts were esteemed rather for what their pages did not contain:

> "Or Le Buorz," says M. Esnault, "s'est servi . . . non seulement des pages blanches, mais encore, aux pages écrites, des marges et, aux pages pleines, des interlignes, pour écrire ses brouillons d'actes, et—démoniaquement—des jambages mêmes des lettres du poète. . . . Une sordide économie ne suffirait vraiment pas à expliquer les abus de Le Bourz; que, chez lui, le papier ait manqué quatre ans, c'est invraisemblable." (p. 6-7.)

But notwithstanding Maître Le Buorz's depredations, M. Esnault has been able to publish in the present volume two French poems by Le Laé entitled *Les Trois Bretons* and *L'Ouessantide* and a critical edition, with commentary and translation, of the Breton poem: *La burlesque Oraison funèbre de Michel Morin.* Furthermore, he has in preparation an edition of the remaining works of this author: *Ar C'hi* (the Dog), a satirical poem; *Epigrammou; Poésies diverses;* and *Correspondance.*

There seem to be only two plausible explanations for the method employed by M. Esnault in the present work. One is that the tendency of some French scholars to divide monographs into two parts, *L'Homme* and *L'Œuvre,* must have got on his nerves; and hence a reaction, the consequence of which is a study with no scientific classification. But on the other hand, it may only be another example of the fiche system run riot. The work is divided into 50 numbered paragraphs—some of which are in

[2] *Notices chronologiques*, 1818.

[3] Hœfer, *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, article signed K.

[4] *Les Derniers Bretons*, 1836, T. III.

[5] *Barzas-Breiz*, 1839, 2 vols.; 9th ed., 1902.

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the text and some in the notes. The reviewer has failed thus far to discover the open sesame of this cabalistic methodology.

First comes a brief sketch of the manuscripts couched in a telegraphic style that does not always appeal to the taste of the reader. Furthermore, it is interrupted from time to time with bits of crushing satire or descriptions tinged with melodrama.[6] And interspersed therein are a lot of mysterious references, which serve only to render a perusal of the work more difficult.

Then follows (p. 17) a part entitled *Histoire critique d'une réputation,* containing mainly M. Esnault's objections to what has been written about Le Laé; and suddenly (p. 33) we are brought face to face with a text.[7] A few pages farther on (p. 38) is a section (20) entitled *L'Enfance, le Lundi Saint,* 1764 (although our hero is 19 years of age); and on p. 44 we note *Le Collège, Les Débuts* (section 24) which also concerns 1764. And there is where the biography ends—hanging in the air, to use the author's style. After a mass of critical data on the texts printed in the following pages (51-288) we arrive at the end—no index, of course. As a consequence, much valuable data will be buried in obscurity, for surely few persons will be courageous enough to wade through all those pages in search thereof. Briefly, we have in this volume a considerable amount of claptrap; however, the data deserve consideration, for they represent the results of careful and prolonged investigations on a subject of the highest import for the history of modern Breton literature.

John L. Gerig.

Columbia University.

CORRESPONDENCE

Notes on *Wynnere and Wastoure*

I. *Text.*

Professor Hulbert[1] has examined and criticized in detail a number of the emendations offered by Professor Gollancz.[2] I wish to

[6] A good example is the account of the discovery of the manuscripts (p. 11).

[7] *Heures perdues d'un écolier de Léon.*

[1] *Modern Philology,* Jan. 1921, pp. 163 ff.

[2] *Select Early English Poems,* III. Oxford Univ. Press, 1920.

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call attention to a few emendations not examined by Professor Hulbert.

In the manuscript, lines 445-448 read as follows:

> þou tast tent one a tale þat tolde was full ȝore
> I hold hy*m* madde þat mou*r*nes his make for to wyn
> Hent hir þat hir haf schal & hold hir his while
> Take þe coppe as it comes þe case as it falles.

Professor Gollancz emends these lines to read as follows:

> þou tast [no] tent one a tale þat tolde was full ȝore
> I hold hy*m* madde þat mou*r*nes his mak [ande] to wyn
> Hent hi[t] þat hi[t] haf schal & hold hi[t] his while

and translates the passage thus:

> Thou heedest not a tale that told was of yore.
> I hold him mad that worries such winnings to make
> Have it who it have shall, and hold it his while!
> Take the cup as it comes, the case as it falls.

I do not think that these numerous emendations are necessary to an understanding of the passage. Waster is reproaching the niggardly Winner and in lines 424-29 says:

> "Thou Winner, thou wretch, I wonder in heart
> What our clothes have cost thee, caitiff, to buy,
> That thou shouldst belles upbraid for their brightsome robes,
> Since we them vouchsafe, who the silver pay!
> Well befits it a lover his lady to keep,
> As her form is fair to further her heart."

If we take lines 445 ff. in connection with this passage, we can regard *make* as meaning 'mate, mistress' and *hir* as referring to *make,* a synonym of *birdes* (ladies) of line 426. The meaning is: "The man who worries about winning a mistress is mad. Let him that shall have her seize her and keep her his while. Take the cup as it comes, the case as it falles."

In line 457 the manuscript reads:

> says, bly*n*nes, beryns, of ȝour brethe and of ȝoure brode worde.

Professor Gollancz emends to *bro*[þ]*e worde*[*s*]. But since *brode wordes* is a common phrase, I see no necessity for changing the manuscript. The use of *brode* in the sense of 'rude' is very common. I find it in *M. Arthure,* 3508, *brode speche,* and in Caxton's *Preface to Eneydos* (*E. E. T. S.*, page 2, line 10): *and certaynly the englysshe was so rude and brood that I coude not wele vnderstande it.*

In the manuscript lines 472-3 are:

> And thou, wastoure, I will þat þou won . . .
> þ*er* moste waste es of wele & wyng . . . till.

Professor Gollancz emends the passage to read:

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And thou, wastoure, I will þat þou won[ne þer euer]
þer moste waste es of wele & wyng[es vn] till

He translates the passage as follows:

"And thou, Waster, I will thy wonted dwelling shall be
Where most waste is of wealth, and wings thereunto."

But this interpretation is offered only conjecturally and because of a possible connection with *Proverbs* xxiii, 5: "Riches certainly make themselves wings, they fly away, as an eagle toward heaven."

Another possible interpretation is to regard *wyng*(*e*) as a verb, parallel to *won*[*ne*], both being subjunctives after *will*. The verb *wynge* means 'move rapidly,' 'hasten.'

II. *Vocabulary.*

The purpose of these notes is to illustrate and define more clearly some of the rarer and more difficult words in *Wynnere*. The quotations in nearly every case corroborate the definitions given in Professor Gollancz' edition.

82. *Tuttynge*, 'projecting.'

Wars of Alexander, 752 (Dublin Ms.): and toton owt of hys top als tyndis of hornes.

Dunbar's *Of Ane Blak-Moir*, 6: Quhou scho is tute mowitt lyk an aip (having the under-jaw projecting).

97. *Daderande*, 'trembling.'

Townley Plays (*EETS.*), 32, 314: I wote neuer whedir
I dase and I dedir
ffor ferd of that tayll.

Avowynge of Kg. Arthur, xxv, 8: ȝette dyntus gerut him to dedur.

Ibid., XVI, 11: He began to dotur and dote.

See also Jamieson, *s. v. dodder, dother*; Maetzner, *Sprachproben, daderen*, 'trepidare,' 'balbutire."

122. *Trynes*, 'goes.' Cf. *Cleanness*, 132, 976; *Patience*, 101.

225. *Littill-whattes*. Cf. *Wars of Alex.* 4392 (Ashmole Ms.): And of þi lare a litill-quat likis me to write.

257. *Waytten*. For if thou wydwhare scholde walke, and waytten the sothe.

Gollancz defines as 'search for.' But *waytten* may be a Northern spelling for *wat*, as in line 389 of this poem. *Wot the sothe* is naturally a common phrase. The spelling *wayte* for *wot*, *wat*, occurs in *Wars of Alexander* 2379 (Dublin).

267. *Angarte*, 'boasting,' 'arrogance.' In the note to this line Professor Gollancz quotes *Gawayne*, 681, and Alliterative *Troy Book*, 9745. Mr. Cyril Brett (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* 8, 160) cites another passage containing this word, *Destruction* 9754: If vs auntrid Vlixes thurgh angard of pride He suggests that it is derived from O.F. *ang*[*u*]*arde* < Late Lat. *antegard*[*i*]*a* =

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'prima acies' > tower > exultation, pride; and that the word has probably been confused with M. E. *anger* and *ouergart* = *ouer* + *gart*. (*Gart* probably = Mod. Icel. *gort*, 'pride.')

288. Ms. *tymen*. The line in the Ms. is:

Teche thy men for to tille and tymen thyn feldes.

Professor Gollancz emends to *ty*[*n*]*en*, 'hedge,' 'fence in.' I suggest that the Ms. reading *tymen* may mean *time* (Jamieson), 'to harrow a field,' or *teem*, 'be fertile,' or *teme*, 'tame, bring under the control of man,' or *time*, 'be in season, prosper' (*Promp. Parvulorum*). Either of these interpretations would fit the context and avoid the necessity of emending the line. It is true, however, that none of them are recorded as early as 1352-3. Is this the same word as *tymed* in *Rich. Red.*, III, 81:

And tymed no twynte (jot) but tolled her cornes?

Professor Skeat suggests that it is misreading for *tyne*, 'lose.' But I believe that in this line and in line 288 of *Wynnere* we have, not two scribal errors, but a rare and unrecorded M. E. word.

436. 'Routten at ȝour raxillyng raysen your hurdes' is the Ms. reading. Professor Gollancz emends to: R[axill]en at ȝour r[outt]yng, raysen ȝour hurd[i]es. (See G.'s note.) Other passages containing the words *routten*, 'snore,' and *raxen*, 'stretch' are: *Pearl*, 1174; *Patience*, 186; *P. Plow.*, B. V., 398; XVIII, 7. The meaning of the passage in *Wynnere* is not clear.

477. *Tayte*, 'merry' (Gollancz). Other instances of the use of use of this word can be found in *Havelok*, 1841, 2331; *Cleanness*, 871; *Gawayne*, 988, 1377; *Wars of Alexander*, 1208. (The Ashmole Ms. has *taite*, the Dublin *ioy*); *ibid.*, 3979. The *NED.*, *s. v. tait*, calls the word a Northern word and, like Professor Gollancz, derives it from O. N. *teitr*. It is not connected with *tight*, 'flawless,' 'watertight' as Skeat suggests in the note to *Havelok*, 1841.

J. M. STEADMAN, JR.

Emory University.

VILLON AND MATHIEU'S *Lamentations*

It has already been noted that such ideas as are found in Villon's ballad, *Les Regrets de la belle heaulmière*, are partly borrowed from the *Roman de la rose*. Descriptions stressing the transiency of womanly beauty also appeared in later French poetry. Yet such ideas are also expressed most vigorously by Jean de Meung's great misogynist contemporary, Mathieu or Matheolus, in his *Lamentations*, which were translated from the Latin into French by Jean Le Fèvre in 1371 or 1372. A. G. van Hamel has

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shown that Villon was familiar with the French translation; a passage quoted by this scholar leaves no doubt as to this point.[1] Other passages taken from Le Fèvre's translation bear evidence that Villon may have been more than casually reminiscent. For instance, both Villon and Mathieu describe in detail the body of a woman in her youth and in her old age. In the descriptions of Mathieu's Perrette and Villon's *La belle heaulmière* there is a noticeable likeness of coloring and of realistic power.[2]

Another passage from Mathieu's *Lamentations* and another from Villon dealing with woman's contradictory attitude bear the earmark of similarity:

Lamentations, Book I

De femme ne se puet deffendre.
De la lune nous font entendre
Par paroles et par revel
Que soit une peau de veël.
Combien que soit chose impossible,
Vuelent prouver qu'il soit loisible
A croire ce et plus grant chose.

De la viande qui mal flaire
Luy offre quand il veult mangier.
Crueusement s'en scet vengier
Qui repont la viande bonne
Et de la mauvaise luy donne,
De celle qu'on doit refuser;
Si ne scet de son goust user.
S'il veult pois, elle fait porée
De raves ou de cicorée;
S'il veult poisson, char luy apreste
Tousjours est de luy grever preste;
S'il veult vin, il avra cervoise;
Ainsi m'est il, ou que je voise,
Ainsi Perrette me tourmente.

Grand Testament

Abusé m'a et faict entendre
Tousiours d'ung que ce fust ung aultre;
De farine, que ce fust cendre;
D'ung mortier, ung chappeau de faultre;
De viel machefer, que fust peaultre;
D'ambesars, que ce fussent ternes. . . .
Tousiours trompeur autruy engaultre
Et vent vecies pour lanternes.

Du ciel, une paelle d'arain;
Des nues, une peau de veau;
Du matin, qu'estoit le serain;
D'ung trongnon de chou, ung naveau;
D'orde cervoise, vin nouveau;
D'une truie, ung molin a vent;
Et d'une haie, ung escheveau;
D'ung gras abbé, ung poursuyvant.

Ainsi m'ont amours abusé.

Henry E. Haxo.

University of North Dakota.

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[1] Cf. A. G. van Hamel, *Les Lamentations de Matheolus et le Livre de leesce de Jehan le Fèvre, de Ressons*, II, p. clvii, note.

[2] Cf. *Lamentations*, I, lines 576-619 and 672-694; *Grand Testament*, lines 486-524, W. von Wurzbach's edition.

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"Hippocrates' Twins"

In Lyly's *Euphues and his England* 'Iffida,' protesting her own constancy, says: "Such force hath time and trial wrought that if Thirsus should die I would be buried with him; imitating .... Hippocrates' twins, who were born together, laughed together, wept together, and died together" (ed. Croll, p. 282; Bond, II, p. 77).

Here the phrase Hippocrates' twins seems to be used as one might speak of 'Plato's world' or 'Virgil's bees.' The editors are inclined to regard 'Hippocrates' as a father of twins, or as an unknown painter of twins. But it is more likely that Lyly had in mind some traditional statement of the famous Greek physician about the life history of twins. Perhaps it came to him through St. Augustine. In the *City of God,* v, 2, it is recorded that Hippocrates once 'suspected' that a pair of brothers were twins, because they fell sick at the same time, grew worse together, and grew better together: "Cicero dicit Hippocratem, nobilissimum medicum, scriptum reliquisse, quosdam fratres, cum simul aegrotare coepissent et eorum morbus eodem tempore ingravesceret, eodem levaretur, geminos suspicatum." The statement that they also 'died together' may be a later inference, or a later refinement. Milton has the same fancy, *Eikonoklastes,* XXI: "He would work the people to a persuasion that if he be miserable, they cannot be happy. What should hinder them? Were they all born twins of Hippocrates with him and his fortune, one birth, one burial?"

In the 'epistle dedicatory' of the same book Lyly speaks of an unskilful painting of "the twins of Hippocrates (who were as like as one pease is to another)." Cp. the first book of Hippocrates' *De Victus Ratione,* where he explains the likeness of twins to one another (ed. Kühn, I, 653).

The *Euphues and his England* has a third mention of Hippocrates (ed. Croll, p. 277; Bond, II, p. 73): "Apelles will not go about to amend Lysippus's carving, yet they both wrought Alexander; nor Hippocrates busy himself with Ovid's art, and yet they both described Venus." The point seems to be a contrast between the two arts of painting and sculpture, between such a medical treatise as Hippocrates' *De Genitura* and Ovid's *Ars Amatoria.* Here again the editors are inclined to regard 'Hippocrates' as an unknown painter. And perhaps Robert Greene interpreted the passage in the same way; cp. the dedication of his *Orpharion:* "Ennius, Right Worshipful, had a Maecenas, though his verses were rude, and Hippocrates durst present his pictures, though they were rough."

W. P. Mustard.

Johns Hopkins University.

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NOTE ON CHAUCER'S *Prologue*

He wolde the see were kept for anything
Betwixt Middelburgh and Orewelle. (*Prol.* 276-277.)

It was the fear of a siege of Calais by Charles VI of France which prompted the removal of the wool Staple from that town to Middleburg in 1384. There it remained until, by an ordinance of the Merciless Parliament, it was restored about the Michaelmas of 1388. (Rolls of Parliament, iii. 250, § 41). So far as I am aware no more definite date for the *Prologue* has been suggested than is contained in Skeat's statement that it must have been written not earlier than the former of these years and not later than the latter.

Now the Patent and Close Rolls of this period contain a considerable number of notices of the Middleburg Staple (e. g. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ric. II. ii. 397; Cal. Close Rolls, Ric. II. ii. 502; Cal. Pat. Rolls. Ric. II. iii 190, 253, 323; Cal. Pat. Rolls. Ric. II. iii. 464. Also mentioned in Rymer's *Foedera,* Hague Edn. vii. 604.) Of these notices the most important in reference to the dating of the 'Prologue' appears to be that of 15th January, 1387, which records the swearing-in of seamen ordered on warship convoy duty between Orwell and the Staple of Middleburg. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ric. II. iii. 253).

Undoubtedly before that date the Narrow Seas literally swarmed with pirates and enemy craft which took heavy toll of Staple ships. From the beginning of the reign of Richard II, in fact, right up to the year 1386, the Rolls of Parliament are strewn with complaints about the inefficiency of English sea power (e. g. Rolls of Parl. iii. 25. § 110; 73. § 10; 94. § 34; 102. § 28; 138. § 30. No. vii; 162. § 46; 213. § 37; 216. § 6). But after the end of the year 1386, serious complaints of this nature cease for a considerable time. The steps taken in the notice of January 1387 above quoted would seem to have proved effective, and it is therefore suggested here that the limits within which the 'Prologue' was written are at least somewhat more restricted than Skeat imagined. In all probability the work was written at the time when the plague of pirates was at its height, that is to say between 1385 and 1386, when the Commons become more emphatic than ever in their demands for improvement and go so far as to accuse Suffolk of embezzling grants made for the upkeep of the Navy. (Rolls of Parl. iii. 213. § 37; 216. § 6.)

A. STANLEY WALKER.

College of Wooster.

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Ernest Dowson's *Extreme Unction*

Ernest Dowson's poem *Extreme Unction* has been cited as a reflection of his mood at the time of his conversion to Roman Catholicism. The poem may well have been suggested by Flaubert's description of the death of Madame Bovary. The second stanza is practically a translation from this passage in *Madame Bovary.* The first two stanzas of the poem are as follows:

> Upon the eyes, the lips, the feet,
> On all the passages of sense,
> The atoning oil is spread with sweet
> Renewal of lost innocence.
>
> The feet, that lately ran so fast
> To meet desire, are soothly sealed;
> The eyes, that were so often cast
> On vanity, are touched and healed.

Flaubert describes thus the administering of the sacrament of extreme unction to Emma Bovary:

"Le prêtre se releva pour prendre le crucifix, alors elle allongea le cou comme quelqu'un qui a soif, et, collant ses lèvres sur le corps de l'Homme-Dieu, elle y déposa de toute sa force expirante le plus grand baiser d'amour qu'elle eût jamais donné. Ensuite il récita le Misereatur et l'Indulgentiam, trempa son pouce droit dans l'huile et commença ses onctions: d'abord sur les yeux, qui avaient tant convoité toutes les somptuosités terrestres; puis sur les narines, friandes de brises tièdes et de senteurs amoureuses; puis sur la bouche, qui s'était ouverte pour le mensonge, qui avait gémi d'orgueil et crié dans la luxure; puis sur les mains, qui se délectaient aux contacts suaves, et enfin sur la plante des pieds, si rapides autrefois quand elle courait à l'assouvissance de ses désirs, et qui maintenant ne marcheraient plus."

Certainly "the feet that lately ran so fast to meet desire" is a translation of "la plante des pieds, si rapides autrefois quand elle courait à l'assouvissance de ses désirs" and "the eyes that were so often cast on vanity," of "les yeux, qui avaient tant convoité toutes les somptuosités terrestres."

If the poem was suggested by this paragraph from *Madame Bovary,* it is probably not so personal and autobiographical as has been supposed.

Katherine Wheatley.

University of Texas.

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BRIEF MENTION

A Study of the Thaïs Legend with special reference to Hrotsvitha's 'Paphnutius,' by Oswald Robert Kuehne (Dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, 1922. 115 pp.). As a class of academic publications the doctoral dissertations challenge, somewhat defiantly, the ingenuity of the educational theorist who expends himself so liberally in devising formulas of standardization. There is a simple truth that can be kept inviolate, a simple test that can be adequately applied, under a flexible system of 'requirements,' and this inherent simplicity is deeper in significance than any easily conceived plan of 'uniformity.' The usual time expended on graduate courses should bring the student to an understanding—it should be an enthusiastic understanding—of the significance of his chosen subject as a division of knowledge, with its wide-reaching alliances with other subjects. This should prepare him to divine points at which investigation may be expected to result in corrections or modifications of accepted judgments, or of judgments held to be doubtful; or he may discern some new approach to a problem that may lead to its solution, partial or complete. Under this comprehensive rubric—which is an undisputed tenet—there will be marked diversity in the merit of the investigation both as to validity of method and as to significance of result. It is diversity that is the inevitable consequence of diversity of native ability and of technical discipline, imposed on the diversity that is inherent in the nature of the subjects selected for investigation.

Now, what, in its lowest terms, is to be required of an investigation undertaken by a graduate student? His promotion to the higher academic degree cannot but be conditioned by merits attainable in initial efforts, and these are merits that may be defined in simple terms and detected by simple tests. The handling of a subject that lies within the range of his special training should show the young investigator to have attained the incipient state of an authoritative scholar. That attainment is easily tested, from its lowest validity to degrees of excellence that give promise of an exceptional career in the pursuit and maintenance of truth. The emancipated mind is to be recognized in its crepuscular offering; the young investigator in the morning twilight of ennobling scholarship.

The true value of the higher academic degree is a value that can be debased only at the cost which a sound educational system cannot afford to pay. Except for its incompleteness, therefore, no apology is offered for the preceding prelude; but it must be confessed that the digression has been occasioned by reflections not

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unrelated to the experience of reading the dissertation announced as the subject of this notice, and very much quickened by Professor Morize's admirable book on *Problems and Methods of Literary History*, with its significant sub-title, *A Guide for Graduate Students* (Ginn & Co., 1922). The book is composed "with special reference to Modern French Literature," but the "methods" are applicable to all departments of literary investigation and will accordingly assist young scholars in apprehending the dignity and worth of a task executed in the finest spirit of disciplined devotion to truth. As for the train of thought occasioned by Dr. Kuehne's dissertation, it was at once concerned with the surprising diversity of cultural subjects available for technical study; it then turned to the recognition of the special character of the subject treated,—a legendary subject already minutely studied in its early history that has taken on fresh importance thru its persistence in later times and even in the literature of the present day. To trace this story thru a succession of cultural strata makes a demand upon the emancipated sympathy and judgment of the true scholar. The subject of the dissertation is therefore legitimated, altho less of independent research is assumed to be required than of discerning report.

Dr. Kuehne has thus declared his purpose: "My aim will be to trace the Thaïs legend from its beginnings to Hrotsvitha, through the Middle Ages, to its resuscitation by Anatole France and his imitators. Hrotsvitha's version will be especially stressed and made more prominent by attempting an English translation of her play, not only because this was the first purely literary use made of the Thaïs legend but because it was of great influence on Anatole France's novel. Although it is a very difficult and hazardous matter to try to show analogies between two authors with such divergent aims and difference in complexity, separated by more than a millenium, an attempt will nevertheless be made to point out a few of the more obvious details in which the French novelist followed our holy nun." Instead of following the plan of the treatise thus given the student as well as the non-technical reader may be supposed to turn first to the central portion of the dissertation, to Dr. Kuehne's English translation of the nun's play, which has the distinction of being the only accessible English translation (see p. 50). It is meritorious, and together with Dr. Kuehne's comments will serve to make more widely known the dramatic method of the author. That method, as is shown with discrimination and in well-controlled language on the part of Dr. Kuehne, is not a dependent imitation of Terence (p. 59, note 23); on the contrary "no small dramatic insight and power are shown" in adapting the legend to the thought and institutional life of the dramatist's own time. Besides, there is a sound "defense of Hrotsvitha's integrity of character."

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All that precedes the play brings the history of the legend down to this point. It is a story that is too complex to be outlined here. Dr. Kuehne has shown industry and skill in reviewing the story, tho he has not with utmost precision "documented" at every point the views he has adopted. The reader might have been somewhat more specifically aided in turning to the writings listed in the bibliography. On the other hand mere triteness of phrase, such as "an English translation will, therefore, be of general interest" (p. 22), and "translated into English it reads" (p. 29), is unskilfully allowed to make uncertain a just claim. And the "Summary" of this history (pp. 44-5) is too compressed to be altogether satisfactory; it represents the neglect of an opportunity to write a more engaging review of what has been learned of the early history of the legend. These restrictions must not be construed to imply more than a slight trace of immaturity of method; that would be contradicted by the clearness, directness, and prevailingly good quality of the author's style.

The subsequent 'literary adaptations' of the legend are reported in the following chapters of the dissertation. First in order of time is a Latin poem by Barbord, Bishop of Rennes, 'early in the twelfth century.' Like the play, the poem is based on the version in the *Vitae Patrum*. It "shows no originality." The famous *Poème morale* is a century later. Dr. Kuehne gives a good review of Cloetta's studies, and a specimen of the text with interlinear translation. Another anonymous version in *La Vie des Anciens Pères* has not been made accessible for complete study, but "a few strophes that Nau has reprinted" are here reproduced, again with interlinear translation. The legend is also found in Old French and other Romance inedited manuscripts, of which a list is given. And an Old Swedish version has also not been accessible to Dr. Kuehne.

The closing chapter, entitled "Modern Versions of the Thaïs Legend," brings the subject into the domain of popular interest. The divisions are (1) "Anatole France and Hrotsvitha"; and "Anatole France's 'Thaïs'"; (2) "Massenet's 'Thaïs'"; (3) "Paul Wilstach's 'Thaïs'"; and finally (4) "The Motion Picture." More than one-half of the twenty-five pages of the chapter are taken up with outlines of the discussed novel, libretto, play, and scenario. This contributes clearness and concreteness to the discussion. In surveying these topics, Dr. Kuehne maintains sanity of judgment and an admirable restraint from putting a succession of easily understood events under unwarranted emphasis. In a clear and unaffected manner he reports the facts of a chapter in cultural history, which by his scholarly industry he has definitely formulated and brought within the reach of a wide circle of readers. It is interestingly shown that this modern return to the legend, after a long interval of neglect, was due to a "renaissance

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of interest in the 'rara avis in Saxonia,'" ushered in by the studies of Gustav Freytag and Charles Magnin (both in 1839); and that six years later Magnin's translation of the comedies probably begat in Anatole France that intimate relation to the works of the Saxon nun, which culminated in the supreme literary handling of one of her legends.

It must serve the purpose of this brief notice to pass over the chapter that will be welcomed for details of external history so carefully brought together, and to quote from Dr. Kuehne's closing words: "The legend has been gradually descending to a much lower plane. The original moral tone is lost and greater emphasis is laid on sentimentality and sensuality. . . . we sincerely hope that the form it [the legend] has taken since the opera may be but a passing phase, and that if there is a future for the legend, we may soon return to the chaster and purer conception of Hrotsvitha or to the more brilliant version of Anatole France."

J. W. B.

Those who have sat under Professor Winchester as his students in Wesleyan University or have heard him on a lecture-platform will be pleased to have his hitherto uncollected and for the most part unprinted lectures and essays published in a very attractive volume under the title *An Old Castle and Other Essays* (Macmillan). The work of preparing this posthumous book for the press was lovingly done by Louis Bliss Gillet and an appreciative Introduction was furnished by the Englishman Henry W. Nevinson. The range of these essays extends from the days of the Tudors to those of Victoria, and the subjects are the outstanding literary figures in the reigns of Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria. Professor Winchester's criticism is not that of research but of discriminating appreciation. The initial lecture, which gives its title to the volume and was one of the most popular, shows the fascination that the Tudor period had for the lecturer and illustrates the art with which he conveyed his enthusiasm to his audience. No better essay could be put into the hands of those whom one would initiate into the glorious fellowship of Elizabethan genius and beauty. The essays on Shakespeare, of which there are four, do not present the man or his plays in any new or striking light; they are the reaction of a very cultivated mind to what is greatest and best in literature. It is perhaps characteristic of Professor Winchester's Puritan conscience that he regards Antony's forgiveness of Cleopatra after her flirtation with Caesar's envoy Thyreus as the nadir of his moral degradation, that he "cannot, will not, break the chain that binds him to her." And yet it is here that Antony exclaims, "I am Antony yet," and he is as majesty itself compared

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to what he was when he sent his schoolmaster to Caesar begging that he be allowed to live "a private man in Athens." In the lectures on the literature of Anne there is a certain amount of repetition due to the fact that they were written without any idea of incorporating them unrevised in a volume. But such fault is easily pardonable since the personality of the speaker appears in the charming and lucid style of the writer. To use a much abused term, the book is inspirational; in the hands of teachers it may quicken their instruction, and in the hands of their students it may supply what too often is not found in the class-room.

J. W. T.

Anfang 1923 haben die *Grenzboten* zu erscheinen aufgehört. Damit ist eine der einflussreichsten und interessantesten Wochenschriften aus Deutschlands öffentlichem Leben verschwunden, auch sie ein Opfer der grossen materiellen Not, die infolge des Versailler Friedens alle deutschen geistigen Bestrebungen vereitelt oder zerstört. Die *Grenzboten* wurden 1841 von dem Oesterreicher Kuranda in Brüssel begründet, hauptsächlich um die Sache des jungen Oesterreich gegen Metternichs Reaktion zu führen. 1848 übernahm Gustav Freytag zusammen mit Julian Schmidt die Redaktion der Wochenschrift, und sein Programm hiess auf politischem Gebiet: Deutschlands Einigung unter Preussens Führung, ausserdem liberaler Konstitutionalismus, auf literarischem Gebiet geschmackvoller Realismus und Ablehnung der Romantik und Jung-Deutschlands. Unter Freytags jahrelanger Leitung war sie ein ständiger Einfluss in der deutschen Oeffentlichen Meinung. Als Julian Schmidt die *Grenzboten* verliess, trat Max Jordan, der spätere Direktor der Berliner National-Galerie, an seine Stelle. Zur rechten Zeit erscheint nun soeben eine Veröffentlichung von Dr. J. Hofmann, dem Leipziger Stadtbibliothekar, über *Gustav Freytag als Politiker, Journalist und Mensch* (bei J. J. Weber in Leipzig), mit zahlreichen bisher unveröffentlichten Briefen von Freytag und Jordan. Wir erhalten damit nicht nur einen guten Einblick in die glänzendste Zeit der *Grenzboten,* in die harmonische Zusammenarbeit zweier bedeutenden Schriftsteller, sondern auch in eine für Deutschland entscheidende politische Epoche. Die Urteile des Liberalen Freytag über Bismarck sind besonders interessant, und wichtig ist Freytags Ueberzeugung, dass vor und mit Bismarck viele Deutsche in aufreibendem Kampfe an den Grundlagen eines neuen deutschen Staatslebens geschaffen haben. Dr. Hofmanns Schrift hat das besondere Verdienst, neben Freytags und Jordans Freundschaft und Arbeit die nationale und wahrhaft liberale Leistung der *Grenzboten* klargemacht zu haben.

F. S.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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GUSTAV GRUENBAUM WILLIAM KURRELMEYER

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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REALISM IN THE FRENCH NOVEL IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY

The object of this article is to note the existence of realism in the French novel of the XVIIIth century. In dealing with the realist novel of the XIXth century critics frequently leave one with the impression that the realist movement was the result of a sudden revulsion of feeling against the exaggerated Romanticism of the preceding age or else a sudden reflection in literature of the money lust of the period. Undoubtedly both these factors contributed largely to the establishment of XIXth century realism, but such phenomena in literature or indeed in any form of art are best considered as epidemics. Only in this way can one explain the existence of previous isolated cases of the *malady*, as for example those indicated as having occurred in the classical XVIIth century. Incidentally, before the appearance of the novel as a literary genre we must not forget that there occurred in the XVth century an epidemic of realism, witness the works of Villon, Baude, Menot, Maillard and de la Salle. I do not intend to suggest that realism is a characteristic feature of the novel of the XVIIIth century but rather to demonstrate that the germs of realism are latent and awaiting a favorable moment to invade French literature.

The realist novelist is primarily concerned with the manners and morals of the lowest classes of society, the *peuple* and the *petite bourgeoisie.* Victor Hugo well defined realist literature when, in a letter addressed to Champfleury two years before the appearance of *Les Misérables* he said: "La littérature du XIXe siècle n'aura qu'un nom: elle s'appellera la littérature démocratique."

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In Lesage's *Gil Blas* and in *Le diable boiteux* there are several descriptions of the lower side of life because Lesage, in the universality of his genius touched on every class of society. We come across etchings of thieves, money-lenders, hotel-keepers and valets, but he does not portray the *moeurs* of these people. Lesage, who was too much of a satirist ever to be a successful realist novelist, harps too long on the same theme. He specialises in knaves, amusing knaves, witty knaves, clever out of all proportion to their condition sometimes, and the result is that the reader takes away with him no indelible impression of the morals or habits of the people.

Readers of Marivaux' *Vie de Marianne* will recollect the often quoted scene between Madame Dutour the seamstress, and a cab-driver. That is realism and in the opinion of Marivaux' contemporaries marred an otherwise passable novel. Dalembert, who succeeded Marivaux in the *Académie* could not refrain from a regretful reference to it in the customary eulogy. It shocked contemporary taste to see in print the language of the street and the reading public was frankly uninterested in the every day life of the lower classes. Touching this question, a critic in the *Observations sur les écrits modernes*[1] deplores the degenerating taste of contemporary novelists in choosing *low* characters and goes on to say: "Ils vous peignent sans façon les moeurs, et vous rapportent tout au long les élégants entretiens d'un cocher de fiacre, d'une lingère et d'une fille de boutique. Cela les accommode mieux apparamment que les moeurs des personnes de condition et fournit plus à leur esprit. Il ne serait pas impossible de voir bientôt figurer dans quelque nouveau roman un vil savoyard, auquel on ferait décrotter quelque lambeau de métaphysique. *Le roman bourgeois* de Furetière a été longtemps regardé comme un ouvrage d'un genre isolé et peu estimable: ce genre est enfin devenu à la mode."

The unknown writer of the above is unduly pessimistic. The realist element is threatening to make inroads into public favor but is, like the novel in general, faced with considerable obstacles. It has been pointed out by critics that the themes of *Gil Blas, Marianne* and *Le Paysan parvenu* are practically the same. They all have a central character who is of humble origin and who rises in the social scale thanks to native wit. It is not, however, gen-

[1] Vol. III (1736).

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erally known that there was published in 1700 a novel called *Mylord ——— ou le paysan de qualité par M.* ———.[2] It is the tale of a peasant called Félicien who is educated along with the son of a local nobleman. As the title implies, Félicien like Marianne is not a real peasant and is duly claimed by his aristocratic father. I mention it because it seems to be the lineal ancestor of the novel dealing with the 'self made man' motif, in France at least.

Now none of the authors we have just had before us were popular because of the realist elements in their works but rather in spite of them. They are content to tell us simply that their hero is of humble origin and, without insisting further, swiftly transport him to a higher social milieu. Just think what a tome a modern novelist would have made out of the first paragraph of *Gil Blas!* The reason for this state of affairs is that the time was not yet ripe. This for example, is the reception that Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* had in France in 1743 with a section of the reading public. I quote from *Les Observations sur les écrits modernes* for that year.

"Traduit en français il a le malheur de n'être point goûté de certaines personnes du beau monde." After deploring their lack of judgment, this anonymous defender of realism continues. "Les romans de *Don Quichotte* et de *Gil Blas* sont des tableaux flamands où l'on voit des noces de village, des danses champêtres, des bourgeois ridicules, des fumeurs, des cabarets, des hôtes et des hôtesses, des valets etc. Tout cela se trouve dans *Joseph Andrews;* n'importe, les caractères des gens de basse condition ne plaisent pas, tandis que les maritornes, les bergers, les chevriers espagnols nous charment."

In *La Paysanne parvenue* by the chevalier de Mouhy (1735), we get the first realist description of village *moeurs.* His peasant, Colin, really smacks of the soil and speaks its language. The story reveals the peasant's smouldering animosity against the loathed tax farmer and his jealous suspicion of the 'fine gentlemen' whose grand manners turn the village lasses' heads. The portrait of Barbe the garrulous peasant woman and the parents of the heroine with their mixture of greed and servility represent a forward step in this aspect of the history of the French novel.

[2] Paris, 1700. This work is unknown to Quérard or Barbier.

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From 1735 till 1742 the novel confines its imitation of manners to those of the nobility, of financiers, lawyers, and ministers of religion.

Richardson's *Pamela* indirectly gave a fillip to the realist novel. Now, notwithstanding Diderot's immoderate *Eloge de Richardson, Pamela* was not admired everywhere in France. F. A. Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois in his *Lettres amusantes sur les romans* (1743) replies as follows to certain eulogistic criticisms which had just appeared in the *Observations sur les écrits modernes:*

"Je respecte ses décisions mais je dois faire cas de celle du Public de qui j'ai entendu dire que *Les Lettres de Paméla* sont noyées dans une foule de fadaises qui, portant le dégoût et l'ennui dans l'esprit du lecteur lui cachent en plusieurs endroits la naïveté et la simplicité du style qui font tout le mérite du livre en question."

The reaction against Richardson's novel had already produced two *anti-Paméla* in France. One is *L'anti Paméla ou la fausse innocence découverte dans les aventures de Syrène, histoire véritable traduite de l'anglois par M. de M.* ——— (Mauvillon), Amsterdam, Arksté and Merkus, 1742. The other is *L'anti Paméla ou les mémoires de M. D.* ———*, traduits de l'anglois ou plutôt composés par Claude Villaret,* Londres (Paris) 1742. Villaret's work is interesting from the point of view of realism. It is the tale of a girl whose mother, an ex *femme entretenue,* deliberately prepares her daughter for an immoral life. The disgusting efforts of a wealthy merchant, abetted by the parent, to seduce the heroine are faithfully reproduced. The girl elopes with a nobleman who deserts her after a time and she allows herself to be persuaded eventually by the brilliant offers of the wealthy and repulsive merchant who is called Keil. Here Villaret, who had apparently set out to scoff, becomes sentimentally interested in his creation. Keil, supposing his wife unfaithful, dies of grief and Madame Keil, now a rich widow, marries her real lover, an English Milord. The author after all achieves his object which was to portray 'vice triumphant.' It is not necessary to dwell on the theme except to remark that it is, for the century, daringly realist as is also the description of the vicissitudes of the heroine.

About 1745, the comte de Caylus son of the lady whose memoirs are so well known, published his *Histoire de M. Guillaume, cocher,* a series of short stories describing life as it appears to the Paris

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cabdriver. He says: "Je sais ce que je vas vous dire, pour en avoir vu plus de la moitié de mes propres yeux, moi qui vous parle, quand je menais mon équipage. Les gens qui vont dans un fiacre, tout partout où ils veulent aller, ne prennent pas garde à lui; ça fait qu'on ne se cache pas de certaines choses qu'on ne ferait pas devant le monde."

To take one of these *nouvelles,* (for that is what they are), M. Guillaume drives a certain little shop girl Mlle Godiche to a rendezvous with a 'cousin.' The cousinage, comments M. Guillaume, is rather doubtful. However, the pair are driven to a disreputable cabaret called La Glacière. The 'cabby' meets a soldier acquaintance and passes the time pleasantly over a pint what time the lovers foot it merrily in a minuet. Unfortunately Mlle Godiche's fiancé, a M. Galonnet, arrives, accompanied by his two sisters Gogo and Babet. Gogo "avait le visage comme un verre à bière et l'autre était bancale." Their tempers too are uneven and Mlle Godiche is submitted to a regular barrage of innuendoes. Her attire is of course commented upon. Doubts are expressed as to the source from which it was obtained. Her way of dancing displeases them: "Elle se déhanche en dansant. Ne dirait-on pas une fille d'Opéra?" says the virtuous Babet. A quarrel is not long in arising between Babet and Mlle Godiche who reveals that "elle avait la langue bien pendue; elle se mit à vous lui dégoiser les sept péchés mortels: en sorte que la couturasse se jette sur elle, lui arrache son morillon plus vite que le vent, et le trépigne aux pieds dans l'eau qui était par terre, en sorte qu'il n'était que de boue et de crachat." The cousin steps in and soon he and M. Galonnet are at it. "Enfin, finale, pourtant, on nous sépare à la fin, et qui eût l'oeil poché au beurre, c'était pour son compte."

Caylus is absolutely a realist writer. He knows the common people and describes their *moeurs.* His intrigues are of the slightest but he is chiefly concerned with the exposition. The modern atmosphere his work exhales gives the reader a curious sensation; de Maupassant is his direct descendant but with this difference that Caylus has an irrepressible sense of humor which bubbles up on the slightest provocation.

Fanfiche, ou les mémoires de Mademoisselle de M. ———, Peine, 1748, by G. de Bonneval, is the life story of a *fille de joie.* Fanfiche is the daughter of a cobbler and a flower seller. The cobbler draws

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a lucky number in a lottery and for a time the family fortunes are extremely bright. The cobbler, unhappily, drinks away the money and Fanfiche passes into the hands of a 'kind lady' whose profession it is to put girls like Fanfiche into good homes. The good home in this case is that of an old satyr called Bannette who launches his protégée on her career. She passes from one man to another, eventually becoming the mistress of a decrepit marquis who dies conveniently, leaving Fanfiche all his money.

Les Lettres de Montmartre par M. Jeannot Georgin, Londres, 1750, is an epistolary novel by A. U. Coustellier and is written in peasant dialect. Jeannot, hankering after the delights of Paris, leaves his *patelin* taking with him ample funds abstracted from his father's cash box. However, in his first letter he writes: "Je vous griffonons ces paroles à cette fin-là que vous me donniés de bon gré l'argent que je vous ai escamoté maugré vous sans vous rien dire." His conscience thus clear, his ambition, we gather, is to become 'grand matoquié et pis un grand marquis'; soon we find him, as he confides to his sorrowing village Javotte, intimate with no less a personage than the third *commis* of the *sous portier* of the 'château des maltotiés.' This *paysan parvenu* gives a faithful account of the seamier sides of Paris life as he discovers them in his pursuit of pleasure, for Jeannot is wealthy now having drawn a lucky number in a lottery. However, he falls into evil hands, is robbed and finally returns to the village and his faithful Javotte. The whole novel is written with a satiric purpose which somewhat detracts from its value as a human document though to do Coustellier justice, he rarely exaggerates. Indeed, in a description of XVIIIth century manners and morals, exaggeration is hardly possible.

"Les hommes nous volent: ne nous faisons pas scrupule de les duper," says the heroine of the *Egarements de Julie* [3] and this sentiment is a fair indication of the prevailing tone of the book. A contemporary critic in the *Année littéraire,* while deploring the choice of subject, has to admit that the author displays considerable energy in his depiction of character. The little bourgeoise, living with her aunt in Paris, becomes aware of her charms when she overhears the complimentary remarks of the connoisseurs who hang about the church door quizzing the young girls. A certain M.

[3] By J. A. R. Perrin, Amsterdam, 1756.

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Poupard, a gross financier, marks her down and takes her and her aunt to the Bois de Boulogne where he entertains them regally and incidentally tries to make them drunk. Julie however, has a strong head and accepts presents while keeping the amorous Poupard guessing as to her intentions. She and Valère, Poupard's nephew, fall in love and decamp with the old man's money, but the luckless Valère is given away by another of Julie's lovers. Our heroine gradually spends her money and is reduced to furnished rooms. She sells some of her finery and tries her fortune at the carnival and the *bal de l'Opéra,* but with no success. Deserted by Valère, whom she sees at the theatre with another woman, she ends up in a *maison publique.* Such is the bald, realistic story of the life of an unfortunate woman. It is an old theme to us now, but it was not so hackneyed then. It was the abbé Prévost who immortalised the *fille de joie* in *Manon Lescaut*—immortalised and idealised her. Perrin has no illusions. His Julie is not capable of the sacrifices of a Manon and, because of that, is a more probable type.

The publication of Baret's *Mademoiselle Javotte* in 1758 occasioned the following criticism in the *Année littéraire* for 1762. The novel, says the writer "peint assez au naturel la vie des filles du monde. Mais il est des sujets qui, quoique vraisemblables et même très vrais, sont trop révoltants. Un tableau tel que celui-ci est de la plus grande indécence; l'artiste aurait dû l'interdire à son pinceau ou du moins ne pas l'exposer au public." The critic is most probably Fréron, the celebrated anti-philosophe, but he undoubtedly represented the attitude of a large section of the reading public. Since he wrote these strictures, a great mass of realist literature has issued from the printing presses both in France and in England, but even the most sophisticated among us do not require much effort of imagination to realise how very advanced Baret is for his age. Here is the story.

Javotte begins her career as apprentice to a seamstress, La Villers, who sees in her shop girl's charms a considerable source of income, 'un véritable Pérou,' as the saying then was. Hers is an easy morality. "Les hommes sont des animaux qu'il faut amadouer pour mieux les plumer" is the essence of the worldly wisdom which she impresses on Javotte, who is dressed up at some expense in order to be introduced to a certain M. Rondain, the contemporary type of wealthy satyr. The following is an account of the meeting:

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"Bonjour, mon enfant" s'écrie en se jetant à mon col le massif galant. "Asseyons-nous. Je n'en peux plus. C'est donc là la créature en question," reprend-il en s'étendant sur un fauteuil. "Venez donc ici, mon bouchon." Puis il frappe plusieurs fois son genou de la même manière que s'il voulait appeler un petit chien. "Allez donc: quand Monsieur vous le permet," me dit La Villers. J'y allai comme malgré moi. A peine fus-je assise sur cet automate parlant qu'il me serra dans ses bras et me donna brutalement mille baisers. . . . "Finissez," m'écriai-je en levant la main sur lui, "ou je vous *empogne*, vous!" "Ah! quelle harengère!," s'écrie-t-il à son tour en se levant. "Eh! que veux-tu que je fasse de cela?" "Mais aussi vous demandez du tout frais" répondit La Villers, "où voulez-vous qu'on en trouve. Ce ne sera pas parmi les bourgeoises: elles sont venues au point de nous damer le pion."

Rondain goes off with the air of a deeply injured man. The furious La Villers turns on Javotte, and with the gesture of a wronged and virtuous woman commands: "Quittez ces vêtements dont vous êtes indigne et remettez tout à l'heure vos guénilles!" Javotte remembers dimly something she once read to the effect that virtue is none the less beautiful for being unadorned and throws the quotation at La Villers, who searches her vocabulary for her most crushing epithet. "Taisez vous *bégueule*" she screams and reduces Javotte to silence. Javotte's resistance is but short lived and soon we find her kept by a financier though she has several *amants de coeur,* including a guardsman, an abbé, and a lawyer. The latter is a well drawn and faithful sketch of a man who conceives a pure love for this *fille de joie,* who is simply bored with his sentimentalism, as it appears to her, and he in turn is finally revolted by her lubricity. Surely the most telling passage in this remarkable document is the description of Javotte's return to her people. She says:

"Qu'on se figure une jeune personne magnifiquement parée, assise négligemment das un fiacre à l'entrée d'un faubourg d'où viennent cinq ou six filles, dont les chaussures grossières font entendre la cadence de la marche. 'Eh, quoi donc! Est-ce que j'ai la *barluë?* C'est ty là Javotte Godeau.' dit Louison, mon ancienne camarade d'école. 'Parguienne, oui, c'est elle; et comtevla brave, Mameselle Javotte.' reprend sa soeur Babet. Une troisième survient qui s'écrie: 'On dirait d'un ange dans un reposoir! Oh sûrement c'est que t'as cassé ton sabot, en velà les éclats sur ta robbe.' Enfin une quatrième s'avance à la portière en disant: '*Gniati* pas de danger? *Pouvons*-je monter là-dedans?' 'Venez, mes amies,' répondis-je 'je suis plus riche que je ne l'étais mais j'ai le même coeur.'"

This is how her mother greets her.

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Fille du diable, enragée, dévargondée, as-tu fait assez claquer ton fouet? Te velà donc toupie comme Sainte Nicole. T'as sucé la dragée, tu n'en lâcheras pas l'amende.' 'Tenez, ma mère,' repris-je avec un ton de douceur, 'la faute est faite, il faut la boire et voilà de quoi,' ajoutai-je en tirant dix louis de ma poche. 'Quiens donc!' repris ma mère, 'crois-tu nous ébarlouir avec tes louis? Oh que ne mangeons pas de ce pain-là. Le nôtre est paitri d'honneur.'

The whole novel is an unconscious satire on the morals of the *beau monde.* Baret continually throws his heroine into situations where the contrast between the viciousness of the upper classes and the sincerity of the *peuple* vividly stands forth. Javotte falls in love with Saint Frai who is the type of dissipated and amoral chevalier so familiar in the novel and comedy of the XVIIIth century. While professing close friendship for the financier, Saint Frai amuses himself with Javotte whose purse he regards as his own. With relentless realism Baret traces the descent of this girl, her desertion by the financier, her subsequent amours, and finally her arrest and incarceration in the Hôpital, that last refuge of the unfortunate. Here she sobs out her last breath in agony, a prey to disease. With perfect justice Baret has called his novel a *conte moral.* Opinion may be divided as to the desirability of offering such a novel to the public, but there can be no doubt as to the sincerity of the author. I consider this novel in the foremost rank of French realist literature. *Manon Lescaut* shows one side of the medal: here is the other. That this novel is not known to the public is due to the fact that Baret committed the unpardonable sin of writing out of the fashion. *Mademoiselle Javotte* was writen when France was in the thrall of the maudlin sentimentality of *Pamela.* Rousseau caught the rising tide with his *Nouvelle Héloise* and collected all the laurels at the disposal of a genre which was regarded throughout the whole century with half amused tolerance.

University of Manitoba. F. C. GREEN.

VOLTAIRE'S CHANGE OF NAME

It is well known that in 1718, shortly after his release from the Bastille, Voltaire discarded his family name Arrouet.[1] The reason

[1] Most contemporaries spell the name Arrouet with two "r's."

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for this change has never been thoroughly understood, and unfortunately the poet himself has left practically no information on this point. Without attempting to discuss the matter of why he chose the particular name "Voltaire," I intend to cast some additional light upon his reason for abandoning the name Arrouet.

In *La Jeunesse de Voltaire* Desnoiresterres quotes a remark of J. B. Rousseau, who tells that Voltaire had confided to him that he had changed his name from Arrouet to Voltaire so that he might not be confused with the contemporary satirical poet, Pierre Charles Roy (1683-1764). An explanation of this possible confusion is that the word Roy was pronounced [rwɛ] [2] so that it would have sounded about like Arrouet.

In disagreement with this view M. Chardonchamp, in his *Les Arouet,* argues that the last letter "t" of Arrouet was pronounced by the family of Voltaire. He gives as proof the fact that the priest who worded the inscription on the tomb of Armand Arrouet wrote the name of Voltaire as Arouette de Voltaire.[3] In an early eighteenth century manuscript *Recueil de plusieurs Piesse* [4] the same spelling is found (p. 547) *Jugement en dernier ressort, rendu par Momus contre Arouette, dit Voltaire.*

It seems established, then, that the family and some of the contemporaries of Voltaire considered the pronunciation of the last "t" as correct, but it also appears that the public at large did not generally accept this pronunciation. The following rhymes from contemporary bits of poetry tend to indicate that the usual manner of pronouncing the name was [arwɛ].

> Cependant le public et le paye et l'admire
> Et du ton des auteurs est si fort le jouet,
> Que l'on ne saurait presque dire
> Lequel est le plus sot du public ou d'Arrouet.[5]
> Mais ni Rousseau ni son disciple Arrouet
> Qui de nos jours font tant claquer le fouet.[6]
> Affreux et triste en l'Oedipe d'Arrouet

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[2] Nyrop, *Gram. de la Lang. Fran.*, 1904, I, 174.

[3] Chardonchamp, *Les Arouet*, 1911, p. 54.

[4] This manuscript is in the possession of Professor Gustave L. van Roosbroeck, whose kind assistance in the preparation of this article is acknowledged with thanks.

[5] *Journal Satirique Intercepté*, 1719, p. 48.

[6] *Journal Satirique Intercepté*, p. 46.

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Reviennent si souvent que Gacon en a fait.[7]
Damon interrogé dans quel rang il mettroit
L'Oedipe d'aujourd'hui, répondit à l'oreille;
Fort audessus du jeune Arrouet,
Fort audessous du grand Corneille.[8]
Voulons que ledit A * * *
Dont nous avons fait le portrait.[9]

It is to be noted that the foregoing rhymes involve no words in which, in common conversation, the "t" would be sounded. Although it is possible that these rhymes are merely eye rhymes, it is altogether probable, on the other hand, that, if the "t" was sounded in the word Arrouet, the poets would have hit upon such rhyme words as *sept* or *net,* but no such ear rhymes for Arrouet—in the supposition that the "t" was pronounced—seem to exist.

A further proof that the "t" of Arrouet was not generally pronounced can be found in the fact that Arrouet was spelled by some contemporaries as Arroy, since, in this spelling, no "t" is found.[10]

Both pronunciations—with and without final "t"—must have been current, and the confusion of the names Arrouet [arwɛ] and Roy [rwɛ] must have been possible. That such a confusion actually occurred is proved by the fact that at least one poem by Voltaire was in reality ascribed to Roy. In the manuscript which has been mentioned above there is (p. 256) a poem entitled, *Vers du Poète Roy, sur son Emprisonnement à la Bastille.* This poem is Voltaire's *Bastille,*[11] dating from 1717. It is not unlikely that other poems were thus falsely ascribed to him. The reverse may also have taken place: poems by Roy may have been attributed to Voltaire. When one remembers that Roy was a most violent satirist, who, on several occasions, received a beating for his attacks, one can understand that Voltaire, who had more than his share of similar troubles, was anxious not to have to suffer for the sins of others. His own were sufficient.

A curious brochure of 1719 entitled *Le Journal Satirique Inter-*

[7] *Journal Satirique Intercepté,* p. 28.

[8] *Journal Satirique Intercepté,* p. 14.

[9] *Voltariana, ou Eloges Amphigouriques de Fr. Marie Arrouet* (1748), p. 126.

[10] Voltaire, *Oeuvres* (Moland), I, 174. Cf. Straus, *Voltaire* (1876), p. 21.

[11] Voltaire, *Oeuvres* (Moland), VIII, p. 125.

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cepté ou l'Apologie de M. de Voltaire et de M. de La Motte disagrees with this reason for the change of name. The brochure has been ascribed to François Gacon, "le Poète sans fard," but there is little justification for believing it to be his work, inasmuch as he is the butt of most of the attacks. Many of Gacon's epigrams, which had probably been circulated in manuscript, are printed here, together with violent replies in prose against Gacon. In the following extract from the *Journal Satirique Intercepté* the author, who must have been a partisan of Voltaire, reports and refutes an epigram of Gacon on Voltaire's change of name: "Quelques faux plaisants ou mal intentionnés ayant publié que M. Arrouet n'avait changé son nom en celui de Voltaire que pour le distinguer de M. Roy, aussi en mauvaise odeur parmi les poètes que parmi les honnêtes gens, voici l'avis qu'il (Gacon) donne à M. Arrouet.

> Parceque le public avec Roy le confond
> Arrouet se fait nommer Voltaire:
> Mais c'est peu de changer de nom,
> S'il ne change de caractère.

Peut-on rien de plus malicieux et de moins vraisemblable que les motifs que ce satirique donne à M. Arrouet dans le changement qu'il a cru devoir faire de son nom; la seule confrontation des qualités, des vertus, et des talents de ces deux Messieurs est capable de dissiper tous les soubçons injurieux à l'un et à l'autre." [12]

This hitherto unnoticed epigram echoed, no doubt, a more or less generally accepted story, but the denial offers no sufficient proof that Voltaire never said that he changed his name not to be confused with Roy, for this brochure is manifestly a defense of Voltaire against Gacon.

The *Journal Satirique Intercepté* was printed early in 1719, inasmuch as there is a mention of it in the May number of the *Mercure*.[13] Hence the epigram of Gacon was doubtless in circulation during the previous year, very shortly after Voltaire's change of name. It is certain that this explanation was current at Paris almost immediately after the change had taken place.

In view of the facts that the name Arrouet was pronounced [arwɛ] by at least a part of the public; that the pronunciation of

[12] *Le Journal Satirique Intercepté*, p. 29.
[13] *Mercure*, May, 1719, p. 202.

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Roy [rwε] resembled it closely, so that confusion was possible; that at least one poem of Voltaire was, at the time, attributed to Roy; that Gacon reports that the reason for the change was exactly that confusion; and that J. B. Rousseau claims that Voltaire himself gave him this explanation, it seems that this theory is worthy of much more credence than the denial in the *Journal Satirique Intercepté* or other conjectures for which there is no contemporary evidence.

However, it must not be forgotten that Voltaire had been unhappy under his former name[14] and the fact that he made the change shortly after his release from the Bastille may well indicate that his imprisonment was also a contributing cause for this forsaking of the family name.

George Byron Watts.

The University of Minnesota.

"CRITES" IN DRYDEN'S *ESSAY OF DRAMATIC POESY*

In Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1668) the four persons who carry on the dialogue are Eugenius, Crites, Lisideius, and Neander. Malone, the first critical editor of Dryden, pointed out that Eugenius represents the Earl of Dorset; Lisideius, Sir Charles Sedley (Sidley); and Neander, Dryden himself (*Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden:* London, 1800, vol. I, part i, pp. 62-67). These identifications have been accepted by all succeeding editors of Dryden; that of Eugenius is supported by the authority of Prior, that of Neander by an elegy on Dryden by Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas, and that of Lisideius by an obvious anagram from Sidleius (Sidley). As to Crites, Malone at first conjectured that he was "perhaps . . . meant to represent Wentworth [Dillon], Earl of Roscommon" (*Ibid.*, vol. I, part ii, p. 34). Roscommon in 1680 published a translation in blank verse of Horace's *Art of Poetry*. Accordingly, when Eugenius, addressing

[14] In the *Epître Dédicatoire* of the *Voltariana* there is a statement of the editors that they had seen a letter from Voltaire to Mlle Dunoyer with a postscript "ne t'étonne pas, ma chère, de ce changement de nom: j'ai été si malheureux avec l'autre que je veux voir si celui-ci m'apportera du bonheur."

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Crites, remarks, "for you hear your Horace saying," Malone adds the following note: "This passage adds some support to my conjecture that Crites was intended to represent Lord Roscommon (*Ibid.*, p. 41). But later, when Crites makes his argument against rime, Malone experiences a change of heart. "All the arguments here adduced by Crites against rime," he states (*Ibid.*, pp. 116, 117), "are found almost *verbatim* in the Preface of Sir Robert Howard [to his *Four New Plays,* 1665], printed in a preceding part of this volume. On second thoughts, therefore, I believe that he, and not Lord Roscommon, was shadowed under the character of Crites; though that nobleman might with sufficient propriety have been introduced employing the *printed* arguments of Sir Robert Howard on this subject. With respect to the words noticed in a former page: 'For hear *your* Horace saying,' etc., though Lord Roscommon had not yet published his translation of *The Art of Poetry,* Dryden might have known that he was a favorite author of Roscommon's, and hence have thus described the Roman poet: but Sir Robert Howard having in his Preface frequently quoted Horace and appealed to his authority, these words may with equal propriety denote *his* admired author; and therefore sufficiently well agree with what is now suggested—that Sir Robert Howard is the Crites of the piece before us." Still later Malone speaks even more positively: "Crites was indisputably Sir Robert Howard; as is proved not only by his having recently before this Dialogue was written, published a *critical* preface concerning one of the subjects here discussed (then a novelty), but by the very arguments which he had advanced against rime, being put, almost in the same words, into the mouth of the personage intended to represent him" (*Ibid.*, vol. I, part i, pp. 62, 63).

Malone's revised opinion as to Crites has been adopted, like his other identifications, by all succeeding editors of the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* whose work I have been able to examine: by Scott and Saintsbury (*Works of John Dryden:* London, 1882-93, vol. XV, p. 274), Arber (*An English Garner:* London, 1880, vol. III, p. 508), Thomas Arnold and W. T. Arnold (*Dryden: Essay of Dramatic Poesy:* ed. 2, Oxford, 1896; and ed. 3, 1918, p. 7), Strunk (*Dryden: Essays on the Drama:* New York, 1898, p. xxvii), and Ker (*Essays of John Dryden:* Oxford, 1900, vol. I, p. 289). Miss C. N. Thurber, in the introduction to her edition of

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Howard's comedy, *The Committee* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1921, vol. VII, no. i, pp. 32-38), also accepts without question Malone's identification. It is, however, easily disproved. It may possibly be supported, to be sure, by Dryden's description of Crites as "a person of a sharp judgment, and somewhat too delicate a taste in wit, which the world have mistaken in him for ill-nature" (Dryden: *Works,* ed. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. XV, p. 285; *Essays,* ed. Ker, vol. I, p. 29), which Scott terms "a favorable representation of the character of Sir Robert Howard, who is described by his contemporaries as very vain, obstinate, and opinionative." But this description is so vague that it would presumably fit more than one of Dryden's literary acquaintances; it cannot be used for purposes of identification. And Malone's argument from the fact that Howard had recently published a *critical* preface is too weak for refutation; the name Crites would fit any literary man of a critical turn of mind. On the other hand, while Crites in the *Essay* is the declared champion of the ancient dramatists, Howard in his preface to *Four New Plays* had boldly pronounced in favor of their English successors. "It is no partiality to conclude," he states, "that our English plays justly challenge the preeminence" (Malone: *Ibid.,* vol. I, part ii, p. 19). This contradiction alone makes the identification of Crites with Howard impossible. (Scott and Strunk note the contradiction, but are not moved by it to disagree with Malone.) Howard's preface furnishes, aside from its arguments on the use of rime in the drama, further material for the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy,* that on the threadbare character of the ancient plots (ed. Scott and Saintsbury, pp. 304, 305; ed. Ker, pp. 46, 47). This, as Scott remarks, apparently without seeing the significance of the fact, is used by Eugenius *against* the Crites of the *Essay.* Finally, the fact that the arguments used by Crites against rime in the drama are taken in large measure from Howard's preface to *Four New Plays,* which seemed to Malone a conclusive reason for identifying Crites with Howard, is really a reason for rejecting that identification. For Crites, near the opening of his argument against rime, says distinctly: "I will . . . only urge such reasons against rime as I find in the writings of those who have argued for the other way" (ed. Ker, p. 91). Such language would not naturally be put into the mouth of Howard.

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citing his own arguments. And Neander (Dryden) in replying to Crites uses the following words: "Since you are pleased I should undertake this province, I will do it, though with all imaginable respect and deference, both to that person from whom you have borrowed your strongest arguments, and to whose judgment, when I have said all, I finally submit" (ed. Ker, p. 94). (The construction is confused, as rarely in Dryden.) The person from whom Crites *borrows* his arguments is of course Howard. By this adroit compliment Dryden apparently strove to mollify his choleric brother-in-law for his own contumacy in venturing to oppose his opinions. The attempt was vain, as the sequel proved. Howard immediately retorted by publishing in that same year (1668), with his play *The Great Favorite; or, The Duke of Lerma,* an ill-tempered preface, in which, in declared opposition to Dryden, he not only renews his objections to rime, but attacks the validity of the famous three unities of the drama, which are not only upheld by the Crites of the *Essay*, but admitted as rules of great authority by the three other speakers of the dialogue. This preface alone should have prevented Malone from making his strange identification. By it Howard laid himself open to a prompt and vigorous retort by Dryden in his *Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, published in this same year (1668), with the second edition of his play *The Indian Emperor*.

To sum up, Howard in his published works (1) attacks the use of rime in the drama, (2) argues for the preeminence of the English drama over that of Greece and Rome, and (3) attacks the authority of the three unities. Crites quotes him on the first point and differs radically on the other two.

Howard being ruled out, Malone's first identification of Crites with Roscommon deserves respectful consideration, though no convincing proof of it can be given. Malone's argument from Roscommon's admiration of Horace might be made more emphatic. In *An Essay on Translated Verse* (1684) Roscommon speaks of Horace as his "master," adding that he has "served him more than twenty years." Furthermore, Roscommon shares Crites' dislike for rime. He translates in blank verse Horace's *Art of Poetry*, and closes his own *Essay on Translated Verse* with an attack on rime as a barbarous invention, illustrating his views by inserting

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between his couplets a passage of twenty-seven lines of blank verse in praise of Milton. Though Roscommon does not discuss the drama in this *Essay on Translated Verse,* he professes infinite respect for ancient literature as a whole. Finally, four lines in the *Essay on Translated Verse:*

> For who, without a qualm, hath ever look'd
> On holy garbage, though by Homer cook'd?
> Whose railing heroes, and whose wounded gods,
> Make some suspect he snores, as well as nods—

resemble somewhat in tone the following words of Crites in *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy:* "Homer described his heroes men of great appetites, lovers of beef broiled upon the coals, and good fellows; contrary to the practice of the French Romances, whose heroes neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep, for love" (ed. Ker, p. 55).

Roscommon presumably held much the same views in 1668 as in 1684. Dryden may have intended to flatter Roscommon by giving him a place in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* as a worthy champion of the ancients, and at the same time to please Howard by making Roscommon borrow his arguments against rime in the drama, just as Dorset (Eugenius) made use of his strictures on the threadbare character of the ancient plots. Against the identification of Crites with Roscommon it may possibly be urged that Dryden seems not to mention Roscommon by name earlier than 1680, in his *Preface to Ovid's Epistles.* But this is no proof that he was not already acquainted with Roscommon in 1668.

G. R. Noyes.

University of California.

THE SOURCE OF OCCLEVE'S *LERNE TO DYE*

In 1892 Furnivall wrote[1] that he had sought in vain in the indexes of Migne and in the British Museum Class Catalogue of Manuscripts for the Latin source of Occleve's *Lerne to Dye* (*c.* 1421-1422), but that years before in the Lichfield Cathedral MS.

[1] *EETS. ES.* LXI, pp. xlv-xlvi.

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16 (*c.* 1430-1440) he had seen an English prose version[2] of what must have been the *Ars Sciendi Mori* that Occleve turned into English. Furnivall thought that St. Anselm was cited in the manuscript as the author of the treatise (*tractatus qui scire mori appellatur*).[3] But of course he could not find any such title among St. Anselm's works, for the simple reason that the author was not that great prior and archbishop of the eleventh century, but a beloved German mystic of the fourteenth century, Henry Suso, called Amandus, and often spoken of as the Minnesinger of the Divine Love.

About 1327-1328[4] Suso wrote in German his *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit* (or, *Der ewigen Wisheit Buechli*), of which a few years later (1334)[5] he completed a much expanded Latin version known as the *Horologium Sapientiae.*[6] This *Horologium* became one of the most popular devotional tracts of the late Middle Ages. It is a work of outstanding merit in respect of its mystic passion, imaginative vigor, and rhythmic grace. It takes its place beside

[2] Another Middle English prose version of the same original, from MS. Douce 114, had been printed by Horstmann in *Anglia* only four years earlier (x, 357-365). Horstmann, however, did not note the connection between this prose version and Occleve's verse translation, and his reference to the author of the Latin original is vague and is taken at second hand.

[3] As a matter of fact the Lichfield MS. contains not only the prose version in English, but also the original in Latin. The work is not ascribed to St. Anselm. He is cited, however, as the author of a treatise on the Beatitudes, copied in Latin, English, and French, which is bound up with the tract on death and a copy of *The Prick of Conscience.* Both the *Beatitudes* and the *Prick* are written in the same style, possibly by the same hand, as the tract, and on the same sort and size of vellum. Furnivall, evidently, somehow confused the tract and St. Anselm's *Beatitudes.*

[4] K. Bihlmeyer, *Heinrich Seuse, Deutsche Schriften* (Stuttgart: 1907), pp. 102*-103*; for an account of the legion of MSS.. see pp. 11*-18*, 36*-37*.

[5] Bihlmeyer, pp. 108*-109*.

[6] Bihlmeyer, p. 105* and note 2; *cf.* the fourth chapter of Suso's *Autobiography* (English trans. by T. F. Knox, Lond.: 1865: new ed. 1913); J. Quétif and J. Échard, *Script. Ord. Praedicat.* (2 vols. Paris: 1719-1721), I, p. 654. Suso's own Latin version, the *Horologium*, differs in content and order, as well as phrasing, from the *Dialogus Sapientiae, etc.*, a version made by Laurentius Surius and published at Cologne: 1555; *cf. SS. Actis Bollandus et Henschenius,* Jan. 25.

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Bernard's *Homilies* and even Thomas a Kempis' *Imitation of Christ.*

The second chapter of the second book of the *Horologium* is headed: *De scientia utilissima homini mortali que est scire mori.* This Latin chapter is the original not only of the Lichfield and certain other Middle English versions,[7] but also of Occleve's poem, *Lerne to Dye.*

Occleve himself speaks of this Latin original, but without describing it accurately or revealing its author. In his *Dialogue with a Friend*[8] he writes that he has seen a small treatise in Latin, *Learn for to Die,* which is an excellent restraint to vice, and that he means to turn it into English. It will make men consider their sins at once, he avers, instead of delaying repentance until death.

One may note that Occleve speaks as though what he had seen were a separate treatise rather than a chapter in a fairly long work. Probably he knew nothing of the rest of the *Horologium.* Just what copy, or fragment of a copy, of the Latin version he may have used it would be difficult to say. It had been transcribed repeatedly, both in Germany and in other countries.[9] A comparison, however, of six printed editions and six manuscripts of the *Horologium* in the British Museum Library with the exemplars of the poem itself and with the brief extracts from the Latin found

[7] The following six M. E. prose versions of this chapter may be noted: A) Lichfield Cathedral MS. 16 (*c.* 1430-1440), announced by Furnivall (1892) for publication but not yet printed; B) Douce MS. 322 = Bodl. Summary Cat. 21896 (15th cent.), f. 20, printed in modernized form by F. M. Comper, *The Book of the Craft of Dying, etc.* (Lond.: 1917), pp. 105-123; C) Harl. MS. 1706 (15th cent.), f. 20, similar to Douce 322, but more complete; D) Bodl. MS. 789 = Bodl. Summary Cat. 2643 (first half 15th cent.; see Brown, *Register* I, p. 37), f. 123; E) Douce MS. 114, containing more material, in a rearrangement of seven chapters, of which the fifth is the section on death,—printed by Horstmann in *Anglia* X, pp. 328 ff., chapter on death, 357-365; Horstmann says this is the text printed in Caxton's *Horologium Sapientiae*, or Tretyse of ye seuen poyntes of trewe love [wisdom] (Westmynstere [1490], 4°; Camb. Univ. Libr., AB. 4. 64; see Hain 7771, Blades II, pp. 231-233); F) Horstmann mentions an older MS. in Caius College, Camb., which he had not examined.

[8] *EETS. ES.* LXI, p. 117, ll. 204-231.

[9] O. F. Bricka, *Essai sur la vie, les écrits et la doctrine de Henri Suso, etc.* (Diss., Strassbourg: 1854), p. 28; M. Diepenbrock, *H. Suso's Leben und Schriften* (2d ed. Regensburg: 1837), p. xi.

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in the margin of the poem, shows that Occleve must have used a text substantially identical with that of the undated fifteenth century [1480?] quarto edition of 183 printed, unnumbered leaves, attributed to Conrad Winters.[10]

BENJAMIN P. KURTZ.

University of California.

FALLING AS A THEME IN LITERATURE

Since the fair field of literature has become the place where the psycho-analysts may enter the lists, there may be some doubt whether the writers of the future will wittingly lay themselves open to attack by expressing more than a casual interest in falling.

The delicacies of fine literature are not so much the concern of Milton as the magnificent setting, impressive spaciousness, the gorgeous epic effect. A fall of a few minutes, or of a few hours, is therefore unsuited to his plan; he requires a nine days' plunge, accompanied by the orchestration of confounded chaos, into an

[10] Brit. Mus. Cat. No., IA. 4163; duplicate copy, IA. 4164. See *Cat. of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Cent., now in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 251. The six printed editions are: (1) the edit. just noted; (2) 848. b. 21, 8°, Coloniae: 1509, without pagination; (3) IA. 24148, 4°, Venetiis: 1492, 64 leaves without pagination, printed in double columns; (4) IA. 39278, 4°, [1480?]; (5) T. 480 (1), 8°, Coloniae: 1503, without pagination; (6) IA. 49032, 4°, Allosti: [1488?], 90 leaves, without pagination or catchwords. (1), (2), (5), and (6) are practically identical texts, the few differences being due primarily to mistakes in copying, disagreement in reading abbreviations, etc. Occleve's poem in the main follows these texts, with considerable condensation and omission of the Latin, and with many additions of his own making. (3) is a slightly abbreviated edition, with a few different readings. But Occleve, though he abridges, does not heed all the abbreviations of (3), and frequently he has the very matter of (1)-(6) that (3) has rejected. Again, (4) abridges still further, but Occleve does not follow it and almost invariably has the omitted matter. Obviously, then, Occleve does not follow (3) or (4), but, rather, (1) = (2), (5), (6), or a text substantially identical with (1). A study of the six manuscripts (Arundel 512, f. 90b, 14th cent.; Addit. 18318, f. 86b, 14th cent.; Royal 5. C. 111, f. 297-301, 15th cent.; Addit. 15105, f. 3, 1463-1478; Sloane 982, f. 66-117, 15th cent.; Addit. 20029 (2), f. 58, 15th cent.), and of the marginalia, points to the same conclusion. A detailed account of the relation of Occleve's poem to its source is being prepared.

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abyss where Hell yawns wide to receive the victims. This epic element merges with superb drama in the spectacle of the angel's flaming headlong flight, attended with 'hideous ruin and combustion, down to bottomless perdition.' It is no longer the cautious historian but the poet of epic effects whose imagination is caught by the rush of elephants off the Alpine precipice.

Dante, also, is interested in a fall as a process; he is absorbed by its abruptness. Upon hearing the story of the unfortunate love of Francesca and Paolo, Dante, not yet made callous to suffering by a longer sojourn in Hell, swoons and falls down like a dead body. When he describes Plutus' conduct at the rebuke of Virgil, he shows us how the god swollen with rage falls down with the suddenness of sails borne over by the wind when the mast snaps.

It is obviously impossible that the poetic imagination should for long confine itself to the picture or procedure of a fall; poets of philosophical turn of mind must ferret out the hidden significance of the fall. Pope, to whom nothing of human significance is foreign and everything else is, sees ominous mischance lurking behind the fall of a pet lap-dog, for if a sparrow's fall could have meaning, what significance might attach to Shock's fall! Moreover, it is Pope who reposes his trust in the tranquility of the woman who remains mistress of herself "though China fall."

It would be exceedingly inappropriate for the Germanic temperament with its grave concern for dialectics and higher metaphysics to be caught by the mere spectacle of a fall. Falling as a thing in itself would be insufficient to enlist the attention of the scrupulous German scholar. When Otto Ludwig is obliged to wreak poetic justice on the evil Fritz Nettenmair, he allows him to dive headlong from the church belfry into the street. While the fall is in progress the author invites his reader to inspect the weights in the church clock; that done the reader may attend to the habits of the jackdaws. At length there comes from below the noise of a heavy body striking in the street. In the avoidance of the spectacular we may here observe the cool regard of the scientist who records only the fact.

Trial by fall has always appealed to the poetic imagination. It delightfully implies finality; it carries with it the authority of any method intended to kill or cure. In the popular legend Conrad's sweetheart decides to test her lover's mettle by letting him fall in

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a basket from the roof of her house. His affection does not survive the trial. It was the Lesbian Poetess, however, who placed utter confidence in the trial by fall. Grubbing factualists since Athenaeus have derided the story of the Leucadian Rock, but no poet has been inveigled into the heresy of disbelief. Trial by fall in this remote time established itself beyond all cavil and dispute.

Victor Hugo also believes in trial by fall,—but with a difference, for to him a fall is the occasion for beguiling his victim into a museum of torments, there to insist that he undergo all the punishment the place affords. The poet's attitude toward his victim is that of the youthful inquisitor in dissecting a fly. When Dom Claude falls from off the tower of Notre Dame, the whole affair is superbly spectacular, violently antithetical; demoniacal. A fall of a few seconds is protracted for a half hour's service on the pillory. It is divided into three parts. At first Dom Claude falls but a few feet where he is rescued on a spout, here he lives for some time in the certain agony of what is about to happen to him; then he drops two hundred feet, and is blown by a gust of wind upon the roof of a neighboring house; finally he rolls down the roof of this house like a tile and continues into the street. With the romanticist's fine contempt for physics Hugo tells us that a fall of two hundred feet is seldom perpendicular or even slightly parabolical; and as we read it becomes apparent that the falling body must be allowed to flit about in the air, governed presumably not so much by the force of gravity as by the author's caprice. There is the touch of grotesquerie in Hugo's description that makes Dom Claude's fall the most diverting ever recorded.

To the melancholy of Becquer the fall of Tia Casca from the top of Mount Moncayo is filled with the pathos of human suffering. It is the story of how Tia Casca came to her end "like a large toad crushed under foot." The author freshly portrays the barbarous frenzy of the crowd as it pushes the witch to the edge of the cliff. The witch, with dishevelled hair, bloodshot eyes, mouth full of foam, her back towards the precipice, stealthily approached by a boy who is opening the blade of his knife with his teeth, makes an unforgettable picture. Tia Casca's fall is broken by a bush where she twists and turns, only to be torn loose by a large stone. She ends in the muddy slime at the bottom of the gorge. Coloured by the mauvaise grace of the peasant who is supposed to

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tell it, the whole story is marked by primitive savagery and fierce passion.

From Becquer, the romanticist, to Masefield, the impressionist, is after all no far cry. Everything that is irrelevant is perhaps more noticeably shorn away, and all culminates in a single powerful stroke, like Rimski-Korsakov's treatment of a shipwreck with a single note on the Chinese gong. The Dauber is aloft taking in sail. There comes a gust; the sail leaps from his hands. He thinks his mate is falling; he catches at an arm in oilskins, quickly snatched away. Somebody curses. Then for a brief space all is movement: chains strike his hands; ropes shoot by. The sky is covered with a vast blackness. The fore top-gallant yard is far aloft; the snow beneath his fingers is wet and soft. Masefield's description of the fall is swift, taking no more time in the telling than in the happening.

Masefield's description of the Dauber's fall, impressively realistic as it is, no more than cloaks the wanton cruelty readers find in the Dauber's death. It is such sombre cruelty in falls that Edgar Allan Poe dislikes. He wishes a playful little diablerie of his own. The hand of the town clock catches the victim's head, presses out his eyes, and finally severs it. The victim is a somewhat disinterested observer of the proceeding. In this hearty contempt of falling there is humour that pleasantly seasons Poe's writing.

Properly to catalogue all the notable falls in literature would be to recatalogue literature under new rubrics. There would be the epic falls, the dramatic falls which involve tragedy, comedy and farce, and the lyric falls through which the poet aspires to poetic justice. A great imagination will be struck by the fall of Icarus from the sun; the realist may prefer the perfunctory account of the coast guard's plunge into the sea; those who desire edification from literature may rejoice with Jean Valjean as he escapes by jumping from the rigging. In fact, whatever the reader's taste, he may indulge it. Fortified in such an insistent tradition will not the poets and novelists of the present have courage in the face of the curiously penetrating Freudians to continue in the way so entertainingly established by the older writers?

ALLAN L. CARTER.

The Pennsylvania State College.

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CYRANO DE BERGERAC AND *GULLIVER'S TRAVELS*

In his *History of Fiction,* 1814, Dunlop gives an excellent synopsis of Cyrano's *Histoire Comique de la Lune,*[1] which he ably proves by detailed comparison must have served as Swift's model for Gulliver's adventures in Brobdingnag.[2] From the same work, Borkowsky has collected a number of minor parallels, some of which are convincing, which seem to have suggested ideas found scattered through the four voyages of Gulliver. The importance of Cyrano's other fantastic voyage, *Histoire Comique des Etats et des Empires du Soleil,* as a source for Gulliver, has been completely overlooked.[3]

In this work is to be found the source for the withering satire heaped upon Gulliver, by the Houyhnhnms; a satire so exceptionally brutal that it has been regarded as the unique product of Swift's well-known misanthropy. This is true enough, but we are not therefore excused from noticing that a similar situation, in which the human race is treated with even worse humiliation, is to be found in a work which we know Swift depended upon for other hints in the composition of *Gulliver's Travels.*

In *Gulliver,* a general assembly of the Houyhnhnms is held to debate the traveller's fate.[4] He is convicted of the unpardonable sin of being a Man. Man is said to be the worst of all creatures, first of all because as a Yahoo he is by nature, "malicious, treacherous, libidinous, cowardly, and insolent"; and second, because he has presumed to tyrannize over his fellow-animals and make them his slaves who are his superiors. The verdict of his judges is that the sentence of death be commuted to banishment.

In like manner Cyrano is tried by a tribunal of animals in the *Empire des Oiseaux,* in the sun. The charges against him are the same as those preferred against Gulliver.[5] The feeling of the natives is much stronger than that of the Houyhnhnms, so much so that Cyrano hastens to claim that he is not at all what he appears to be, a base human monster, but that he is in reality a

[1] Cyrano's fantastic voyages were both published posthumously in 1656.

[2] Dunlop, *Hist. of Fiction*, ed. Wilson, 1911. Vol. II, 526-535.

[3] Dunlop states that this romance "seems to have suggested the plan of the Voyage to Laputa," but the resemblance is superficial.

[4] *Du Soleil,* pp. 286-293. All references are to the edition by P. L. Jacob, 1858.

[5] *Ibid,* 288-9.

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perfectly respectable monkey. He offers to submit gladly to death, if his judges can prove the contrary:

"J'ajoutai, pour ma justification, qu'ils me fissent visiter par des experts, et qu'en cas que je fusse trouvé Homme, je me soumettois à être anéanti comme un monstre."[6]

As Cyrano appears in the court room a spectator faints from the horror of gazing upon a man:

"J'entendis murmurer qu'on ne s'étoit pas davantage étendu à particulariser les circonstances de ma tragédie, à cause de l'accident arrivé à un Oiseau de la troupe qui venoit de tomber en pâmoison. . . . On crut qu'elle était causée par l'horreur qu'il avoit eue de regarder trop fixement un Homme."[7]

One bird attempts to defend Cyrano, but its evidence is ruled out on the ground that the character of the witness has been corrupted by association with mankind,—

"Ma Pie se présenta pour plaider à sa place; mais il lui fut impossible d'avoir audience, à cause qu'ayant été nourrie parmi les hommes, et peut-être infectée de leur morale, il étoit à craindre qu'elle n'apportât à ma cause un esprit prévenu. . . ."[8]

Finally the advocate appointed by the judge to defend the prisoner, rises to say,—

"Il est vrai, Messieurs, qu'ému de pitié, j'avois entrepris la cause de cette malheureuse bête; mais sur le point de la plaider, il m'est venu un remords de conscience, et comme une voix secrète qui m'a défendu d'accomplir une action si détestable. Ainsi, Messieurs, je vous déclare, et à toute la Cour, que, pour faire le salut de mon âme, je ne veux contribuer en façon quelconque à la durée d'un monstre tel que l'Homme."

This speech closes the proceedings, and Cyrano is sentenced to be devoured by insects.

When we remember that nowhere in the imaginary voyages before *Gulliver* is there such scathing satire directed against the human race, the significance of this unnoticed source for the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms* is greatly increased.

Princeton University. WILLIAM A. EDDY.

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[6] *Ibid.*, 279.
[7] *Ibid.*, 290.
[8] The remaining quotations are from pages indicated in note 4 above.

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SHAKESPEARE MISREADS CHAUCER

At the beginning of the fifth act of the *Merchant of Venice* one reads the familiar lines:—

> The moon shines bright. In such a night as this,
> When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees
> And they did make no noise, in such a night
> Troilus methinks mounted the Troyan walls,
> And sigh'd his soul toward the Grecian tents,
> Where Cressid lay that night.

It has long been recognized that the allusion is to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde;* but it has not hitherto been noticed, so far as I am aware, that the allusion is in its most essential feature an inaccurate one. The moon did *not* shine bright, when Chaucer's Troilus kept watch on the Troyan walls.[1]

After Criseyde's departure, Troilus and Pandarus spend a week as the guests of Sarpedon. Then, three days before the ten-days term which Criseyde has set, Troilus returns to Troy and haunts the places associated with his love:—

> Upon the walles faste eek wolde he walke,
> And on the Grekes ost he wolde see,
> And to himself right thus he wolde talke,
> "Lo, yonder is myn owene lady free,
> Or elles yonder, ther tho tentes be!
> And thennes comth this eyr, that is so sote,
> That in my soule I fele it doth me bote." (5. 666-672)

On the tenth day Troilus mounts the walls soon after sunrise, and, with a short recess for a belated dinner shortly after noon, keeps his watch until evening, and till "fer within the night" (5. 1107-1183). Then, thinking that he had miscounted his day, he again

[1] For the accuracy of the subsequent allusions to the moonlight episodes of Thisbe, Dido, and Medea, see the notes in the Variorum edition of the play. Furness quotes Hunter (*New Ill.*, I, 309) to the following effect: "For the four moonlights in classical or quasi-classical story the poet did not draw on his imagination, but his memory. It is not that Troilus, Thisbe, Dido, and Medea *might* have done what they did when the moon was shining in full splendour . . . but the poet had read that they did what they are described as having done in the moonlight." Hunter is wrong as regards the allusion to Troilus, as we shall see.

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mounts the walls the next morning and watches till night (5. 1192-1197). In none of these passages is there the slightest hint of moonlight—and for the very good reason that there was no moon to shine!

On the night before her departure from Troy, Criseyde promised her despairing lover that she would return—

> Er Phebus suster, Lucina the shene,
> The Leoun passe out of this Ariete. (4. 1591-1592)

The ten days of her absence are to be measured by the time which it takes the Moon to pass along its zodiacal path from the sign Aries through Taurus, Gemini, and Cancer to the end of Leo.[2] But Chaucer has already placed the season of Criseyde's departure at the time of year when the Sun is "Upon the brest of Hercules Lyoun" (4. 32), *i. e.* in the early part of the sign Leo.[3] A very elementary knowledge of astronomy is sufficient to show that with both the sun and the moon in the same sign, Leo, the moon is either not visible at all, or visible only as a very thin pale crescent for a brief time after sunset. At the time of Criseyde's departure the moon, in the latter part of Aries, was just approaching the phase of its last quarter, when it is visible only in the late night and early morning. Criseyde's promise is that she will return before the next new moon is visible.

It is not necessary to be even an elementary astronomer; for Chaucer has made the state of the moon perfectly clear in the words of Troilus himself:—

> I saugh thyn hornes olde eek by the morwe,
> Whan hennes rood my righte lady dere,
> That cause is of my torment and my sorwe;
> For whiche, O brighte Lucina the clere,
> For love of god, ren faste aboute thy spere!
> For whan thyn hornes newe ginne springe,
> Than shal she come, that may my blisse bringe! (5. 652-658)

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[2] Troilus repeats her words in 5. 1188-1190. As the moon completes the circuit of the twelve signs in about 28 days, it would travel from about the twentieth degree of Aries to the end of Leo in ten days.

[3] By Chaucer's calendar the Sun entered Leo on or about July 12. Skeat is wrong, I think, in saying that the sun was near the star Regulus, known as *Cor Leonis*, and (in Chaucer's time) near the twentieth degree of Leo. But the difference is not a vital one.

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The changing phases of the moon play a most important part in the episode of Chaucer to which Shakespeare makes allusion; but the phases specified are those which preclude the possibility of the bright moonlight which slept so sweetly on the banks of Portia's Belmont garden. The moon, which to Shakespeare is but part of the romantic setting of a stage picture, is to the more sober art of Chaucer a means of measuring the passing days; and Chaucer has regulated the movements of his heavenly time-keeper with a conscientious accuracy which is thoroughly characteristic of his poetic method.

Shakespeare's misreading—or his faulty memory—of Chaucer has had one interesting consequence. I suspect that most modern readers of *Troilus and Criseyde* have allowed the haunting beauty of Shakespeare's lines, and the authority of his great name, to mislead them into supposing, even with Chaucer's page before them, that the scene of Troilus's watch was transacted with the romantic accompaniment of bright moonlight. For the writer of this article, at any rate, it was something of a shock to discover, after many years of minute acquaintance with Chaucer's poem, that the moon did *not* shine bright when Troilus mounted the Troyan walls, and sighed his soul toward the Grecian tents, where Cressid lay that night.[4]

ROBERT KILBURN ROOT.

Princeton University.

AN ETYMOLOGY FOR ME. *OLYPRAUNCE,* AN. *ORIPRANCE*

The first known instance of the rare ME. *olypraunce* occurs in *Handlyng Synne* 4578, in a passage in which Robert of Brunne, following William de Wadington's *Manuel des Péchés,* is discoursing against tournaments. There, he says, one may find all the seven deadly sins:

> Fyrst, ys pryde, as þou wel wost,
> Auauntement, bobaunce, and bost;
> Of ryche atyre ys here auaunce,
> Prykyng here hors with olypraunce.

---

[4] Shakespeare does not utilize this episode of the story in his own *Troilus and Cressida.*

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The word occurs once more in this same passage (4692):

> Hem were leuer here of a daunce,
> Of bost, and of olypraunce,
> þan any gode of God of heuene.

In the *Manuel* there is no corresponding French word in the second of these passages, but to the first instance corresponds the unique *orprance:*

> Qe orgoil les suyt, pur estre mustré
> Pur lur boban qe il unt mené,
> Lur orprance mustre al oyl,
> Lur vanité & lur orgoil.

This, at least, is the form of the word in Ms. Harleian 273, printed in Furnivall's edition of *Handlyng Synne* (EETS. CXIX, CXXIII). But Harleian 273 is the only one of the eleven manuscripts that I have examined that contains the form *orprance*; at least six others, including some of the earliest and best, have the form *oripra(u)nce.*[1] That this is probably the correct reading is substantiated by the fact that the line is metrically imperfect if *orprance* is retained, since the verse is octosyllabic; and, although this assumption is not vital to my present argument, it is to be noted that the Middle English form, too, presumes a trisyllabic form in Old French.

No such word appears in any dictionary of Old French, and this is apparently the only recorded instance in Old French or Anglo-Norman. The Middle English word occurs in *Purity* 1349, where Belshazzar holds his empire 'in pryde and olipraunce,' and

[1] Arundel 288 (end of 13th cent.), fol. 36b, col. 2, has *oripraunce* which appears in Graves 51 (mid-14th cent.), fol. 24a, col. 1. St. John's, Cambridge, 167 (end of 13th or early 14th cent.), fol. 108b, col. 2; has *oriprance*, which appears in the following 14th cent. Mss.: Harleian 4971, fol. 107b; Hatton 99, fol. 58b; Cambridge Univ. Libr. Ms. 6. 4, fol. 35a. This last Ms. Paul Meyer calls 'l'un des meilleurs textes qu'on ait de l'ouvrage de William de Wadington' (*Romania* XV, 348). Of the other Mss. consulted Royal 20 B XIV (early 14th cent.), fol. 21a, col. 2, has *orpinance* (? *orpmance*); Cambridge Univ. Libr. Ee 1. 20 (14th cent., but obviously very corrupt), fol. 27b, substitutes *euere* (scribal blunder for *envie* ?); Harleian 4657, fol. 34b., col. 2, omits lines 4581-2; the relevant page of Harleian 337 is cut; and Cambridge Gg 1. 1 apparently does not contain the passage. For descriptions of the Mss., consult Meyer's articles, *Romania* VIII, 332-4, XV, 348-9, and Ward, *Catalogue of Romances . . . in the British Museum* III, 272-303.

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it persists in the form *oly-prance,* sometimes corrupted into *molly-prance,* in the modern Northamptonshire dialect, where it means 'merry-making, boisterous jollity,' the third syllable being associated with *prance.*[2]

The only etymology hitherto proposed for *olypraunce* is that of Henry Bradley (*Academy* for Jan. 11, 1890), whose article I quote: "I would suggest, with some diffidence, that it may represent an Old French *olitriance,[3] from the proper name Olybrius, which has given rise in French to other derivatives of cognate meaning.[4] The Anglo-French original of the *Handlyng Synne* has *orpraunce,* but this can scarcely be other than a corrupt form."[5]

This etymology is unsatisfactory, both because it assumes that the Anglo-Norman form, from which the Middle English must be derived, is further removed than the Middle English from the original, and because it necessitates assuming corruption. I wish to propose another explanation which accounts for the Anglo-Norman form (and, incidentally, the Middle English form) by a regular phonological development.

OF. *or*(*i*)*pel,* 'cuivre d'or,'[6] to which correspond OProv. *aur*(*i*)*pel,* Italian *orpello* (cf. Span. *oropel,* Port. *ouropel*) representing a VL. **auripelle*(*m*),[7] is a word used chiefly in describing the adornments of dress or the trappings of horses. In Italian the cognate word has been rich in derivatives: *orpellaio, orpellamento, orpellare, orpellato, orpellatura* (Tommaseo), and in Old Provençal a verb must be assumed to account for *auripelat,* 'couvert d'oripeaux, brillanté' (Raynouard, first instance, 1343).

Now a VL. **auripellantia*[8] would result in OF. **orpelance*[9]

[2] For 16th century instances, see *NED.*

[3] Misprint for *olibriance?

[4] Bradley evidently refers to *olibrieux,* adj., 'dédaigneux, vaniteux,' Godefroy, v. 592.

[5] Sir Israel Gollancz, in his edition of *Cleanness* (note on line 1349), repeats Bradley's suggestion with some elaboration and less diffidence, without, however, referring to Bradley's article.

[6] Godefroy's first example is from Raimbert de Paris's *Chevalerie Ogier* 9015 (12th cent.).

[7] Körting derives all the Romance words from **auripellis,* but Thomas, in Hatzfeld-Darmesteter, assumes composition in OF. for *oripel* (s. v. *oripeau*). Du Cange records a Late Latin *auripellum.*

[8] Nouns ending in *-ance* (*-antia*) are usually derived from verbs, and in view of the Italian and Provençal verb, this is probable here, though such

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by the side of which there may be assumed a form **oripelance,* influenced by the learned form OF. *oripel.* **Or(i)pelance* would then become **or(i)plance,* as is frequently the case in Old French where a protonic vowel stands before a liquid or nasal (cf. VL. **advesperare* > OF. *avesprer*; VL. *adtemperantia* > OF. *atemprance* beside *atemperance*; VL. *quartarantia* > OF. *quartrance.*)[10] If we assume that the word is derived from *oripel* in the Old French period, and not directly descended from Vulgar Latin, the syncope of the *e* would again be regular, as is shown by *cabaret* : *cabartresse* beside *cabaretresse*; *pareil* : *reparleur* beside *repareilleur.*[11]

By assimilation of the second *r,* **or(i)plance* would become **or(i)prance.*[12] The development would thus be: **auripellantia* > **or(i)pelance* > **or(i)plance* > **or(i)prance.* By metathesis of the *r* and *l,* which is extremely common,[13] **oriplance* would become **oliprance,* the form preserved in Middle English.

formations on nouns are also found, e. g., OF. *maleurance, malaisance* (Thomas, *Essais de Philologie Francaise,* Paris, 1897, p. 58); and there are many cases of nouns in *-antia* with no corresponding verb (Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. der Rom. Sprachen* II, 555-6, § 518).

[9] Schwan-Behrens, *Gram. des Altfr.* 80. 3 and 173.

[10] For other examples of this syncope, see W. P. Shepard, *A Contribution to the History of the Unaccented Vowels in Old French,* Easton, 1897, pp. 64 ff., 75 ff., 82 ff. It should be noted that the examples cited differ from **auripellantia* in having a single consonant after the unaccented *e,* and it might be expected that the *ll* would tend to preserve the preceding vowel (Shepard, pp. 91 f.). But, as the syncope, except in *mirabilia, merveille* and a few other words, is 'generally late, belonging to a distinctly Old French period of development' (*ibid.,* p. 67), and as it affects unaccented protonic *e* representing Latin *a* (*ibid.,* pp. 64-7), it would be probable here. There are not enough clear examples, especially of two unaccented pretonic vowels of which the second stands before a liquid, to formulate a definite law; but in this case the analogical retention or reintroduction of the first unaccented vowel would probably facilitate the dropping of the second.

[11] Shepard, p. 75; cf. p. 67.

[12] Cf. *oripelargus* > *orpres* (Suchier, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* I, 432). For other instances of assimilation of *l* to *r,* see the works cited below for metathesis of *r* and *l.*

[13] Cf. OF. *gilofre* (also *girofre*) for *girofle* (**carophilum*); OF. *recolice* (*liquiritia*); OF. *coldre* (*corylum*); Ital. dial. *grolioso* for *glorioso*; Span., Port. *palabra* (*parabola*). For more examples, see Behrens, *Ueber reciproke Metathese im Romanischen,* pp. 73 ff.; Nigra, *Metatesi, Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* XXVIII, 1 ff.; Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprach-*

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The semantic development is easy to follow. It is natural that a word meaning 'gold-leaf,' used, as the Old French examples show, especially for magnificent trappings, should have a derivative meaning 'love of finery, ostentation.' The first citation from *Handlyng Synne,* it may be noted, associates the word with 'ryche atyre'; and 'love of display' is apparently the original meaning in Middle English. In fact, the meaning of the word in the *Manuel* is much closer to the original significance than is indicated by Furnivall's punctuation of the Anglo-Norman. With the comma after 'lur orprance mustre al oyl,' *vanité* and *orgoil* of the next line must be construed as merely additional subjects in apposition to *orprance.* But as *mustre* cannot be intransitive, it is plain that the lines should read:

Lur orprance mustre al oyl
Lur vanité & lur orgoil.

That is, *orprance,* the subject of the sentence, is not an abstract vice like *vanité* and *orgoil,* the objects, but describes the particular circumstances which reveal these general characteristics. In other words, if the passage is correctly construed and punctuated, *orprance* is not likely to mean 'pride' so much as 'ostentation,' or perhaps 'extravagance in dress.' But it is not at all necessary to insist on this precise interpretation of the word for our present purpose, since other words furnish us with abundant proof of the close connection between 'pride' and 'ornament.' OF. *bobance* means not only 'arrogance, présomption' (definitions from Godefroy), but also 'train, pompe, grand apparail, faste'; so *bobant,* not only 'exaltation d'orgueil,' but 'ajustement, habit luxueux'; and *bobancier,* v., 'dépenser son avoir en parures, en vêtements luxueux.' [14]

Yale University. ROBERT J. MENNER.

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geschichte, 4th ed., p. 65. Metathesis to *oliprance* would be facilitated by the existence of other words in OF. beginning with *oli-*, such as *oliphant, oliban,* and particularly, perhaps, by such forms as *oliflambe* (so too in ME.) by the side of *oriflambe* (Godefroy v, 637).

[14] Cf. further ON. *prýði,* 'ornament,' and OE. *prýde,* 'pride.' It may be remarked here that a great variety of figurative senses has developed in the derivatives of **auripellem* in Italian and Provençal; cf. Ital. *orpellare,* 'ascondere o mascherare la verità,' etc. Raynouard cites from Deudes de Prades, *Auz. Cass.:* 'Paire e fill de villania, Auripelat de parlaria.'

For the development of the meaning of *oliprance* in Mod. Engl. dialect, cf. Mod. French *bombance,* 'grande chère.'

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Les Proverbes de Bon Enseignement de Nicole Bozon publiés pour la première fois par A. Chr. Thorn. Lund, 1921. Lunds Universitets Årsskrift . . . Bd. 17, Nr. 4., xxxiv + 65 pp.

Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice du Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Français 25545 publié pour la première fois par Marianne Mörner. Lund, 1920. Lunds Universitets Årsskrift . . . Bd. 16. Nr. 4, xxvii + 62 pp.

Both of these texts received favorable notice in *Romania* some months since. Miss Mörner's work seems thoroughly to deserve the brief encomium already given to it;[1] with M. Långfors' unqualified praise for the work of M. Thorn,[2] however, I cannot unreservedly agree.

The title-page and the *avant-propos* to *Les Proverbes de Bon Enseignement* are, at the outset, slightly misleading when they describe the work as here "publié pour la première fois."[3] It was included, together with a Middle English version, in the *Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript,* published by the Early English Text Society in 1901. That edition, however, gave the Vernon version alone; the new one gives in full two manuscripts[4] (by one of which the Vernon total of 108 stanzas is increased to 130), and adds at the foot of each page what seems to be a full list of the variant readings of the other seven.

In the completeness of such a list of variants would lie the chief value of a new edition, which ought, coming twenty years after the publication of the Vernon version, to be definitive. Unhappily, M. Thorn's list is far from complete; and, as no consistent principle of selection has been used, it is actually misleading. Even the most careful reader, noticing that the editor gives such variants as *ki en* for *ken* (I, 5), *len tent* for *l'entent* (I, 11), *benet* for *beneit* (I, 13), *dist* for *dit* (II, 2), *ren* and *rein* for *rien* (VII, 1; and XXXVI, 3), *mout* for *molt* (XXXVI, 3; XXXVII, 3; *et al.*), *Kar nyent*

[1] *Romania,* XLVII, 157-158.

[2] *Romania,* XLVIII, 158-159.

[3] The editor's statement on this point (p. iii) is the more surprising as he makes incidental mention himself (p. xxv) of the E. E. T. S. edition.

[4] Selden Supra 74, Oxford, and Royal 8 E. XVII, London.

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entendre et molt lyre for *Kar nent entendre et molt lire* (XXXVI, 3),[5] or *Ki doun ne present ne receyt* for *Ki doun ne present ne receit* (XXIII, 2), naturally assumes that the list must be complete: the editor would seem to have been meticulously careful to include even the most insignificant differences. And yet I am convinced that little more than half the actual variants are given.

A comparison of the Vernon Manuscript as given in the Early English Text Society's edition with the same manuscript as M. Thorn would have it shows seventeen cases of disagreement in the first twenty-one lines.[6] There are similarly fourteen differences in the opening fifteen lines between M. Thorn's reading for Ms. Rawlinson Poetry 241 (Oxford) and the reading of the same lines of the same manuscript previously given by Paul Meyer;[7] also twenty differences in the first eighteen lines of the reading for Ms. Bodleian 761 from Paul Meyer's reading of it.[8] The original manuscripts are, of course, inaccessible to the American reviewer, but I have no hesitation in declaring that the majority of these differences must be due to oversights on the part of M. Thorn. And it would have been better to give no variants at all (except those necessary to sense and textual completeness), rather than a list so unsystematic and so incomplete.

After the text come three pages of notes (for the most part linguistic references), an eight-page glossary "qui n'a point la prétention d'être complet,"[9] and a *Table Strophique,* valuable, in spite of errors, as showing the number of stanzas in each of the nine manuscripts and the order in which those stanzas are arranged.

[5] *Nyent . . . . lyre* would have saved space and still been abundantly clear; one word alone would have made the variant reading evident in other cases (such as that in XXIII, 2, here cited) where the editor prints out a whole line.

[6] Among them M. Thorn would read *ici* for *issi* (I, 10), *delit* for *delist* (I, 12), *Dunt celu soit* for *Dount cely seit* (I, 13), *Sur tute* for *Sour tote* (II, 3), *tous pechez* for *touzt pecches* (III, 3), etc. Errors in the E. E. T. S. edition are probably responsible for about one-fourth of the total, as a collation by Dr. Carleton Brown of other passages in that edition with the original MS. has shown an average of about one minor error in every five lines.

[7] *Notice du Manuscrit Rawlinson Poetry* 241 (*not* 41 *as in Romania* index), in *Romania* XXIX, 3.

[8] *Romania* XXXVII, 525.

[9] P. 57, note.

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The first part of the volume is devoted to an introduction, which adequately covers the necessary ground, and throws some interesting light on source material. The editor's discussion of the relationship between the various manuscripts is perhaps a little perfunctory; but this is probably a fault on the right side, especially since Bédier's exposure of the weakness of the manuscript pedigree practice. For matters of versification, M. Thorn contents himself with a general reference to the work of Meyer and Vising on Bozon;[10] for the extremely complicated language he merely gives occasional references to the same scholars,[11] and to Albert Stimming's discussion of the various Anglo-French traits in *Boeve de Haumtone.*[12]

The introduction also contains an important chapter on the authorship of the *Proverbes.* M. Thorn sums up the arguments previously brought forward by Meyer and Vising in favour of considering as the original reading the "Or priez tous pur boun" of Ms. Selden Supra 74, and as a natural miscopy of this the ". . . pur le houm" given by the Vernon, the only other manuscript in which the verse occurs.[13] But he wholly ignores the existence of three detached Middle English versions which are not without significance in this connection. Two of them (Harleian 2251, fol. 156v.-167r.; and Ashmole 59, fol. 84v.-98r.) have already attracted attention.[14] They are both versions of an expanded translation of our *Proverbes,* and contain at the end these lines:

[10] *Les Contes Moralisés de Nicole Bozon,* Paris, *Société des anciens textes français,* 1889; and *Deux Poèmes de Nicholas Bozon,* Gothembourg, 1919.

[11] Adding to the works mentioned in the previous note Vising's *Plainte d'Amour,* Gothembourg, 1905-1907, and the same editor's *Purgatoire de saint Patrice,* Gothembourg, 1916.

[12] Halle, 1899. The unavoidable use of scattered references such as these serves to emphasize our need of an adequate treatise on Anglo-French; though by the year 1300 (to which, approximately, the present text belongs) Anglo-French irregularities, especially in the spelling, run such riot as to defy all attempts at a general scientific classification. The only extant book on the subject is the work of an American scholar: Louis Emil Menger's *Anglo-Norman Dialect* (New York, 1904); it is, unfortunately, awkward in arrangement and far from adequate.

[13] That a *Boun* or *Bosoun* might be identified with Bozon had, of course, been clearly established by Vising and by Paul Meyer.

[14] Cf. Max Förster in Herrig's *Archiv,* CIV, pp. 304-309; and Miss H. E. Allen in *M. P.,* XIV, pp. 757-758.

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"If I durst presume or take oon
My name to reherce as to youre highnesse
Myn auctor and I both bin named John
Lyke as the frenge [*var.* frenshe] sayde it expresse
To pray for us . . ." [15]

The writer of this version may well have metamorphosed *Boun* to *Joun,* as the Vernon copyist is assumed to have turned him into *le houm;* but his statement none the less weakens the case for Bozon, though doubtless very slightly.

The existence of a third Middle English version, in Harley 4733 fol. 30a,[16] has, as far as I know, passed entirely unnoticed. An examination of its concluding verses, to see what author's name (if any) is given there, would be highly to the purpose.

Of new evidence adduced for Bozon's authorship, the citation (on page ix) of three manuscripts where the *Proverbes* occur in close association with works indubitably by him is extremely suggestive. On the other hand, the parallels in development between Bozon's *Contes* and these *Proverbes* are not of much significance. For the *Proverbes* were unquestionably written at least a decade, more probably over twenty years, earlier than the *Contes,* and M. Thorn has succeeded[17] in making it seem indubitable that the author of the latter had as he wrote, in mind if not before his eyes, a copy of the former; but we cannot say from this that he was studying for material a juvenile work of his own rather than a work by someone else; indeed, the latter supposition is perhaps the more plausible of the two. Similarly, such passages in Bozon's other works as seem to have been influenced by the *Proverbes*[18] only prove that Bozon knew these *Proverbes* well: they cannot prove he wrote them. None the less, in spite of the weakness of certain of his arguments, M. Thorn has undoubtedly succeeded in increasing the probability that Bozon was the author of the present work.

On the question as to who Bozon was, apart from his works, no new light is here thrown. "Nicole Bozon, célèbre frère mineur qui vivait vers 1300" is all the new editor has to say of his per-

[15] Förster, *loc. cit.*, p. 307.

[16] Carleton Brown's *Register*, no. 2248.

[17] Pp. x-xi.

[18] Pp. xi, xii, xiii.

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sonality; and this, if we add that he was probably a native of the North of England, is essentially all that is known to us.

A valuable part of M. Thorn's study is the discussion (xiv-xxii) of the Latin sources for the hundred and twenty odd maxims here involved. He has established the original provenience of all but ten of them, and has shown that the author's most fertile source was the *Florilegium Sedulii Scoti,* our best known version of which occurs in *Codex Cusanus 52* (*C 14*). Worth noting, perhaps, among his discoveries is the curious metamorphosis by which, through a quaint isolation and misunderstanding of the passage in the Book of Judges (IX, 8 ff.), Oliva, Ficus, and Rampnus came to be cited by our author among the classic and biblical philosophers.

M. Thorn's edition, in sum, though of uneven value, is welcome as an addition to the published works of Bozon. The variant readings given for seven of the nine manuscripts are essentially worthless; on the author's language and versification the editor purposely adds nothing to what had already been said by Paul Meyer and M. Vising; and we are taught nothing new as to Bozon's personality or identity. But two more manuscript versions of the *Proverbes* are now made accessible (we hope in accurate form); the evidence for Bozon's authorship is considerably strengthened, despite the weakness of some of the editor's arguments and his overlooking of some extant evidence against his thesis; and the Latin sources forming the basis of the whole work are set forth well and in detail.[19]

Miss Mörner's work impresses us as far more thoroughgoing

[19] A list of misprints and errors would include, in addition to numberless linguistic variants omitted, the following:—

P. xxvi l. 4, *for* xxxix *read* xxix; p. xxx l. 4, *read* S, V, A H, B et O; p. 2, **4**n. *to* V Ms R *add* mais le nom Seneka manque; p. 4, **9**n. add V Salamon; p. 5, **10**n. *add* V omet le nom Tobie; p. 10, **22**n. *for* HBVO hontage (BV) hountage *read* HO hontage BV hountage; p. 12, **26**n. V Serafin *add* et texte comme R; p. 28, **55**n. [*ad fin.*] *for* l. 3, 4, et 5 manquent *read* l. 4, 5, et 6 manquent; p. 28, **56**n. *for* AB Syrak read ABV Syrak; p. 36, **74**n. *after* A deuorabit *add* V omet le nom Rampnus; p. 39, **79**n. *after* B Philosophus *add* V Seneca; p. 45, **91**n. *add* Rem. V n' a que quatre lignes (l. 5 et 6 manquent); p. 50, **100**n. after O Agust *add* V omet le nom; p. 55, [*last line but one,*] *read* v. p. xv.; *in the* Table Strophique, *column under* V, **38**, *for* 6 *read* 4; *ibid.*, **49**, *for* 6 *read* 4; *ibid.*, **50**, *for* 4 *read* 6; *ibid.*, **61**, *for* — *read* 4; *ibid.*, **61**b, for 4 read —; *etc.*

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than M. Thorn's. In 1917 she edited the Berol Anglo-French version of Saint Patrick's Purgatory; she now presents, in a thoroughly adequate edition, the first continental French version of the story to be made available. From the literary point of view this version has little significance, but it is interesting and important as evidence for use in the tracing of the history of the legend. It has no direct connection with the other versions, and indeed its contents clearly establish the need for revising the classification of branches suggested by H. L. D. Ward in his *Catalogue of Romances.*[20]

The opening lines lead up to the prime feature of Ward's first group: the quaint account of the Irishman's confession, including (ll. 28 ff.):

> "Qu' onques encor en son vivent
> N'avoit que .v. hommes ocis.
> Ne cuidoit pas avoir mespris:
> Mains en avoit navrez a tort;
> Ne savoit pas s'estoient mort. . ."

The French author, however, misses much of the point of the story as the other versions tell it, by failing to note the man's surprise that homicide should be considered a sin at all, and by omitting the significant comment (which possibly throws much light on later history) that this is the nature of Irishmen: "Haec ideo proposui ut eorum ostenderem bestialitatem."[21] Besides including in this rather aimless way the Irish Confession, the present version regularly shows its connection with the first rather than with the second group; but in one or two passages it is so definitely in accord with the latter that a regrouping of the various branches becomes imperative. Miss Mörner is singularly well qualified to undertake such a re-classification, and we hope that she will do so in the near future. For the moment, however, she has contented herself with merely pointing out the inconsistences which arise under the existing scheme of groups.

Miss Mörner's introduction includes a careful and accurate account of the versification and language of the unknown author. He seems to have been a native of Champagne, but writes throughout in good Central French, only rarely betraying his local origin.

[20] London, 1893, Vol. II, pp. 444 ff.

[21] So in MS. Royal 13 B viii, 101b, col. 2; quoted by Ward, *loc. cit.* p. 444.

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Occasionally his internal elision is strikingly advanced: more than once (e. g. in the octosyllabic line "*Et crois et yaue benoite avoient* . . . ", l. 831) *iaue benoite* has only four syllables; *religion* has only three, etc. There is little else in his rather feeble craftsmanship that attracts attention, unless it be his occasional tendency to fail in rhyme and fall back on assonance. The manuscript, which had previously been described by M. Långfors,[22] was written close to the year 1317; the text seems to have been composed very shortly before that date. Miss Mörner's notes are adequate, and her glossary complete.

There are few things in the text itself that call for comment. The form *clergiers* (l. 843) is worth noting: the editor observes simply that "*clergiers* doit être une déformation de *clergiés*--due peut-être au copiste, car l'auteur aurait très bien pu admettre l'assonance *cordeliers: clergiés.*" But the form *clergier* occurs elsewhere, though Godefroy does not include it: specifically in l. 65 of the *Vie de Saint Léger,* where Gaston Paris emended it to *clergiet.* It should probably stand in both cases. Again, *régner* in the sense of *to live* ("*Qu'en paradis puissiens régner,*" l. 1033) also seems worthy of notice. The only example cited by Godefroy for a similar use is from a passage in Deschamps[23] where the meaning is much closer to literally *ruling* or *lording it,* with perhaps a suggestion of specifically ruling—one's wife! La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (*s. v.* régner) gives one or two instances[24] where the meaning is clearly *to live,* but all are of the late XIVth or the XVth century; the present case is earlier by some fifty years than any example that had previously come to light. We might recognize here the influence of the Provençal use of *renhar,* or, perhaps more probably, that of the passage in the Vulgate (Matt. xxv, 34) "Tum dicet Rex . . . Venite, benedicti Patris mei, *possidete* paratum vobis *regnum.*" The line (l. 1033) occurs in the French author's epilogue, and is therefore not influenced by any phrase in the earlier versions.

[22] *Romania* XLIV, 87 ff.

[23] Ed. *Société des anciens textes français,* v, 249. (Godefroy refers in error to v, 248.)

[24] I am indebted to a kind colleague for calling my attention to Sainte-Palaye's examples, and also for pointing out some interesting cases of the same use in various modern French dialects.

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In the *Romania* review of Miss Mörner's work, M. Jeanroy pointed out[25] one or two cases in which her emendations of the manuscript reading appear unnecessary. I should like to suggest two others:

(a) line 75, *pas nel croiroient:* the correction *nel* for the Ms. *ne* is not needed; *croire* could perfectly well be used absolutely.[26]

(b) line 908, *ainsi* (= likewise): the emendation to *aussi* is hardly necessary.

It may also be remarked that line 748, *Et c'estoit combles par dessus* need present no difficulty, though it seems to perplex Miss Mörner; *combles* (or perhaps *comblés*) is quite natural in the sense of *convex*. Cf. *Yvain,* line 530, [*li*] *conble de l'escu.*[27]

WALTER L. BULLOCK.

Bryn Mawr College.

Shakespeare. By RAYMOND ALDEN. New York, Duffield and Company, 1922. Master Spirits of Literature Series. xi, 377 pp.

The time was ripe for a general study on Shakespeare, one that should be authoritative and, in the best sense, popular. The existing surveys had become, in the light of recent scholarship, wholly inadequate and untrustworthy. Professor Alden obviously faced a difficult problem, for it has become an arduous task to work one's way through a wilderness of Shakespeareana. Nor was the undertaking made easier by the fact that much of the game is not worth the candle. Of his difficulty he was fully aware. "During the past fifty years there have been few original thoughts respecting Shakespeare's writings, and nine-tenths of them are obviously

[25] *Romania* XLVII, 157-158.

[26] Godefroy gives no example of such use, but it is far from rare in O. F. Cf., for example, *Miracles de Notre Dame,* ed. *Société das anciens textes,* 1878, vol. III, xx, line 10.

[27] Such misprints as occur are not likely to cause any difficulty to the reader. I note the following.—P. 11 *n., for* 299 *read* 298; p. 25 *n., for* 834 *read* 833; p. 29 line 984, *for* par *read* Par; p. 37, *for* 626 *read* 627; p. 57 Repaistre etc., *for* repahu *read* repaü. Perhaps I may add that the Scandinavian abbreviation "n:o" for "numéro," used by both Miss Mörner and M. Thorn, looks a little unnatural in a French context.

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wrong" (p. xviii). This remark, as well as others in the preface, may well serve as a warning for those erratic and untrained individuals who feel that they have solved some Shakespearean riddle. Baconians, incidentally, will get little comfort in the fact that the only reference to the "various heresies which have troubled not a few amateur students" (even the name 'Baconian' is not mentioned) is a note in the bibliography (p. 364).

It may be said at once that the selection of Professor Alden to write this volume was a happy one. Not only is he a trained scholar in the field of rigid historical criticism, but he knows its usefulness. In dealing with controversial material, likewise, he had already shown his fitness. His aesthetic insight and moral judgments, as we also know, were to be relied on. The result is the best general survey of Shakespeare that we have, a book that should find its way to the desk of all students of the dramatist. The volume reveals a completeness in scope, a sympathetic and keen analysis, and, above all, a sanity that has come to characterize not only Professor Alden's work but (as noted by a distinguished student of English literature who visited our shores recently) that of American scholars in general. Withal, the book is delightfully written, a study that affords at once a notable illustration of sound scholarship and literary charm.

The opening chapter of fifty pages on "The Age" is a model of compression. The reviewer knows no brief account that will serve so well to introduce beginners to that many-sided period. Professor Alden, in a necessary reminder, makes clear the fact that many mediæval ideas on such subjects as religion, politics, and literature, lived on into the Renaissance (pp. 20, 23, 33 ff.). Too much emphasis cannot be laid on this point. It may not be irrelevant to mention in this connection the valuable study by Professor Berdan on *Early Tudor Poetry* (1920); some pertinent remarks, including an exhaustive bibliography, by Professor Craig in the *Philological Quarterly* (pub. at the Univ. of Iowa) for April, 1922; and a sound article, probably not sufficiently well-known to teachers of English, on the "Middle Ages" in the *Ency. Brit.* Even Dr. Johnson observed that "the Reformation did not immediately arrive at its meridian."

Considerations of exigency doubtless prevented Professor Alden from discussing such matters as science in Shakespeare's day: the

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fact, for example, that the illustrious Harvey (who had studied at Padua, the medical center of the time), made known his discovery on the circulation of the blood in London shortly before Shakespeare's death. One misses some mention, also, of the effect that the introduction of gunpowder had on the civilization of that period. "Perhaps nothing," says Sir Walter Raleigh (*Shakespeare's England,* 1916, I, p. 12), "caused more disquiet to those who remembered the glories of old England than the introduction of newer and deadlier weapons." And Berdan (*op. cit.,* p. 2): "Probably not many ideas have more completely revolutionized human society [than the discovery of gunpowder]. It made for democracy, since the armed peasant became the equal of the mailed knight. Feudalism, based as it was upon the defensive power of armor, with its fundamental conception of innate superiority, was thus doomed." In the light of such facts, the many complaints and protests against the various abuses from men like Harrison, Greene, and Stubbes become significant. These writers, who give us the most intimate knowledge of Elizabethan England, voice an uneasiness that sounds strangely familiar to our modern ears. "Men looked back with regret to the England of their fathers and grandfathers. . . . Merry England was not the England of Elizabeth; it was the England which the men of that age cherished and celebrated in memory. The new world that they lived in bewildered them; the country had got loose from its moorings, and was drifting none knew whither" (Raleigh, *op. cit.,* p. 40). Reference in Shakespeare to "these scambling and unquiet times" and many other allusions of a like nature, take on a new meaning in the light of this disquietude over the new order. A minor slip in the chapter may be noted (p. 43). "The Curtain," as well as "The Theater," was built in 1576. Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels, may have had a greater influence on Shakespeare's dramatic evolution than might be supposed from Professor Alden's account (p. 43). For a discussion see a review of Alden's book in the *Saturday Review* (10 March, 1923, pp. 326 f.).

The second chapter discusses Shakespeare's life and works. Here fact is carefully sifted from fiction. The perplexing question of Shakespeare's marriage (pp. 59 f.) is treated sanely (cf. however, *Saturday Review, loc. cit.*); the discussion of the dramatist's education and reading in the adolescent period is likewise sound. Professor Alden is somewhat misleading, however, when he states:

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The poet's knowledge of Lily's Latin Grammar is "echoed in the schoolboy scene of *The Merry Wives,* and reminiscences of the authors on the conventional program of readings, Ovid above all, are found in many another poem and play." Echoes of Lily occur also in several other plays (cf. H. R. D. Anders, *Shakespeare's Books,* Berlin, 1904, pp. 15 f.; *Shakespeare's England, op. cit.,* pp. 230 ff.). In discussing the vexed question of the coat-of-arms (p. 73) Professor Alden could have referred to the humorous speeches of the clown and his father in *The Winter's Tale* (V, ii, 137 ff.), remarks on being "a gentleman born" that tease one's curiosity. On the point "whether William Shakespeare or his father was the more interested in the matter (i. e., in procuring arms), it is impossible to say," a reference may be made to a statement in the chapter on "Heraldry" in *S.'s England, op. cit.,* II, p. 85): "Arms inherited from a father were, according to the heraldry books, worthier than those a man might obtain for himself." For "adjourning" (p. 59) probably "adjoining" was meant. "Hammet" (p. 60) should be "Hamnet." The name of the actor-friend, Heming[e], is generally spelt without the final 's' (pp. 85, etc.). Eminently sane are the remarks (p. 60) respecting the married life of the poet. On p. 86 is one of the many brilliant attacks in the book on "those moderns who construct Shakespeare's biography by divination." The mischievous habit of treating the dramatist's "periods in terms of personality" is also ably discussed (pp. 102 f.). Particularly suggestive are the remarks on the conditions under which the poet may have penned tragic scenes. "He is quite as likely to have passed upstairs from a merry bout of words with Mistress Mountjoy, his landlady's daughter, to work out the agonies of Othello's temptation, as to the writing of a pastoral or a clownish scene" (p. 103).

Obviously within the limits prescribed by a review it is impossible to speak of this book in detail. The third chapter on "The Poems" is discussed with imaginative insight and the sanity found in the author's well-known work on the *Sonnets.* The general reader will welcome the treatment of the Conceit, a summary of the author's investigation of that subject to which reference is made in the bibliography. He rightly emphasizes the "supreme poetic craftsmanship . . . which links these poems with the Shakespeare of the plays." Illuminating is the remark: "Whole areas of life lay behind the writing of the line

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With what I most enjoy contented least."

The next chapter on "The Chronicle Histories" presents a good survey of the evolution of the historical plays. Professor Alden is excellent on both parts of *Henry IV*. The reader will welcome the discussion on the inconsistencies in the character of Henry V. Some persons may object, however, to the adjective in the praise bestowed upon the famous scene in the play—"the cleverest scene that Shakespeare ever wrote."

The chapter entitled "The Comedies" again reveals Professor Alden's well-poised judgments. Here again but one or two points can be noted. The aesthetic and moral problems in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice* receive able consideration. The remarks on the dramatist's purpose in dropping Sly Professor Alden might wish to qualify in the light of a recent investigation. See *Mod. Lang. Notes,* xxxvi (June, 1921), pp. 321 ff. Eminently satisfactory is the discussion on *The Merry Wives.* The treatment of the three greatest comedies is brilliant. He rightly points out (p. 225) that the last act of *As You Like It* is disappointing. His reason for this is convincing: it is "to be enjoyed as one enjoys a comic opera, to which a great part of its technique is very similar."

Professor Alden's problem in dealing with the tragedies (chapter vii) was the most difficult; for that very reason, also, it may be considered the best chapter in the book. The great interest shown in Shakespeare's tragedies in recent years is attested by the author's bibliography. He refuses to commit himself on the authorship of *Titus Andronicus.* Readers will welcome the able and intensely interesting discussion on *Romeo and Juliet.* The many perplexing problems in *Hamlet* Professor Alden meets with common sense, good judgment, and keen analysis. "When the details of this great tragedy are scrutinized with frankness and at leisure, it is seen to be a very imperfect composition; greatness and perfection, littleness and imperfection, are by no means necessarily wedded" (p. 256). "For the spectator as spectator, *Hamlet* is a satisfying play, and the brilliant action conceals its own defects" (p. 257). One welcomes also, in the face of recent scepticism, the sound view on *Othello* (p. 264). The "three dramatic creations [in this play are] unsurpassed in vitality and tragic power by anything in the literature of the world. The plausibility

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of the play . . . is as usual due in good part to Shakespeare's swift and sure-footed technique; but it is still more a matter of characterization." Likewise: the "two tragedies (*Othello* and *Lear*) . . . are the most painful that Shakespeare ever wrote, as they are among the most poignant representations of pain in all literature." To the discussion of Cleopatra may be added some penetrating remarks by Professor Karl Young in his review of Schücking, *Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare*, 1919, in the *Philol. Quarterly* for July, 1922, pp. 233 f. In considering *Troilus and Cressida,* in the chapter entitled "Tragi-Comedies," the author was guided by valuable contributions recently made on the subject; incidentally, what is said of this play should set to rest the views of those theorists who find the drama an autobiographical document. His treatment of *Cymbeline* and *All's Well*, on the other hand, should be supplemented by Professor W. W. Lawrence's two convincing papers which have recently appeared in print (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.,* XXXV, pp. 391 ff.; *ibid.,* XXXVII, pp. 418 ff.). Professor Alden apparently accepts Law's conclusion, namely, that *The Tempest* was produced at court in the autumn of 1611.

The final chapter, "Shakespeare," is an excellent summary. It is conceivable—the author, following Sir W. Raleigh and others, states it as a fact—that Shakespeare shared the renaissance dislike for pedants; if so, the poet for once must bow to Chaucer. The reviewer does not believe, as does Alden who follows Bradley, that the dramatist disliked dogs. Contemptuous references to dogs are likewise a by-product of the Italian renaissance, and such allusions are common in the writings of Elizabethan dramatists. Even the revised version of the Bible is not exempt. Indeed, scornful allusions to dogs are found in the works of another gentle person, J. G. Whittier. As a matter of fact, as noted by Professor Manly (*A Memorial Volume to S. and Harvey*, University of Texas, 1916, p. 13), the poet's fondness for dogs is "strikingly displayed in *Venus and Adonis,* and in no less than seventeen plays." The chapter concludes with an excellent discussion of Shakespeare's limitations and greatness. Dante, "despite the greatness of both his soul and his art, is much farther from us than his distance in time alone would make necessary; and Goethe is already more distant than Shakespeare." Though the latter "lacked, on the one hand, a taste or a conscience for perfection of form, and on the

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other, a deeply philosophic or spiritually interpretative mind, . . . [yet] we know that, notwithstanding these limitations, his works have proved to have larger elements of lasting vitality than any others in human speech outside the Holy Scriptures."

To the valuable bibliography, intended for the general reader though useful to the specialist also, a few items may be added. No reference was made to Schmidt's *Lexicon,* the third edition of which ,revised and enlarged by Sarrazin (1902), is not sufficiently well-known. Schücking's work (*op. cit.*) is now accessible in a translation (Holt, 1922). Some readers might desire a definite reference to Dr. Henry Bradley's article on "Shakespeare's English" in *S.'s England* (*op. cit.*). Indeed, that entire study (included in Professor Alden's bibliography) is indispensable to any student of the dramatist. On the tragedies of S. see K. Young, "The Shakespeare Skeptics," in *The N. American Review,* March, 1922. A valuable discussion of fairies by F. Sidgwick is to be found in *The Sources and Analogues of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream,'* N. Y., 1908 (in the "S. Classics," ed. Gollancz). On S. the man see Manly (*op. cit.*); Bagehot's well-known essay; T. Brooke, "Shakespeare Apart" in the *Yale Review* (1921); A. C. Bradley, in *Oxford Lectures on English Poetry,* London, 1909. The article on "The Love Story in 'Troilus and Cressida'" by W. W. Lawrence in *Shaksperian Studies,* Columbia Univ. Press, 1916 may also be noted.

This review may appropriately close by re-emphasizing the value of the book from every point of view: completeness in plan, sound critical judgments, a keen and appreciative analysis, and a style that commands attention.

Ernest P. Kuhl.

Goucher College.

Madame de La Fayette. Sa Vie et ses Oeuvres. Par H. Ashton. Cambridge University Press, 1922. 8vo., viii + 292 pages.

"Il ne donne aucun document à l'appui de ses dires—ce qui leur enlève toute valeur." Mr. A. thus dismisses Paul Lacroix's attempt to date the beginning of the friendship between Mme de La F. and La Rochefoucauld. No such damnation can be pronounced on Mr. A.'s work. The wealth of documents for the biography

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may discourage the general reader: *Fayettistes* will admire the author's diligence and his good judgment in interpreting evidence. He is thoroughly familiar with the work of his predecessors; he has used their findings judiciously, always subjecting them to a strict control. He has made a notable contribution to our knowledge of the details of Mme de La F.'s life and he has reconstructed admirably her social and literary milieu.

Mr. A. argues from documents that Mme de La F. spent the greater part of her life before her marriage at Paris. He corrects some persistent errors in regard to her father, whose death he is able to place in Dec., 1649. He defends her mother against the accusation of indiscretion in the choice of her daughter's friends and renders very improbable the oft-repeated anecdote of an intrigue in which Retz figures. Study with Ménage may have aided the development of her "divine raison" the social atmosphere saved her from becoming a blue stocking. Mr. A. thinks he discovers a strain of preciosity in certain of her letters to Huet. (Cf. pp. 107, 215). I suggest that he has misunderstood her. She is using playfully a bit of the *précieux* language. Mr. A. has forgotten a letter of Bussy (cf. p. 35, n. 3): "On a vu une lettre d'elle qu'elle a donnée au public pour se moquer de ce qu'on appelle les mots à la mode et dont l'usage ne vaut rien. . . ." An examination of the two letters to Huet and the comparison with others of Mme de La Fayette will, I think, confirm my judgment. Traces of preciosity must be sought elsewhere in her work.

She married at 21, a late age for the time, and accompanied her husband to his provincial château. Soon after, her health deteriorated. She made frequent trips to Paris, where she definitely settled about 1660. From that time her husband sinks into comparative insignificance in her life, altho Mr. A. is able to cite a few references to him. Mr. A. proposes as a possible explanation of the separation the law-suits and the ill-health of Mme de La F., which necessitated her presence at the capital. He is at pains to show that she directed business affairs and took entire responsibility for the advancement of her sons. As to her relations with La Rochefoucauld, Mr. A. inclines to the belief that their acquaintance began about the time of her marriage (1655). He dates the first mention of him in her letters Sept., 1656. Mr. A. accepts Sainte-Beuve's opinion that their intimacy dates from

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about 1665 and that their relations were platonic. "Nous croyons fermement que si elle a pu se l'attacher comme aucune autre femme n'avait pu le faire avant elle, *c'est précisement parce qu'elle ne se donna pas.*" (p. 100).[1] Yet he remembers too well the famous mot, "Comment faites-vous, mon ami, pour être si sûr de ces choses-là?" to be dogmatic.

The modesty of Mr. A.'s preface, which, disavowing the title, declares that he has no pretension to treat *la vie et les œuvres,* is difficult to understand. Unless new documents are discovered, the biography can hardly be more complete; the works receive adequate treatment. There is a short analysis of each book, studied in itself and in its relations to the fiction of the time. Mr. A. shows that none of Mme de La F.'s novels marks an entirely new departure in literature. There were psychological *nouvelles* before *La Princesse de Montpensier* and psychological novels before *La Princesse de Clèves.* The latter however is distinguished as being "le premier où l'intérêt psychologique est plus important que les intrigues et les aventures." Mme de La F. did masterfully what others were attempting. *Zaïde* is a logical outgrowth of Mlle de Scudéry's novels. Mr. A. sees in it some echoes of the actual surroundings of the author. Segrais remarks that Alfonse's jealousy —a favorite motif with Mme de La F.—"est dépeinte sur le vrai, mais moins outrée qu'elle ne l'était en effet." The battle of Almaras in *Zaïde* resembles strikingly Bossuet's description of the battle of Rocroi. Possibly, suggests Mr. A., there is a common source for both.

Mr. A. renounces detailed study of the historical sources of *La Princesse de Clèves* by courtesy to two of his colleagues who were working on the subject when he completed his book in 1913.[2] He summarizes briefly: "Mémoires historiques, vieux romans, expériences personnelles."[3] He has changed his position in regard to

[1] D'Haussonville (pp. 183-184) suggests that a passage from *Zaïde,* of which he attributes the first form to La R., may be significant: "Seroit-il possible que le seul moyen de m'attacher fût de ne m'aimer pas? Ah! Zaïde, ne me mettrez-vous jamais en état de connoître que ce ne sont pas vos rigueurs qui m'attachent à vous?"

[2] See MM. Chamard et Rudler: "La documentation sur le XVIe siècle chez un romancier du XVIIe siècle." *R. S. S.*, II, 92 ff., 289 ff., V, 1 ff.

[3] Among the "vieux romans" he includes some of the Arthurian cycle. Miss E. D. Woodbridge calls my attention to an interesting episode in the

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the significance and time of composition of *La Comtesse de Tende.*[4] He now seems to accept the traditional view that the last tale was meant as an answer to critics of the *aveu* in *La Princesse de Clèves.* He also proposes with all reserves an ingenious hypothesis: "En écrivant *La Comtesse de Tende* . . . Mme de La F. n'a fait que livrer au public la véritable source de l'aveu de la *Princesse de Clèves.*" Clarisse Strozzi married Honoré, comte de Sommerive et de Tende, in 1558. She died five years later. Nothing is now known of her married life to confirm or destroy the hypothesis that the *nouvelle* relates an actual occurrence.[5]

Mr. A. quotes largely from the letters of Mme de La F. He finds that she easily holds second place among "les épistolaires du XVIIe siècle et on trouverait peut-être des gens d'un goût éclairé qui lui accorderaient la première." Many will doubtless think the last statement too sharp a reaction from the tradition that she wrote few letters. Mr. A. quotes two of her letters to Ménage which show that she intended to publish a part of her correspondence.

The book contains excellent bibliographies (through 1912) and an index of names.

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE.

Reed College.

Le Grand Meaulnes. By Alain-Fournier, edited by Hélène Harvitt, Ph. D. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922. 326 pp.

Le Grand Meaulnes. By Alain-Fournier, Part I, edited by J. G. Anderson, B. A. Manchester, England, Longmans, Green & Co., 1920. 75 pp. $1.10.

Alain-Fournier's novel has the advantage of serving a two-fold purpose, it is delightfully readable and may be used to advantage as a text-book in advanced classes of French. It is a novel of

Huth *Merlin* where Igraine warns her husband, the Duke of Tintagil, of the solicitations of Uter. (See Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, ch. I). Mr. R. S. Loomis recalls Dorigene's confession to Arveragues in the *Franklin's Tale*, supposedly derived from a lost Breton lai.

[4] Cf. *M. L. N.*, 1919, p. 139 and p. 171 of his book.

[5] For other recent conjectures, see *M. L. N.*, 1918, pp. 79 ff.; Mlle V. Poizat, *La Véritable Princesse de Clèves*, Paris, 1920, and cf. H. Bordeaux, "Les Amants d'Annecy," *R. des D. M.*, 15 déc. 1920 and 1 jan. 1921.

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adolescence, pervaded by a spirit of youthful unrest, or wistful, sensitive yearning, and because of this modern, Verlainian melancholy, it is better suited to older students. Another reason for recommending *Le Grand Meaulnes* for advanced classes is that the story moves too slowly to be appreciated in the elementary two and three page apportionments. The actual grip of the plot begins to tighten near the fiftieth page. It is a decidedly modern book, bringing with it the language, the fervor, and the spirit of the new French novel. It is to be hoped that *Le Grand Meaulnes* will go far towards introducing more of this excellent contemporary literature into our American editions.

Dr. Harvitt has presented a scholarly preparation of Alain-Fournier's work, in its entirety. She has secured a preface from the pen of Jacques Rivière, whose general capabilities as editor of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* are in this case supplemented by an intimate acquaintance with *Le Grand Meaulnes,* due to his relationship with the author. The notes seem adequate and instructive in spite of their briefness. The vocabulary is comprehensive and well prepared. Among its especially good features are the concise bits of information given in connection with authors, books, school systems, etc., and the extensive supply of synonyms to suit the different shades of meaning of the same word. The edition does not present the usual drill in the way of appended exercises and questions. This does not seem a fault however. The teacher entrusted with classes advanced enough to read *Le Grand Meaulnes* will be well able to furnish his own drill, suited to the individual needs of his students; and the reader who takes the book as a supplementary assignment, or, better still, without any classroom obligation, will find evident enjoyment in a volume that does not smack of "home-work."

This excellent edition, however, might still be improved. Inasmuch as the notes are indicated by page and line number, it would be a decided advantage to number the lines in the text. For the further convenience of the reader, an asterisk might be used in the text to show the existence of a corresponding note. A note might well have been devoted to an explanation of the adverbial use of *force* (p. 11, line 9). The grammatical structure of the definition of *cornette* (p. 283) wants mending! These are points of not sufficient importance, however, to detract from the many admirable features of this carefully prepared text.

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It seems unfortunate that the English edition, prepared by J. G. Anderson, presents but the first of the three parts of *Le Grand Meaulnes,* an episode, which, when read in its proper connection with the two subsequent parts, serves its greatest use as exposition to the story as a whole. The plot of the two sections not included in the edition is appended as a two-page synopsis, in English. The notes seem helpful. It would seem wiser to add a vocabulary, planned definitely to supply the meanings of the many new words (some difficult and technical) which the text presents, than to depend upon a general, and not always accessible, dictionary. The index is perplexing. One discovers that it is devoted to the names of authors, novel-types, etc., mentioned in the introduction, and to certain chosen words and constructions covered in the notes.

The most praiseworthy feature of this edition is its introduction. The first of the three sections into which it falls presents an excellent biographical sketch of Alain-Fournier. (Throughout, Mr. Anderson has written Alain-Fournier as two words, and not as one hyphenated name, as, we understand, the author wished his *nom de plume* to appear.) There is, secondly, a penetrating analysis of the new French spirit, with its accompanying radical changes in the world of letters. The third section furnishes a well presented account of the twentieth-century French novel, giving its antecedents, its characteristics, and classifying this all-encompassing literary manifestation into smaller groups of very definite traits, such as the historical novel, the regional, the social, etc. In each case the chief representatives of the individual movements are mentioned along with their most characteristic works. Only the last paragraph devotes itself to an analysis of *Le Grand Meaulnes,* establishing the connection between the introduction in general and the work at hand.

Rose Heylbut Wollstein.

Columbia University.

CORRESPONDENCE

Before Rask and Grimm

Here is a *datum* which will be of interest to the future writer of the history of comparative philology. It is quoted from an anonymous pamphleteer of the year 1724,—ninety-eight years, that is, before Grimm announced his law of consonantal variation.

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"A COLLECTION OF SOME ENGLISH WORDS, WITH THE ORIGINALS FROM WHICH THEY ARE DERIVED.

"As one of the chief pleshures which the Curious find in Grammatical Learning, is the seeing the Agreement of our own Language with ancient Times and Things; I have here added a Collection of some of our more remarkable Derivations from the Greek, Latin, and French: And that the Reader may observe them with the more Judgment, and apply the Examples of them with more Ease to other Words which are not here put down, it may be first observed, That those Letters are oftenest put for one another, which are sounded by the same Motion of the Mouth, and therefore are known by the Names of Labials, Dentals, Palatines, or Guttural, according as they are form'd by the Lips, Teeth, Palate, or Throte.

"The Labials so chang'd are *b, p, ph, f, v,* and *w.* As; *Pater father, βυρσα purse, Vine Wine, Vidua Widow, Gulielmus William.*

"The Dentals are, *d, t, th, g, gh, j.* As, *Duo two, Tres three, Traho to draw,* Θηρ *Deere, acris eager.*

"The Palatines are, *n, kn, gn, c, ch, cl, s, sh, x;* as, *nosco* γνοσκω *to know, Nodus knot, Colonus Clown, stridulus shrill, Scapha Skiff, Example Sample, Camera Chamber.*

"The Guttural *h* is the same with the Greek Aspiration, and is rightly by us made a letter, and added both to the Beginning, Middle, and End of Words. As, *Hall aula, hard arduus, thou tu, charm carmen, short curtus, Mother Mater;* and to the last Syllable of the Third Person singular of all Verbs; as, *Habet haveth* or *hath, jungit joineth, trahit draweth, mandat commandeth.*

"As our Ancestors delighted in Monosyllables, so also do we, and reduce Words to them by Contractions, or leaving out either the Beginning, Middle, or End of Words, and sometimes we only keep the chief Consonants with other Vowels. As, *Cantherus a Cann, Hospital Spital, Corona Crown, Debitum Debt, Clericus Clerk, subitaneous soon, Eleemosynas Almes, securus sure, rotundus round. Tegula a Tyle, Regula a Rule,* &c.

"I have here added an Alphabetical Table of more Instances, because the remembring them, and observing others, will both help our Youth and Travelers in learning Latin and French, and help Strangers in an easy learning of ours. Great Numbers more might be added to them."

The quotation occupies two pages (87-88) of the pamphlet.

Then follows "A Collection of English Words taken from other Languages," a list of words covering eight pages (89-96), with this concluding note:

"By the Knowledge of these the Eye of the Reader will be instructed and pleased as well as the Ear of the Hearer: And as many radical Letters although quiescent, yet are kept in Words, that they may teach the Eye this way, and lead him to the easier Understand-

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ing of other Languages, by seeing their Agreement with one another, I have here put down these together. They are but a few in Comparison of what will be found in the Dictionary when it shall come out; but being placed together, they will give the Eye a better Judgment of the Rules that they are made by, than as they lie dispersed and scattered. FINIS."

The pamphlet has for its title:

The Many Advantages Of a Good Language To Any Nation: With An Examination of the present State of our own: As also, An Essay towards correcting some Things that are wrong in it. London: Printed for J. Knapton [and others]. *MDCCXXIV.*

The author does not place his name to his work at any place, and I have not yet succeeded in discovering his identity. He belongs to a group,—Swift, Welsted, Thomas ("Hesiod") Cooke, and others,—interested in "improving" and "fixing" the language. His whole pamphlet is highly interesting, and at another time I hope to write more fully upon his ideas.

His note on consonant equivalence, or shift, has a timely interest in that we have just observed—even if we have not celebrated—the centenary of Grimm's Law. The extent to which he does not perceive the importance of chronology and his caution in pointing out consonantal substitution without setting up a "law" of sound-shift are readily noticeable.

R. H. GRIFFITH.

The University of Texas.

AN ANOMALOUS ELIZABETHAN RELATIVE FORM

A curious mannerism which I have not observed elsewhere occurs repeatedly in Peter Whitehorne's translation (printed 1560) of *The Arte of Warre* by Machiavelli. It consists in the use of the form *whom*, instead of *who*, as the subject of a verb. I quote from the Tudor Translations edition the following illustrations from the first book of the treatise, adding the corresponding Italian text from the edition of 1550:

P. 33. 'as those, *whom* beleve, that tymes, and not the naughtie maners, constraine men to live thus.' ('come quelli che credono che i tempi, & non i cattiui modi cōstringono gli huomini a viuere cosi.')

P. 34. 'good he shall never bee judged, *whom* maketh an excersise thereof.' ('Perche buono non sarà mai giudicato colui che faccia vno essercitio . . . ')

P. 41. 'like unto those of the auncient Romaines, *whom* created their chivalry of their own subjectes.' ('simile a quelle de gli antichi, i quali creauano la caualleria di sudditi loro.')

P. 52. 'thei appoincted sixe for every Legion, *whom* did the same office, whiche those doe now a daies, that we call Conestables.'

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('ne proponeuano sei per ciascuna legione, iquali faceuano quello vffitio che fanno hoggi quelli che noi chiamiamo Cōnestabili.')

P. 57. 'some of those firste Emperours, and of those after, *whom* helde the Empire with reputation.' ('alcuni di quelli primi Imperadori, & di quelli poi iquali tennono l'Imperio con riputatione.')

This peculiarity recurs throughout the entire seven books of the work; *e. g.*,

P. 67 (Book II). 'the Dutch man cannot strike thenemie with the Pike, *whom* is upon him, for the length of the staffe.' ('il Tedesco non puo dare con la picca al nimico che gli é presso, per la lunghezza dell' hasta.')

P. 213 (Book VII). 'to yong and lustie men, *whom* being armed, must be destributed for the defence.' ('a' giouani e gagliardi; iquali armati si distribuiscano alla difesa.')

P. 221. (Book VII). 'wherefore many, *whom* have been besieged.' ('onde che molti che sono stati assediati.'

It is evident that this anomalous *whom* occurs far too regularly to be accounted a simple misprint, and that it is not based upon any peculiarity of the Italian text. The correct *who* form occurs (so far as I have observed) about as often in the text of the translation as the irregular *whom*. Examples of the former in the first book are: 'how muche are to be feared those, *who* will not learn' ('quanto sia da temere quelli che non vogliono sapere'); 'for that they be men, *who* make thereof an arte' ('perche sono huomini che ne fanno arte'); 'Thei alledge the Romaines, *who* by meane of their owne powers, loste their libertie' ('Allegano i Romani, quali mediante queste arme proprie perderono la libertà.'); 'he resorteth by and by to his captain to make complaint, *who* for to maintain his reputacion, comforteth him to revengement' ('ricorre al suo capo di parte, ilquale per mantenersi la riputatione lo conforta alla vendetta'); 'whiche permutations howe profitable they be to those *who* have used theim' ('Lequali permute quanto sieno vtili a quelli che l'hanno vsate').

It should be remarked that Whitehorne does not much use either *who* or *whom* as the subject relative. I believe I have quoted all the examples of either in his first book. He is fonder of employing forms like *that, which, the which, as*. Perhaps it is worth adding that the subject *whom* does not appear at all (though *who* does) in Whitehorne's long dedicatory epistle to Queen Elizabeth or in his translation of Machiavelli's Preface.

Perhaps some reader of *Modern Language Notes* may have observed elsewhere in Elizabethan literature instances of the abnormality here discussed. The only explanation which I am able to hazard is that some peculiarity of Whitehorne's manuscript led the printer to read 'who' as 'whō' which he set up as 'whom'; but such a misapprehension would be expected to show itself in the printing of other words.

TUCKER BROOKE.

Yale University.

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Shakespeare's "Broom-groves"

What Shakespeare doubtless had in mind, when using the more euphonious term of 'Broom,' was its near cousin or brother, the common Gorse, which differs little, except in prickles and a much hardier nature. It flourishes all over Warwickshire, and England, wherever it can get foothold, and soon spreads, unless checked. Nature abhors a vacuum, we know, and this is nature's way of adorning waste and wild places with pretty gold and green. It is known here indifferently as furze, gorse, whin, and prickly broom. Warwickshire rustics usually refer to it as 'fuzz' or 'goss.' Our poet himself once drops into this local dialect. In the same play, *The Tempest,* your contributor will find (I, i, 70)

> Long heath, brown furze, any thing

and again (IV, i, 180)

> Through tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns.

In the chalky counties of Berks, Dorset, and Wilts, great irregular patches of gorse flourish, usually from four to six feet high, forming excellent cover for rabbit colonies, and I have often laid down in the cool shade and acceptable odour of such 'groves' when out with a gun on hot days. There the turf seems to grow greener and finer also.

William Taggard, *Capt.*

Stratford-on-Avon.

Anywhich, Anywhy, and Similar Words

The use of *anywhere* and *anyhow* suggests various words which might be in the language, but apparently are not—such as *anywho, anywhich,* or *anywhy.* For these non-existent words, we have to use circumlocutions, such as *anybody who, anything which,* or *for any reason.* It is common to find other locutions used in place of words which—while not, perhaps, current—are at least in the language. Careful speakers make a distinction between *where* and *whither;* but they are likely to say *nowhere*—as in the phrase "nowhere to go"—for both *nowhere* (correctly used) and *nowhither.* "Whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge" indicates the distinction between the two words which has, apparently, disappeared in the negative. Yet *nowhither* is found in writers as widely separated as Jeremy Taylor [1] and Thomas Carlyle.[2]

[1] " . . . and you can go no whither, but you tread upon a dead man's bones." Taylor: *On Death.*

[2] " . . . so that he was obliged to march, and did march with a vengeance—nowhither." Carlyle: *Characteristics.*

Neither of these instances of the word is recorded in the *NED.*, which notes examples from 888 to 1890, including 2 *Kings*, v: 25: "And he said, Thy servant went no whither." A marginal note to this word remarks: "Heb. *not hither or thither.*"

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Anywhere suggests *anywhen,* which the *NED.* notes as "rare in literature," though "common in southern dialects."[3] Meredith employs the form *somewhen* in *The Egoist:* "Somewhen, before the dinner bell."[4] *Somewhere else,* a locution for the simpler *otherwhere,* has replaced the latter in ordinary speech—but the word used to be common.[5]

Anyone who will probably not give way to the shorter *anywho,* nor is there much likelihood of such forms as *anywhy* or *anywhich* making their entrance into the language. *Anywhat,* now obsolete, may, however, be found in the *NED.* The colloquial *nohow*[6] and the unusual *nowhither* have a companion in the rare *nowhen,* which is cited in the *NED.* with illustrations from 1767 to 1884. *Somewhere, somehow,* and *somewhat* suggest *somewhen; somewhy,* which we have noted,[7] is no more likely a form than *nowhy* ("for no reason"); but the latter does not seem to exist.[8] "At any time" blinds us to the need of *anywhen: anywhere* is so much simpler than "in any place," that one may wonder that the parallel forms—equally simple and convenient—have not made their way in our hospitable tongue.

ROBERT WITHINGTON.

Smith College.

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[3] Carlyle is cited as the chief user of the word. *Anywhat*—now obsolete —is also in the *NED.*, as are *anywhence* and *anywhither*: the former is cited from Overbury and the latter from Defoe, as well as the Authorized Version (1 *Kings*, ii: 36).

[4] Chapter XIX. This word is noted by the *NED.* (which does not, by the way, record this passage) as "common in recent use." Examples from 1297 to 1876 are given, including its use in *Water Babies* (1863). *Somewhence* ("adv. rare") is also given, with examples from 1564 to 1905. *Somewhile* ("now rare") furnishes examples from 1154 to 1888; *somewhither*, from 1398 to 1905, and *somewhy* ("rare") is cited from Browning, *Dramatis Personæ*, [*Mr. Sludge*, "*The Medium*,"] ". . . whereby you learn What some one was, somewhere, somewhen, somewhy?"

[5] The *NED.* notes various examples from Wyatt, Milton, Barrow, Hawthorne, Keats, etc. It does not include "The King has sent me otherwhere," *Henry VIII*, II, ii, 60; "But my thought was other where," Hood, *The Dream of Eugene Aram* (stanza xxxi). The word was "common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rare or obsolete in the eighteenth, and revived in the nineteenth" (*NED.*). *Otherwhence* furnishes examples from 1575-85 to 1883; *otherwhile* ("now rare or dial.") from 1175 to 1875; *otherwhat* ("obs.") from 1225 to 1305; and *othersome* ("arch. dial.") from 1250 to 1875. *Some other where* (meaning "some other place") is cited from c. 1300 to 1889.

[6] Cf. *Alice Through the Looking-Glass*, ch. IV.

[7] See above, note 4.

[8] *Nowhat* (sb. *nothing;* obs. rare; adv. *not at all, not in the least*) was used by Fuller in 1651, and by Trollope (1867)—*NED.* Cf. *ibid.*, for *nowhen* ("rare"); *nowhence; nowhile* ("obs. rare"); as well as *nowhither.*

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The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt

In the introduction to my edition of *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt,* October 1922, I wrote that the manuscript B. M. Add. 18,653 was purchased from the Earl of Denbigh in 1851, but that nothing is known about its earlier history (chapter on edition and manuscript, page xii). Since then Dr. Carleton Brown drew my attention to the catalogue compiled by Edward Bernard: *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hibernae in unum collecti, cum indice alphabetico.* Oxoniae, E Theatro Sheldoniano. An. Dom. MDCXCVII.

Edward Bernard, Professor of astronomy at Oxford, was from 1692 engaged in supervising the preparation of this catalogue, and drew up a comprehensive index to its contents. He died in 1696, a year before the publication; the two volumes were printed in 1697.

The second volume contains a catalogue of the Denbigh manuscripts, page 35: *Librorum manuscriptorum honoratissimi Domini Basilii Comitis Denbigh catalogus, continens codices & rotulos* LXXXIX. In this catalogue we find number 45: A Tragedy made by Sir *John Van Olden Barnavelt.* Fol. There is no date, the number 45 corresponds to *No. 45* written in different ink in the right-hand corner of the first folio of the manuscript. It is interesting to note that already before 1697 the manuscript was in the possession of the Denbigh family; Basil, who was born in 1668, became fourth Earl of Denbigh in 1685.

Bryn Mawr College. W. Frijlinck.

A Note on John Fletcher

In your April issue (XXXVIII, 252), Professor A. R. Benham in his "Notes on Plays" says:

"John Fletcher in *Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed* tried to write a companion piece to *The Taming of the Shrew.* . . . Perhaps Fletcher started his study of the latter play very early, for in *The Wild Goose Chase* . . . Mirabel exclaims 'Have at thee, Kate,' which is suggestive of a remark made by Petruchio to Katherine in her contest with the Widow."

That *The Woman's Prize* was a counterblast to Shakespeare's play has long been accepted. That the quoted expression is an echo of Shakespeare, especially in view of the relations of the plays, is quite probable. It should be listed then among Shakespeare Allusions, where I do not find it.[1] But the implication that *The Wild Goose Chase* is an early play calls for substantiation. Our earliest record of the play is of a performance at court during the Christ-

[1] I do not find it in the *Shakspere Allusion Book* nor in Munro's "More Shakspere Allusions," *Modern Philology,* XIII, 497 ff.

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mas season 1621-2.[2] So far as I can find, this record has always been interpreted as meaning that the play was first produced in or about 1621.[3] If Professor Benham has other evidence or authority for his implied dating, it should be given.[4]

Reed College. T. W. BALDWIN.

SOME OLD WORDS

(1) *Worm fence*

An earlier example of *worm fence* than hitherto recorded is found in Charles Brocden Brown's *Edgar Huntly,* chap. xix, first paragraph: "The spots of cultivation, the *well-pole,* the *worm fence,* and the hayrick were nowhere to be seen." This example is of 1801, as compared with the earliest hitherto reported, that of R. H. Thornton's *American Glossary,* from M. Berkbeck's *Journey in America,* 1817.

(2) *To touch straw*

The expression *touch . . . straw* of *Astrophel and Stella* IX, 14, seems not to have been explained, or the idiom recorded. Sidney is speaking of the power of Stella's eyes, and the figure is that of striking fire and its effect in tow, 'coarse part of flax,' for which in rime Sidney has used *straw.* For this passage, and perhaps some others, *touch* should have the meaning 'kindle, inflame,' derived from touch 'strike' through 'strike fire.' Such meaning is clearly implied in the compounds *touch-box, touch-hole, touch-pan, touch-paper, touch-powder,* and in spite of Skeat's etymology, now corrected in the *NED., touch-wood.* The *NED.* recognizes the meaning 'kindle' only under *touch* in composition (touch-1. c), the compound *touch-powder,* and in the phrase *touch off.* Yet Cotgrave gives 'strike, hit' as one meaning of OF. *toucher.*

(3) *Tom-ax*

It is not clear how seriously Mr. Withington intended his explanation of *tomax* in the June (1922) number of the *Notes.* The word is scarcely a conscious telescoping of two others, as in the "portmanteau" variety of Lewis Carroll. It is rather a folk-etymology, or unconscious influence of meaning upon form, doubtless due to the earlier pronunciation of *tomahawk* as *tomahack,* of which *tom'hack* would be a natural abbreviation if not an original

[2] Adams, J. Q., *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert,* p. 49.

[3] See for instance, Dyce, *Beaumont and Fletcher,* VIII, 103; Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle,* I, 216; Thorndike, *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespere,* p. 93; Macaulay in *Cambridge History of English Literature,* VI, 157; Gayley, *Representative English Comedies,* III, lxxii.

[4] In an article on "The Chronology of the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays," which I hope soon to publish, I shall attempt to show that *The Tamer Tamed* is itself one of Fletcher's earliest plays.

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form. Compare *tomhog* of Church's *Philip's War* (1716), as first quoted by Bartlett in *Dict. of Americanisms* (see also *Dial. Notes* IV, 385). The plural *tom'hacks* perhaps furnished an intervening step, and it may be noted that Capt. John Smith in his *Description of Virginia* has the entry "tomahacks, axes." The *Century Dict.*, which first noticed the word *tom-ax*, calls it "an accom.[modated] form of tomahawk (formerly pronounced tomahack, etc.)," and the *NED.* in its later entry "a modified form of tomahawk."

The quotations in the last mentioned dictionaries show the word is older than Mr. Withington's example, Johnson having twice used it in *Idler* No. 40, Jan. 20, 1759. Yet these quotations require some further explanation of Johnson's use of so rare a word, for he does not even give *tomahawk* in his *Dictionary*. The *Idler* shows Johnson was inveighing against the exaggeration of advertisers—how true to form the breed still runs—and was quoting a London advertisement of the time. It reads:

A famous Mohawk Indian warrior, who took Dieskaw[1] the French General prisoner, dressed in the same manner with the native Indians when they go to war, with his face and body painted, with his scalping-knife, tom-axe, and all other implements of war! a sight worthy the curiosity of every true Briton.

Johnson's comment upon this advertisement is in part:

An Indian, dressed as he goes to war, may bring company together; but if he carries the scalping-knife and tom-axe, there are many true Britons that will never be persuaded to see him but through a grate.

The *Cent. Dict.* uses this comment as its quotation, the *NED.* part of the original advertisement. Neither indicates that the word is probably an Americanism, which migrated to England with the Indian who was being exhibited.

Other examples of *tomax* have recently been furnished me by Professor F. E. Farley of Wesleyan, two probably antedating that of Johnson, one a later use in America. In the first number of *Miscellaneous Correspondence* (London, January 1759), the frontispiece is a full-page picture of the Mohawk warrior to whom Johnson referred in his *Idler*, with the legend, "The Mohawk Warrior with his Tomax, Scalping-Knife &c." On the opposite page the picture is explained as follows:

[1] Dieskaw, of Johnson's curious spelling, was Baron Ludwig August Dieskau, a Prussian general in French service, who had come to America as commander-in-chief of the French forces when the Marquis de Vaudreuil succeeded Duquesne as Governor of New France in the spring of 1755. With somewhat more than 3500 French regulars, Canadians and Indians Dieskau was moving south from Crown Point on Lake Champlain when he was met by General William, afterwards Sir William, Johnson with 3000 New Englanders and 300 Indians under Hendrick a Mohawk chief. At first successful, Dieskau was later wounded and captured in the battle near Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George.

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As there is lately arrived from *America* a *Mohawk Indian* Warrior, one of *General Johnson's* Guards who had distinguished himself at the Battle of *Lake George,* (where General *Johnson* beat the *French*) by his singular Valour in taking the French General, *Monsieur Desseau,* Prisoner; and as the above-named *Indian* Warrior (for the Gratification of the Curious) is expos'd to public View, dress'd in the same Manner with his native *Indians* when they go to War, with his Face and Body painted, his Scalping-knife, and Tomax, or Battle-axe, and all the other Implements that are used by the *Indians* in Battle, we imagine a Copper-plate Print of this extraordinary Person will be agreeable.[1]

Again the word was used by John Lathrop, a Harvard graduate and minor poet of New England, who printed in Calcutta where he then was (1802) *The Speech of Canonicus; or an Indian Tradition: A Poem with explanatory notes.* In the Boston reprint of the next year (p. 26), in describing the death of another Indian, occur the lines:

> A friendly tomax then, like lightning driven,
> Released Oswego's soul—it flew to love and heaven!

Western Reserve University. OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

BRIEF MENTION

The Ecclesiastical Sonnets of William Wordsworth. A Critical Edition. By Abbie Findlay Potts (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1922. x, 316 pp.). This is a doctoral dissertation prepared at Cornell University and accepted for publication in the Cornell Studies in English. It is "a centennial edition of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets,*" happily suggested by Professor Lane Cooper, to whom the book is fittingly dedicated and whose principal share in directing the composition of the book gives ample assurance of its scholarly dignity and permanent worth. This edition is, moreover, to be credited to the freedom of access to the "Wordsworth Collection" of Mrs. Henry A. St.John, of Ithaca. The founder of that valuable "Collection" gave indirectly to Cornell University peculiar privileges and advantages of a commanding position in Wordsworthiana, and all that, it will be acknowledged, has proved to be worthily bestowed.

In the opening words of the Preface this edition is justified in a thought that lies deep below the surface-reckoning of years. The paragraph will be read with interest in Dr. Potts's thoughtful reflections. "A century has gone by since the publication of the *Ecclesiastical Sketches;* but the problems of social life in 1922 are not unlike those on which Wordsworth meditated in 1822. With

[1] If the periodical above was printed at the close of the month, as such periodicals sometimes were in the eighteenth century, this example of *tomax* follows shortly after that of Johnson.

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us, also, recovery from war, rash industrial and political adventure, hunger for novelty or variety in the management of schools and churches, have confused the national mind, and we still need this poet's interpretation of the spiritual history of his country. Nor may we without a careful review assert that we are a hundred years wiser. Therefore the time and the circumstances appear fitting for a critical edition of the series finally known as *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*."

Wordsworth is his own best interpreter. His prefaces and letters constitute a philosophic and esthetic commentary on his works and on the poetic art in general. It is a commentary of inestimable value. It sounds the depths of a true understanding of the purpose and art of what Wordsworth has bequeathed, and it also dilates and strengthens the student's mind with confidence in the principles governing the poetry that meets the valid requirements of the supreme art. In the 'General Discussion' of the purpose and character of this series of sonnets (pp. 1-27) Wordsworth's own statements are rightly brought together and discriminately interpreted by Dr. Potts. One here finds well-selected points of special interest jutting out from the general level of the discussion. Of these is "the distinction between religion in poetry and versified religion." A few sentences may be quoted from one of the poet's letters (cited by Dr. Potts, p. 17): "For my own part, I have been averse to frequent mention of the mysteries of Christian faith; not from a want of a due sense of their momentous nature, but on the contrary. . . . Besides general reasons for diffidence in treating subjects of Holy Writ, I have some special ones. I might err in points of faith, and I should not deem my mistakes less to be deprecated because they were expressed in metre." Then follows this significant statement: "Even Milton, in my humble judgment, has erred, and grievously; and what poet could hope to atone for his apprehensions in the way in which that mighty mind has done." It is dogma that does not fit into the universal formula of poetic truth. Pertaining to the same problem is Sir Philip Sidney's classification of 'divine subjects'; and if the poet had had in mind Spenser's *Hymn of Heavenly Love*, what would have been his comment?

The poet himself declared that to understand the *Sonnets* one must know the ecclesiastical history of England. As he had studied the historians for the outstanding facts, so the reader must traverse the same course, if he would put himself in the frame of mind to appreciate the poet's version of a long and varied story. Then should follow the finer discernment of the profound purpose of the series. It is a purpose higher than the promotion of any institutional formulas; it is rather (to adapt Reed's words) to be "an appeal to that common human-heartedness, which is the very element in which your poetry moves and has its being" (p. 56). For the cultivation of true catholicity of mind and sympathetic and tolerant judgment of human endeavor thru successive periods

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of history the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* should indeed be widely recognized as guide and text-book of special effectiveness.

Abounding in details of consequence is the problem of the construction of the series as an epic whole. In exhibiting these details, extending from the publication of the *Sketches* (numbering 102 sonnets) in 1822 to the completion of the plan (embracing 132 sonnets) in 1845, and as here presented from the edition of 1850, Dr. Potts has shown the method of the trustworthy investigator. This "History of the Text" (pp. 44-58) is an instructive revelation of a succession of considerations that led to changes and additions. Then follow divisions of the Introduction on the "Narrative" and "Structure" of the series in which the critical and analytic ability of Dr. Potts is admirably displayed. The order of the narrative is accurately articulated, and the structural design and imagery, which "are both fluent and architectonic" (p. 62), have elicited a commentary that will definitely add attractiveness and profit to the study of the series.

Dr. Potts has had the good fortune to be enabled to add something significantly new to the available material for the study of the *Sonnets*. She has published (pp. 80-109) for the first time a manuscript-copy of the *Sonnets* (designated F). It is in the collection of Mrs. St.John; and Dr. Potts "believes it to be a copy by Mrs. Wordsworth of an early draft of *Eccl. Son.*" Every detail relating to this Ms. must arouse interest. It "came to Mrs. St.John from the sale of the library of the Reverend W. L. Nichols" (1893), and is now carefully studied with reference to "Internal Evidence" for its authenticity (pp. 35-41). Dr. Potts's belief, stated above, is confirmed by characteristics of the Ms. which make it singularly important. To cite several points of evidence: (1) "The Ms. contains material not used in the text of 1822, but adjacent in the sources to the material that *is* used in the text of 1822." This fact reveals details of value in tracing the poet's method of composition and revision. Moreover (2) "The Ms. is in form nearer to the original conception of the holy river than is the text of 1822"; and (3) "From the Ms. are absent *all* the sonnets based on one of Wordsworth's most important sources, viz., *The History of the Anglo-Saxons*, by Sharon Turner" (pp. 35, 39, 42). As the examination proceeds the importance of the Ms. is heightened. It is important in studying "the refining of phrase and the excision of useless material," . . . "lessons taught on every page of the Ms." . . . "Ms. F permits a study of the development of structure, and hence justifies an estimate of Wordsworth's power to build. The formal beauty of the series is not an accident; it is an achievement the stages of which one may now follow in detail." The assumption of a sub-conscious store-house upon which the creative imagination makes its demands is capable of being accepted in a sense that is disproved by the experience of

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the average man and by the clear evidence of strenuous and certainly conscious effort on the part of a poet in making such revisions and readjustments as Ms. F. proves to have been made.

The additional points of the "Importance of F" must be cited. Here are some 35 unpublished lines. The Ms. "indicates more clearly, because more fundamentally, than does the final version, that Wordsworth's main purpose was to warn against bigotry, rage, and pride"; and finally, the almost complete lack of reference "to the Church of the Middle Ages is the strongest evidence for one of Wordsworth's greatest imaginative feats." It was after the composition of his first draft that he perceived the incompleteness of the scope of his plan, which was forthwith extended to embrace the early periods, according to Bede and Turner. In connection with Ms. F., it is also to be noticed that the collection of Mrs. St.John supplies in manuscript a dozen of the sonnets in two letters from the poet to Henry Reed.

Dr. Potts has brought together and arranged for convenient use the "Variant Readings" (pp. 186-204) of all the printed 'editions' of the sonnets from 1822 to 1850, with, of course, references to the unique Ms. F. This collation is of inestimable value in the study of the poet's art and workmanship.

Obviously the basic material for the study of the poet's selection of subject and method of composition must be the passages from the historians reflected in the individual sonnets. Dr. Potts has accordingly traced and verified these passages and reprinted them in her extensive "Notes" (pp. 205-304). Wordsworth's own notes contribute something in this way, but these have now been made complete, with the addition of notable critical comment. Thus, to take a specially simple example from this highly valuable commentary: Against sonnet I, 19, the poet's own note, is followed by a verification from Bede (relating to Aidan) of the description of the "Servants of God"; then for "winter trees" (l. 4) a reference to *Journals,* and for "fruit divine" (l. 5) another to Bede. *Vaud. and Julia* (l. 44) has the "saintly shrine" to be compared with l. 8, and ll. 11-12 revert again to Bede, as does l. 13.

But the necessary limits of this notice must be observed. The value of this book is that of an indispensable aid in the study of Wordsworth. Dr. Potts has promoted that study by a book that will be enthusiastically welcomed. J. W. B.

Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts und in der deutschen Romantik von a. o. Prof. Dr. Paul Kluckhohn (Halle a. S., Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1922. 640 pp.). Kluckhohns umfangreiches Werk ist infolge schwerer Kriegs- und noch schwierigerer Nachkriegsjahre verspätet im Druck erschienen, doch nicht zu spät, wie das Vorwort meint. Keiner seiner Vorgänger hat auch nur annähernd eine zeitlich und örtlich so tiefgründige

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Untersuchung angestellt, eine solche schier atemraubende Masse des interessantesten und wertvollsten Materials zusammengebracht und alles von einem reifen kulturgeschichtlichen Standpunkt aus zusammengefasst und verarbeitet. Der Rahmen der literarhistorischen Arbeit ist gesprengt, und eine äusserst beachtenswerte und reizvolle kulturgeschichtliche Schrift ist das Ergebnis.

Um von dem reichen Inhalt des Buches einen Begriff zu geben, seien die einzelnen Kapitel kurz skizziert. Als Aufgabe bezeichnet der Verfasser die Fragestellung, "was das eigentlich Neue in den romantischen Ideen und ihrem Erlebnisinhalt gewesen ist." Dazu war nötig, die Anschauungen und die Lebenseinstellung der voraufgehenden Generationen und Kulturströmungen zu untersuchen, und das führte noch weiter in die Kulturgeschichte zurück und zugleich über Deutschland hinaus nach Frankreich und England. Damit gelangt man zu einer "geistigen Einheit Europas." Alle "diese Probleme der Liebe sind eng verbunden mit dem Problem der Geschlechter und mit der Wertung der Frau. Es ist ein Wechselverhältnis. Die Einschätzung der Liebe wirkt auf die Einschätzung der Frau. Und je grösser die Werte sind, die man in der Frau sieht, desto höher denkt man von der Liebe zu ihr." Diese Geschichte der Liebesauffassung wird also auch einen gewissen Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frauenauffassung liefern.

In der Einleitung werden wir von der Liebe in der griechischen Philosophie, hauptsächlich Plato und den Neuplatonikern, in raschem Zug zum Mittelalter, zu Luther, Calvin bis zur Renaissance geführt, deren Liebestheorien dann in ihrer Wirkung, auf Frankreich besonders verfolgt werden. Die ersten beiden Kapitel gelten der Liebe in der Philosophie und Literatur der Aufklärung in Frankreich, der Liebesauffassung in England und der Empfindsamkeit und Leidenschaft in Frankreich. Die 7 folgenden Kapitel behandeln: Mystik und Aufklärung in Deutschland; Deutsche Empfindsamkeit und Sturm und Drang; Die Anschauungen des ausgehenden Jahrhunderts (mit Fr. Jacobi, Herder, Lessing, Jean Paul, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Schiller und Goethe . . .); Friedrich Schlegel und Schleiermacher; Novalis, Naturphilosophen und Baader; Tieck, Brentano, Werner, Hoffmann; Rückblick—Kleist, Arnim, Eichendorff, Hegel bis hin zum Jungen Deutschland. Ein Exkurs über Swedenborg ist angehängt.

Sowohl Forschern des Deutschen wie der vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte kann Kluckhohns Werk grosse Dienste leisten als interessantes und gründliches kulturgeschichtliches Nachschlagewerk, als eine Art Encyclopädie der Liebe in der Philosophie und Literatur des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Es steckt voller Anregungen, wie sehr man auch gelegentlich im Widerspruch zum Verfasser stehen möge. Nicht zuletzt ist auch der verständnisvolle, oft sehr lebendige Ton der Darstellung anzuerkennen.

F. S.

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Volume XXXVIII NOVEMBER, 1923 Number 7

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

JAMES WILSON BRIGHT, Editor-in-Chief

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM WILLIAM KURRELMEYER

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MARLOWE'S *FAUSTUS*, 305-18, 548-70

In two passages of Marlowe's *Faustus* is to be found a doctrine as to the nature of eternal punishment that has aroused the enthusiastic commendation of several writers. The essence of the first passage is contained in the lines placed in the mouth of Mephistophilis:

> Why this is hel, nor am I out of it:
> Thinkst thou that I who saw the face of God,
> And tasted the eternal ioyes of heauen,
> Am not tormented with ten thousand hels,
> In being depriv'd of euerlasting blisse?

In the second passage, Mephistophilis, in answer to Faustus's demand as to the location of hell, replies:

> Within the bowels of these elements,
> Where we are tortur'd and remaine for euer.
> Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscrib'd
> In one selfe place, for where we are is hell,
> And where hell is, must we euer be:
> And to conclude, when all the world dissolues,
> And euery creature shalbe purified,
> All places shall be hell that is not heauen.

With respect to the first of these, Ellis [1] remarks: "Marlowe's conception of Hell is loftier than Dante's or Milton's." Ward,[2] with reference to the second, speaks of "the deeply spiritual conception of a future state revealed by Marlowe's Mephistophilis," and he goes on to say that "the same depth of moral reasoning reveals itself

[1] Ellis, Mermaid ed. of Marlowe, xxxix.
[2] *Hist. of Engl. Dr. Poetry,* I, 334.

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elsewhere in the earlier part of the play." Courthope,[3] again with reference to the first, says: "There is a grandeur of conception in the following dialogue beyond anything to be found in Goethe's *Faust,* however superior the latter may be in intellectual subtlety."

None of these critics discusses the question as to whether Marlowe adopted this doctrine from someone else, and none of them attempts to define the doctrine except aesthetically and ethically by the use of such phrases as "loftier, deeply spiritual, depth of moral reasoning, grandeur of conception." Something, however, is added by Robertson, who, in his *History of Free Thought,*[4] mentions the "imported doctrine of the subjective character of hell and heaven, taken up by Marlowe;" some pages farther on he says that Marlowe "makes Mephistophilis affirm that 'Hell hath no limits . . . but where we are is hell'—a doctrine which we have seen to be current before his time." Earlier in Robertson's book[5] we find the following remarks on "religious semi-rationalism, evidently of continental derivation," found in England about the middle of the sixteenth century: "Roger Hutchinson, writing about 1550, repeatedly speaks of contemporary 'Sadducees and Libertines' who say (1) 'that all spirits and angels are no substances, but inspirations, affections, and qualities'; (2) 'that the devil is nothing but *nolitum,* or a filthy affection coming of the flesh'; (3) 'that there is neither place of rest nor pain after this life; that hell is nothing else but a tormenting and desperate conscience; and that a joyful, quiet, and merry conscience is heaven.'" A few lines below Robertson says of this "new rationalism": "Its foreign source is suggested by the use of the term 'Libertines,' which derives from France and Geneva. . . . The above-cited tenets are, in fact, partly identical with those of the *libertins* denounced at Geneva by Calvin."

It would seem fairly clear that Robertson thinks of the passages in *Faustus* as being connected with this stream of "libertinism," and he would apparently go so far as to make Marlowe deny the 'localism' of hell.

[3] *History of English Poetry,* II, 411.

[4] *History of Free Thought,* 3d ed., II, pp. 4; 8.

[5] *Ibid.,* I, 458. Robertson does not connect this doctrine with Sufiism, cf. *ibid.,* 266, or with Erigena's conception that "heaven and hell alike were states of consciousness, not places," *ibid.,* 285.

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As a matter of fact, all these critics, and for that matter others as well, have been misled by the reputation that Marlowe had in his own day for daring religious speculation; they have taken the two passages in question out of their context in the play and have found something remarkable or exceptional in them, whereas, when we replace them in their context and contemplate them soberly, we realize that the doctrine they contain is so far from savoring of 'libertinism' that it may be called orthodox, and even, though not in the pejorative sense, commonplace. It would indeed be absurd for Marlowe, in a play the very composition and performance of which presuppose the objective reality of hell, to insert passages denying that objective reality. Let us, however, examine these passages in their context, and let us, if possible, forget that Marlowe was thought by many of his contemporaries to be an atheist.

In the first place, it may be noted that Marlowe says nothing whatever as to the subjectivity of heaven, though it might be supposed that a subjective heaven would follow from a subjective hell as its logical complement.

In the second place, there is recognition of the local nature of hell in other parts of the play: Faustus is taken to visit hell by Lucifer himself, and Lucifer in l. 713 says that he and Belsabub have come from hell to show Faustus some pastime. There are other lines in the play of similar local import, and, indeed, in one of the very passages with which we are concerned Mephistophilis says that hell is situated

Within the bowels of these elements,

and concludes by saying that eventually all places shall be hell that are not heaven, i. e. that the universe will be divided into the two places.

It seems clear, thirdly, that the torments in hell are of a non-subjective kind, or at least that Faustus believes them to be such. There is, to be sure, no explicit declaration to this effect in the play, but such is the clear implication of Faustus's last speech, the whole tone of which is that of a man who fears damnation because of the tortures that he is convinced he will suffer. Moreover, devils enter and take him away to a place of punishment. If hell were merely a state of mind, then death would itself constitute entrance therein; what need that Faustus be dragged thither?

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In this connection might be quoted an interesting passage from Nashe's *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*; after describing the usual and material torments of hell, he goes on: "Againe, were there no hell but the accusing of a mans owne conscience, it were hell and the profundity of hel to any sharpe transpercing soule that had never so lyttle inckling of the joyes of heaven, to be seperate from them; to heare and see tryumphing and melody, and, Tantalus like, not bee suffered to come neere them or partake them; to thinke when all else were entred, hee should be excluded."[6] Be it noted, however, that such a soul, if he is to feel this torment, must have some inkling of the joys of heaven; no human being can have such inkling, since he has never experienced them, and the logical inference is that the thought of this particular future punishment can not afflict him as deeply as the prospect of the material torments, the nature of which he can more or less clearly appreciate from his own experiences as a human being subject to physical pain. Such is the state of Faustus, and that is why Marlowe has given his last speech the proper psychological quality, namely, that of the utterance of one who is about to be dragged away to torture.

What then are we to say of the speeches of Mephistophilis to the effect that "Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscrib'd In one selfe place, for where we are is hell," and the like?

We might notice, first of all, that Mephistophilis is describing hell as he and his fellow-devils experience it. For him it is not limited, and at the same time, his greatest torment is that of being deprived of ever-lasting bliss. Mephistophilis and his fellows, we may say, are precisely those sharp, transpiercing souls who have some inkling of the joys of heaven, since they had originally dwelt there, and had thence been expelled.

The situation of Mephistophilis is, in short, precisely that of Milton's Satan, who undergoes great physical pain while in hell, but finds nevertheless his principal torture to consist in the loss of heaven and the consciousness of his own defeat.

> Nessun maggior' dolore
> Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
> Nella miseria.

That the undying worm and the inextinguishable fire of the

[6] *Works*, ed. McKerrow, II, 170.

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Scriptures were by some of the early Christians understood metaphorically to refer to spiritual pains alone is evident from St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei,* xxi, 9. The bishop of Hippo does not agree with that interpretation and he argues against it, but he does not pronounce it improper or heretical. In fact, he leaves the question undecided. "Eligat ergo unum de duobus quisque quod placet, utrum et vermem ad corpus proprie, an ad animum translato a corporalibus ad incorporalia vocabulo existimet pertinere. Quid autem horum verum sit, res ipsa expeditius indicabit, quando erit scientia tanta sanctorum, ut eis cognoscendarum illarum poenarum necessaria non sit experientia, sed ea quae tunc erit plena atque perfecta, ad hoc quoque sciendum sapientia sola sufficiat." This fullness of knowledge, enabling man to decide the question without experience, St. Augustine, quite obviously, does not expect man ever to attain on this earth; he would have been somewhat surprised had he been told that in the thirteenth century such knotty problems would be solved without dubiety and once for all. What St. Thomas says on the subject will be sufficiently orthodox for our purposes.

The general doctrine of St. Thomas is clear enough. *Malum* is *privatio boni;*[7] but *poena* comes under the head of *malum.*[8] Hence *poena* is *privatio boni,* and the greatest punishment is, of course, the deprivation of the greatest good, which is the fulfillment of the highest end. The highest end of man is beatitude,[9] which consists in the vision of God in his essence,[10] and hence the highest punishment is the deprivation of that vision. The point is stated in a somewhat different way elsewhere:[11] "Respondeo dicendum quod poena proportionatur peccato. In peccato autem duo sunt: quorum unum est aversio ab incommutabili bono, quod est infinitum, unde ex hac parte peccatum est infinitum; aliud quod est in peccato, est inordinata conversio ad commutabile bonum, et ex hac parte peccatum est finitum, tum quia ipsum bonum commutabile est finitum, tum etiam quia ipsa conversio est finita; non enim possunt esse actus creaturae infiniti.

"Ex parte igitur aversionis respondet peccato poena damni, quae etiam est infinita; est enim amissio infiniti boni, scilicet Dei. Ex

[7] *Summa,* 1ª, xiv, 10.
[8] *Summa,* 1ª, xlviii, 5.
[9] *Summa,* 1ª, xxvi, 3.
[10] *Summa,* 1ª, xii, 1.
[11] *Summa,* 12æ, lxxxvii, 4.

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parte autem inordinatae conversionis respondet ei poena sensus, quae etiam est finita."

More directly to the purpose, perhaps, are certain other passages in St. Thomas.[12] He decides that the devils can suffer pain, though pains such as "timor, dolor, gaudium et hujusmodi, secundum quod sunt passiones, in daemonibus esse non possunt; sic enim sunt proprie appetitus sensitivi, qui est virtus in organo corporali. Sed secundum quod nominant simplices actus voluntatis, sic possunt esse in daemonibus. Et necesse est dicere quod in eis sit dolor, secundum quod significat simplicem actum voluntatis; sic enim nihil est aliud quam renisus voluntatis ad id quod est, vel non est. Patet autem quod daemones multa vellent non esse, quae sunt, et esse, quae non sunt . . . Unde oportet dicere quod in eis sit dolor; et praecipue quia de ratione poenae est quod voluntati repugnet. Privantur etiam beatitudine, quam naturaliter appetunt; et in multis eorum iniqua voluntas cohibetur."

In the next article he proves that the devils are not at present confined to hell necessarily, but that they dwell likewise in the air, which is also *locus poenalis*. And finally: "Sed melius est dicendum quod idem judicium sit de malis animabus et de malis angelis, sicut idem judicium est bonis animabus et bonis Angelis. Unde dicendum est, quod sicut locus coelestis pertinet ad gloriam Angelorum, tamen gloria eorum non minuitur, cum ad nos veniunt, quia

[12] *Summa*, 1ª, lxiv, 3 and 4. I add a paragraph or two from F. Cipolla, *Che Cosa è Dannazione secondo il Concetto Dantesco?*, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xxiii, 389; 393. "Tutto l'Inferno risuona d'un riso perpetuo di beffa. È il colmo dell' odio. Perchè qui tutto è odio: non trapela raggio d'amore. E Dante così lo descrive, e descrivendo v'aggiunge nuovo scherno.

"L'anima rea s'è messa da sè, nel mondo de' vivi, in questa tristissima condizione di odio. E questo stato miserabile è ciò che costituisce appunto la sua maggiore, la sua vera punizione nel mondo de' morti. Le altre pene sono soltanto conseguenze, e hanno secondaria importanza; direi quasi che, al confronto, non meritano il nome di pene."

With reference to Limbo he adds: "Senza la fede e la rivelazione, l'anima humana è travagliata da un desiderio, che, non soddisfatto, e senza speranza d'esser soddisfatto mai, diventa *eterno lutto* (*Purg.*, III, 42). Questo è il modo di dannazione dei sospesi nel Limbo, e non è angoscia leggera, se vale quello che cercai dimostrare, che cioè la gravità maggiore o minore della pena sta nella condizione dell' anima principalissimamente."

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considerant illum locum esse suum, eo modo quo dicimus honorem episcopi non minui, dum actu, non sedet in cathedra; similiter dicendum est quod, licet daemones non actu alligentur gehennali igni dum sunt in aere isto caliginoso, tamen ex hoc ipso quod sciunt illam alligationem sibi deberi, eorum poena non diminuitur. Unde dicitur in quadam Glossa Jacobi 3 (ordinaria super illud: *Inflammata a gehenna*), quod *portant secum ignem gehennae quocumque vadant.* Nec est contra hoc, quod *rogaverunt Dominum, ut non mitteret eos in abyssum,* ut dicitur Luc. 8, quia hoc petierunt reputantes sibi poenam, si excluderentur a loco in quo possunt hominibus nocere. Unde Matth. 8 dicitur quod *deprecabantur eum ne expelleret eos extra regionem.*"

Would it not be fair to conclude from these passages that St. Thomas, were he to comment on the lines in *Faustus,* would say that Mephistophilis, in whatever place he might find himself, would be attended by the pains of hell, and would he not admit that the words put into the mouth of Mephistophilis by Marlowe state this idea as accurately as it could be stated in poetical language? If, wherever he may be, Mephistophilis feels the pains of hell, he may rightly say that "Hell hath no limits nor is circumscribed." Faustus, who as a human being has no experience that will enable him to comprehend Mephistophilis's meaning, is quite properly represented as adopting an attitude at once sceptical and derisory.

Proceeding down the centuries, we notice that Calvin clearly considers the pains of hell to be, chiefly at any rate, spiritual, and hence subjective.

"Porro quia divinae in reprobos ultionis gravitatem nulla descriptio aequare potest, per res corporeas eorum tormenta et cruciatus nobis figurantur: nempe per tenebras, fletum, et stridorem dentium, ignem inexstinguibilem, vermem sine fine cor arrodentem. Talibus enim loquendi modis certum est Spiritum sanctum voluisse sensus omnes horrore conturbare: ut quum dicitur praeparatam esse ab aeterno gehennam profundam, nutrimenta eius esse ignem et ligna multa: flatum Domini ceu torrentem sulphuris, eam succendere. Quibus ut nos adiuvari oportet ad concipiendam utcunque impiorum miseram sortem: ita nos in eo potissimum defigere cogitationem oportet, quam sit calamitosum alienari ab omni Dei societate: neque id modo, sed maiestatem Dei ita sentire tibi adversam, ut effugere nequeas quin ab ipsa urgearis. Nam primum eius indignatio instar ignis est violentissimi, cuius attactu omnia devorentur et absorbeantur. Deinde illi ad exercendum

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iudicium sic serviunt omnes creaturae, ut coelum, terram, mare, animalia et quicquid est, velut dira indignatione adversum se inflammata, et in perniciem suam armata sensuri sint: quibus iram suam ita Dominus palam faciet"[13] . . .

In this passage from Calvin may be seen the distinction to which I am calling attention. The pains of hell, to have their properly terrifying effect, must be represented to humanity under corporeal images. Our human dread of hell is based on our experience of physical pain. And Calvin, of course, does not deny that there is a place called hell, and that corporeal torments are there inflicted. But he is quite certain that the chief torment of the damned arises out of their alienation from God. Further, he thinks, we need not inquire into the matter.[14]

I do not think that I am ascribing over-much subtlety to the poet in asserting that he has nicely discriminated between two conceptions: first, that of the hell which Faustus dreads, a place of fire and brimstone, in short, a torture-chamber; secondly, the hell that Mephistophilis experiences, in which his sufferings are chiefly spiritual, and which changes place with him.

Sed Timor et Minae
scandunt eodem quo dominus.

Nor do I think that in this discrimination Marlowe is departing in any notable degree from orthodox doctrine, for in making it he does not assert that hell has no local existence. What he says is that Mephistophilis knows and Faustus will eventually learn that the pains of hell mainly arise out of that very alienation from God which Faustus now treats as a matter of no moment.

It will not, of course, be supposed that I wish to depreciate the poetic beauty or the dramatic value of these passages. Fortunately, Marlowe's credit as a play-wright in no way rests upon his reputation as free-thinker, atheist, or debauchee, though perhaps the

[13] *Institutio*, III, xxv, 12.

[14] As illustrative of the fact that ideas such as those brought forward above are not confined to theologians like St. Thomas and Calvin, I might cite, besides the passage from Nashe quoted above, a passage from Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount. In his *Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour*, *Works*, ed. Laing, III, ll. 6147 ff., he says:

"The gretest pane the dampnit folk doun thryngis,
And, to the Devyllis, the most punytioun,
It is of God to want fruitioun."

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two things have not always been kept as separate as they should be. In fact, the dramatic value of these lines is enhanced if they can be brought into harmony with the rest of the play, and are no longer considered to be remarkable speculative excrescences upon it. Thus interpreted, they illustrate Marlowe's dramatic development, and help us to think of the *Faustus* as a work of art, not a mere thing of shreds and purple patches.

WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS.

Stanford University.

THE INFLUENCE OF PLAUTUS AND TERENCE UPON *THE STONYHURST PAGEANTS*

This paper is a tardy fulfilment of a promise to the editor of the *Stonyhurst Pageants*[1] to publish a detailed study of the influence of Plautus upon those pageants, and in especial upon the Pageant of Naaman, which was undertaken several years ago at his suggestion. But the delay in publication may be not without value to the study; for it may now give corroboration not only to Professor Brown's original statements. in regard to the quite evident influence of Roman comedy upon the pageant in question, but also to his reply[2] to Dr. Greg's criticism of his conclusions.[3]

Even a cursory reading of the Pageants cannot fail to reveal a difference in tone and method of the Naaman from the other pageants, and to detect a note reminiscent of classical comedy. To be sure, such use of the classical comedy as a pattern was not without precedent, especially for the secular stage of the day. From the time of Udall's use of the *Miles Gloriosus* as a model for his *Ralph Roister-Doister* (1553) and Heywood's borrowings[4] to Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*[5] and Shakspeare's *Comedy of Errors*[6] such borrowing was common.[7] But with the religious mediæval drama the case was different. And although such possible use on

[1] Professor Carleton Brown, in *Hesperia*, No. 7, 1920, p. 28.
[2] *Mod. Lang Rev.* Vol. XVI, pp. 167 f.
[3] *Mod. Lang. Rev.* Vol. XV, p. 441.
[4] *English Traveler*, from Plautus; *Mostellaria, Captives*, from the *Rudens*.
[5] *Alchemist*, from the *Mostellaria; Case is Altered*, from the *Aulularia*.
[6] From the *Menaechmi*.
[7] W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Vol. VI, pp. 245 ff.

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the part of the playwrights of religious drama could be justified in Cardinal Wolsey's early encouragement of classical comedy,[8] since performances of the *Menaechmi* of Plautus and the *Phormio* of Terence were given in his house by boys of St. Paul's School as early as 1527, the use of the Roman plays as literary models was rare. The dramaturgy of Hrotswitha, the learned abbess of Gandersheim, seems to have been an isolated experiment and the merest literary experiment;[9] and John of Salisbury, although in calling Terence *comicus qui prae ceteris placet* implies knowledge of the *ceteris,* quotes only from the two plays of Terence, the *Andria* and the *Eunuchus.*[10]

Why the author of the *Stonyhurst Pageants* should have chosen thus to cut himself loose, in the Naaman, from the traditions of the religious mediæval drama which were so closely observed by him in the other pageants can probably never be known. But it is perhaps worth while to study such details as seem to be borrowed from his Latin models in order to see how thoroughly he was acquainted with those models.

The most superficially evident introduction of Latin details is that of the names given to characters who in the Biblical version are nameless. To the wife of Naaman is given the name of the *uxor* in the *Asinaria,* Artemona, rather characteristically appropriate as it happens. Phronesium for the little maid, from the *Truculentus,* is not quite so happy a choice, since in the Plautine play Phronesium is a *meretrix.* But of greater significance for the problem at hand is the introduction of such characters as Dorio, the servant,[11] very like the crafty parasite of Plautus, and Bromia, the kitchen wench,[12] conforming to the type of the *ancilla* in Plautus.

Nothing can be truer to type than the servants' quarrel, vv. 762 ff.; cf. *Asinaria,* vv. 267 ff.;[13] *Persa,* vv. 20 ff.; *Stichus,* vv. 274 ff., the sort of thing which Plautus always introduced to amuse

[8] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage,* Vol. II, p. 215.

[9] Chambers, *op. cit.,* p. 207.

[10] John E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship,* Vol. I, p. 631.

[11] Cf. Terence, *Phormio.*

[12] Cf. Plautus, *Amphitruo.*

[13] Plautus-Teubner text, Goetz-Schoell, ed. min. (1906-1913). Terence, Ashmore ed., Oxford University Press (1910).

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the audience, and which apparently serves the same end in the pageant; for it does not concern nor advance the action. And

v. 814 . . . . for all the sport ys ended

would seem to justify the assumption of its insertion for that purpose (coming as it does at the conclusion of the quarrel). Nothing, moreover, so clearly differentiates this pageant from the others as just this sort of interpolation, cf. also vv. 872 ff., the conversation of the grumbling porters Syrus and Storax. Syrus, too, by the way, borrows his name from Terence,[14] as do certain other minor characters.[15]

The absence of "Chorus" and "Nuncius" and the division into scenes were noted by Professor Brown.[16] And in this connection may be mentioned the devices, common to Roman comedy, of having a person about to enter identified beforehand by actors already on the stage, cf. vv. (631; 652 f.;) 21; 119; 140; 309; 408; etc., and of having one character pretend not to see another approaching, e. g.,

v. 337 I'l semblance make as though I had not seene her vntill now
Cf. *Persa*, v. 84 simulabo quasi non uideam;

That more, however, than such general features were taken from the comedies of Plautus and Terence may be hinted at in

vv. 472 f. Why should we not persuad you (sir) you know th'olde sayinge well
that one must first the nutts shell cracke before he eate the kernell

which concludes apparently with a quotation from the *Curculio,*

v. 55 Qui e nuce nuculeum esse volt, frangit nucem.

And the parenthesis of

vv. 7 f. (for barely you can fynde a man that faythfull ys & true vnto his wyfe in all respects)

which is a literal translation of Terence; *Andria*

[14] Cf. *Adelphoe* and *Heauton Timorumenos.*

[15] Strabo from Terence, *Eunuchus;* Sosia from Plautus, *Amphitruo* and Terence, *Hecyra* and *Andria.*

[16] Introd., p. 28*.

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vv. 459 f. Ita pol quidem rest, ut tu dixti, Lesbia;
fidelem haud ferme mulieri inuenias uirum.

may also indicate such borrowing. So that it would seem probable that a careful study of the content of the pageant might reveal more translations, borrowings, or reminiscences of the Latin models.

From such a study the following citations were gathered, which fall naturally into three groups:

(1) similarities in idea
(2) philosophical *sententiae* which might come under class (1) and which might also be considered such commonplaces as not to justify the deduction of borrowings from earlier models
(3) apparently literal translations

Class (1):

vv. 1 ff., the lament of the unhappy wife, Artemona is very like that of Dorippa, likewise unhappily married, in the *Mercator* vv. 700 ff.

vv. 121 ff. Dorio gives his family lineage, born of Sloth as Gelasimus, the parasite in the *Stichus,* vv. 155 ff., is born of Hunger.

It probable ys that slouthfulness in to this world me brought
& that a father me begott, who never days work wrought,
for at the very name of worke my flesh & bones do shiver.
Cf. Famem ego fuisse suspicor matrem mihi:
Nam postquam natus sum, satur numquam fui.

vv. 127 ff. Dorio, a hen-pecked husband goes home only to eat, cf. Demipho in the *Mercator* vv. 556 ff., and Simo in the *Mostellaria* vv. 690 ff.

vv. 145 and 166, Artemona's lament that she is of all women the most wretched has many parallels throughout all the comedies, cf. especially Terence; *Hecyra*

v. 566 nullam pol credo mulierem me miseriorem vivere;

vv. 335 ff. the conversation between Artemona and her husband, Naaman, is very like that between Alcumena and Jupiter in the *Amphitruo* vv. 880 ff.

vv. 610 ff. the search up and down the whole city for someone

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rewarded at last by an accidental encounter with that person is a commonplace occurrence in Plautus, cf. *Amphitruo* v. 1005; *Epidicus* v. 197; *Mercator* v. 805.

vv. 930 ff. punishment in a mill is a favorite among the angry masters in Plautus, cf. *Bacchides* v. 781; *Miles Gloriosus* v. 567; *Pseudolus* v. 494; etc.; cf. also Terence; *Andria* v. 214. And such punishment, or even hanging, is preferable to servitude to a woman,—

vv. 833 ff. where fore yf I can steale from her I will my selfe go drowne
hange, or from the topp of some Tower throw my selfe head longe downe,
& breake my necke, for any of these three I thinke a man
had better do, then lyue still in subiection to a woman

Cf. with *Aulularia*, vv. 50 ff.

Utinam me diui adaxint ad suspendium
Potius quidem quam hoc pacto apud te seruiam.

vv. 853 ff. the loyal support of friends is won by money in the Pageant as in Plautus, cf. *Truculentus* v. 885; *Stichus* vv. 520 ff., as follows:

ut quoique homini res paratast, perinde amicis utitur:
Si res firma, item firmi amici sunt: sin res laxe labat,
Itidem amici conlabascunt. res amicos inuenit.

cf. vv. 853-856, as indicated:

By my aduise then see (my lord that you reward hym well
that pleasures you, & neyther cost nor charges see you spare
for mens affections by that means the soonest gotten are.

cf. Terence, *Eunuchus* v. 149.

vv. 920 ff. for euer more I am vndone. Alas what shall I do?
to whom shall I for succour flee? woe's me whither shall I go?

re-echoes the despairing cry of Amphitruo v. 810, Perii miser, and many other characters; cf. *Mercator* v. 705; *Mostellaria* v. 993; *Persa* v. 738; etc.

Class (2) philosophical *sententiae:*

vv. 97-100; 151; 158; v. 170; 181; advice to bear what fortune brings with calm mind has many parallels, e. g. Plautus, *Captivi* vv. 195 f.; Terence; *Heauton Timorumenos* vv. 84 ff.; *Andria* v. 921.

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vv. 148 f. It's easy good aduise to give to others in their misery
but if thou felt my griefe an other tayle then thou
wouldest tell

cf. v. 182, is the same response that Stratippocles gives his friend in the *Epidicus* v. 112, Nil agit qui diffidentem uerbis solatur suis.

vv. 155 ff. The lamenting question, does virtue have such a reward, is asked also in the *Rudens* v. 189,

hancine ego partem capio ob pietatem praecipuam?
v. 161 for none in all respects are happy

is also Planesium's conclusion in the *Curculio* v. 189

. . . . Nullist homini perpetuom bonum.

vv. 300 ff. the inconstancy of Fortune is also lamented by Pamphilus in Terence: *Hecyra* v. 406

o fortuna, et numquam perpetuo es bona!

Class (3) literal translations

vv. 59 ff. the words of Phronesium to her mistress combine the lines from Terence: *Andria* vv. 40-44 and vv. 36-39, with the only change that in the *Andria* the characters are master and slave instead of mistress and slave-girl

vv. 87 f. The faults of women many are, but this vpon a certayne
the greatest ys: that lightly they of their husbands complayne

reflects the mood of the speaker in Plautus: *Poenulus*

vv. 1203 f. Multa sunt mulierum uitia: sed hoc e multis maxumumst,
Quom sibi nimis placent minusque addunt operam ut
placeant uiris.

v. 98. the word used for gossip in this line has somewhat the same onomatopoetic sound for the action as in Terence: *Phormio* vv. 745 f.

Be lyke you thinke I'l blabbe yt out agayne vnto some body
cf. . . . . ne uos forte inprudentes foris effuttiretis.

vv. 437 ff. Phronesium has as much leisure to meddle in other people's affairs as has the old man in Terence: *Heauton Timorumenos*

vv. 75 f. I do not lyke such mayds as have so much tyme to be spared
from their worke as for to take care of other folkes affayres

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& that such as concerns them not.
cf. . . . . tantumne ab re tuast oti tibi
aliena ut cures ea quae nil ad te attinet?

v. 475. for the gods will not help you til you put to your own industry.

is the conclusion of the *leno* in Plautus: *Cistellaria* v. 51

. . . . sine opera tua di horunc nil facere possunt.

vv. 609 ff. Sosia's complaint is an almost exact transfer of his prototype's similar complaint in Plautus: *Amphitruo* vv. 169 ff.

v. 1055 O Jupiter continue still these fauours I beseech thee
towardes me as thou hast begune, & then I shall be happy.

is the same prayer as is uttered in Terence: *Eunuchus* vv. 1048 f.

O Iuppiter,
serua obsecro haec bona nobis!

and what adds significance to the insertion of it in the Pageant of Naaman is that the appeal is to the god of the Romans by a Syrian. This increases, of course, the value of the verse as evidence of borrowings from Terence.

It is possible, of course, to add to the illustrations of all three classes. But it would seem that those already pointed out are sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the author of the Pageant of Naaman drew from Latin comedy. Moreover, a collation of the cross-references given above shows that of the twenty extant plays of Plautus the author of the Pageant used eighteen, and five of the six extant plays of Terence. Their value as evidence, varying as they do from direct translation to indirect similarity, might not be considered sufficient; but combined with the tone and spirit and method of the whole, which was noted in the beginning as being so thoroughly Plautine, they would seem to prove conclusively that the writer of the *Stonyhurst Pageants* had more than a casual and superficial knowledge of Plautus and Terence.

HELEN WIEAND COLE.

Wheaton College.

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GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

Part V

Alkoran. An instance antedating those cited in the dictionaries occurs in Epend. Türck.[1] (1540), p. 85: des Türcken Gesatz, das man Alkoran nennet.

Barbarossa. This word, as the epithet of Emperor Frederick I, is familiar enough. It also occurs, however, as a Turkish military, or naval, title meaning 'Commander-in-Chief': Als aber die Türckisch Armata füruber schiffet . . . grüsset sie die Statt . . . vnd sendet dem General vnd Barbarossa schenckung im wert auff tausent Chronen (Scheurl, f. b2: 1537). The explanation of this use of the word lies in the fact that Chaireddin Barbarossa was the name of the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, from 1536 on, and the proper name thus came to be regarded as a title.

Bataillon. This word, now neuter, appears as masculine in German texts of the early seventeenth century. The dictionaries

[1] **The following abbreviations have been used:**

Belidor: *Des Herrn von Belidor kurzgefasstes Kriegs-Lexicon*, Nürnberg, 1765.

Bunge: *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, Reval, 1853 ff.

DWb.: *Deutsches Wörterbuch von J. u. W. Grimm*, Leipzig, 1854 ff.

Eppend. Gal.: *Römischer Historien Bekürtzung . . . Anhangk . . . vom Galeatio Capella beschriben. Durch Henrich von Eppendorff.* Strassburg, 1536.

Eppend. Türck.: *Türckischer Keyſzer Ankunfft, . . . Alles verdolmetscht durch Heinrich von Eppendorff.* Strassburg, 1540.

Genua: *Jammer-Bericht von der, durch die Franzosen, höchstbeängstigten . . . Handel-Stadt Genua*, Nürnberg, 1684. (Part 3 of *Kriegs*, below.)

Gruber: *Die Heutige, neue, vollkommene Kriegs-Disciplin und Exercir-Kunst*, Frankfurth und Leipzig, 1702.

Heinr. v. Braunschw.: *Warhafftige erzelung der Geschicht, Was sich Hertzog Heinrich von Braunschweig . . . zugetragen.* 1545.

Joh. Friedr.: *Der Durchleuchtigst vnd Durchleuchtigen . . . Herrn Johans Friderichen Hertzogen zu Sachssen . . . verantwortung . . .* 1546.

Kriegs: *Neueste, Sich merkwürdigst in Europa zugetragne Kriegs- und Siegs- . . . und Streit-Händel. . . .* Nürnberg, 1684.

Kriegs-Lehr: *Die Kriegs-Lehr, Oder Der vollkommene General Uber ein Krieges-Heer. . . . Durch den Herren De La Fontaine, . . .* Franckfurt, 1672.

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do not note the fact, however, that at the end of this century, and at the beginning of the eighteenth, it likewise appears as feminine: Eine Bataillon ist ein Corpus oder Hauffe Soldaten (Kriegs-Lehr, p. 4: 1672). Wann eine Bataillon gemacht wird (pp. 90, 92, 96, 98, 102, 106, 108, 110, etc.). From p. 126 on, it is usually *das Bataillon,* and on p. 384 we read: Das erste Glied einer Bataillon . . . Wann das Bataillon formiret ist. The feminine form occurs also in contemporary narrative: war allda eine Battaglion von 600. Maltesischen Fussgängern . . . diesen folgte eine Battaglion gleich derjenigen (Kriegs, p. 40: 1684). Commendant von einer Battaglion Capers (p. 50). Gruber uses the feminine form exclusively: als folget nun auch von einer Bataillon etwas zu gedencken. Das Wort Bataillon ist ein Frantzösisches Wort, und bedeutet so viel als die Helffte oder Drittel von einem Regiment zu Fuss, nachdem solches gross oder klein, und bestehet eine Bataillon mehrentheils aus 4. Compagnien (p. 49). Wenn eine Bataillon soll exerciret . . . werden (p. 562). wenn eine Bataillon oder Regiment auf dem Platz marchiret (p. 677).

Lac. Archiv: *Archiv für die Geschichte des Niederrheins.* Hrsg. von T. J. Lacomblet, Düsseldorf, 1831 ff.

Martinengo: *Warhaftige Relation vnd Bericht, . . . Beuestigung Famagusta, . . . durch . . . Nestor Martinengo . . ausz Welscher Sprach in Teütsch Transferieret* [1571].

Monum.: *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia.* Cracovie, 1874 ff.

Ochsenbein: *Die Urkunden der Belagerung und Schlacht von Murten,* Freiburg, 1876.

Posen: *Stadtbuch von Posen.* 1. Bd.: *Die mittelalterliche Magistratsliste. . . .* hrsg. von A. Warschauer, Posen, 1892.

Publ.: *Publikationen aus den preuss. Staatsarchiven,* Leipzig, 1878 ff.

Schertlin: *Seb. Schertlin von Burtenbach und seine an die Stadt Augsburg geschriebenen Briefe.* Augsburg, 1852.

Scheurl: *Verteutschte verrüffung des Anstandts in Picardien. . . . Mense Septembri.* 1537.

Schiner: *Korrespondenz u. Akten z. Gesch. des Kard. M. Schiner,* hrsg. v. A. Büchi, I. Bd., Basel, 1920 (Quellen z. schweiz. Gesch. N. F. 3. Abt., Bd. 5.).

Schulz: *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch.* 1. Bd. Strassburg, 1913.

Script. Siles.: *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum,* Breslau, 1835 ff.

Trier: *Quellen zur Rechts- u. Wirtschaftsgech. d. Rhein. Städte.* Kurtrierische Städte I: Trier, hrsg. von F. Rudolphi. Bonn, 1915.

Unterfr.: *Archiv des historischen Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg.*

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Biskuit. The earliest forms of this word, which is a derivative of the late Latin *biscoctus,* are cited by the dictionaries from the end of the sixteenth century. It occurs in the first half of this century, however, and the spelling *biscockten,* in one of the instances, seems hitherto unrecorded: Ehegemelte Galeen seyen voll Melbs, Biscotten, vnd anderer Victualien (Scheurl, f. 1b: 1537). habermeel, zwyr gebachen brot, oder biscockten, vnd andere notturft (Eppend. Türck., p. 86: 1540).

Bombardier. This word, usually cited from texts of the eighteenth century, occurs as early as 1684: Welches alles auf Angeben eines Bombardirers . . . geschehen sey (Kriegs, p. 26).

Brigadier. The earliest instance is dated 1684: imgleichen den berühmten Brigadier, la Vallet, und Marquis de Mayrod (Kriegs, p. 31).

Brigantine. This word, usually interpreted as 'Raubschiff' (cf. Engl. *brigand*), is cited in the dictionaries from the latter part of the sixteenth century. In the spelling *Bregantin* it occurs as early as 1537: Rodiser Galeen, sampt iren Bregantin, vnd zweyen Galeoten (Scheurl, f. a4). Ich acht mein Gnediger Herr der Fürst, werd dise nacht ein Bregantin abfertigen (f. b2).

Cimitar. The equivalent of Engl. *scimitar, cimeter* seems not to be recorded in German dictionaries. It occurs in Eppend. Türck (1540): säbel, die sye Cimitaras nennen (p. 81). mit schwertern die man Cimitarras nennet (p. 132).

Feldwebel. Earliest instance: alle hohe ämpter als prouosen, schulthaissen, wachtmaister, quartiermaister, veldwaibel etc. (Schertlin, p. 10: 1532).

Grenadier. This word is usually derived from the French. An earlier form *Granadirer,* however, points to the Italian: nun entstunde auch ein hefftiger Brand unter den Granadirern in Luxenburg . . . auch sechs Canoniers, zwey Feuerwerker, und ein Constabel darbey elendiglich verbrannten (Kriegs, p. 13: 1684).

Grosstürke. This designation of the Sultan may be cited as early as 1537: Der gros Türck Solyman, ist eygner person . . . ankomen (Scheurl, f. b3). Also hat der gross Türck, mit persönlichem gewaltigem heerzug (f. b4).

Ingenieur is usually cited from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The form *Ingegnier* occurs as early as 1571: der hoch vnd weytberhümbt Ingegnier oder Bawmeister Gio Mormori (Mar-

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tinengo, f. b1). eben daselbst ist obgemelter Ingegnier erschossen worden (*ib.*).

Jury. Schulz cites this word from texts of the nineteenth century, and assumes that French influence was active in its transmission. It may be found as early as 1786, however, in the *Teutscher Merkur* (I, 88), the passage in question being a direct translation from the English: Ihr seyd von einer sehr nachsichtsvollen Jury . . . schuldig befunden worden. A foot-note on the word reads: Wie bekannt, wird das Corps der Zwölf Geschworenen mit diesem Namen benennt.

Kanal, in the meaning 'Wasserstrasse,' is first cited by Schulz from the year 1580. The Italian influence posited by him is confirmed by the following earlier instances, which, contrary to later usage, are of the neuter gender: im Cannal zu Corfhu (Scheurl, f. a3: 1537). beim Cannal von Corfhun (f. a4). durch das Cannal bey Corfhun (f. b2).

kaputiren. The adjective *kaput,* as is well known, came into the German language in the seventeenth century in the phrase *kaput machen,* 'verwunden, töten, kampfunfähig machen.' The verb *kaputiren,* with this same meaning, seems to be unrecorded: huben sie an sich zuwidersetzen, caputirten die Französische Schildwacht, und gelangten also glücklichen in Luxenburg hinein (Kriegs, p. 32: 1684).

Karkasse, 'Bombe mit eisernem Gerippe,' is first cited from the year 1694. It occurs as early as 1684 in documents describing the bombardment of Luxemburg and of Genoa: mit vielen Bombardiers Equipage, Feuer-Mörsern, Feuer-Kugeln, und Carcassen, auch vielen andern Kriegs-Instrumenten (Kriegs, p. 17). sie auch bey die 4500. Bomben, und in die 2500. Carcassen . . . mit sich gebracht hatten (p. 18). den Schaden, so seine Bomben und Carcassen verursachet (Genua, p. 25). This is a translation of the Italian *il danno, che le sue Bombe, e Carcasse faceuano.*

kassieren, 'aus seinem Amt entlassen, abdanken,' is cited by Schulz from Wallhausen's *Kriegsmanual* of 1616. The following instance from the year 1492, it will be noticed, refers not to military, but to ecclesiastical affairs: das Sin gnad sollich vbeltätig priester mit einem wichbischof vnd den nächsten vmbsässen prelaten die cassieren vnd die wiche abnämen möge (*Eidgenössische Abschiede,* hrsg. Segesser, III, 1, 411).

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Konsorte, usually cited from the second half of the sixteenth century, occurs in a letter dated July 15, 1546: das etliche meine mit consortten vnd jch vor ainem jar dem bischof von Augspurg vier vnd zwantzig tausend gulden gelihen. vor mein vnd meiner consorten . . . brief vnd sigel. mich vnd meine consortten bis zu bezalung . . . dabei bleiben lassen (Schertlin, p. 106).

konversieren is usually cited from the sixteenth century. It occurs as early as 1464, however—and that in the modern sense—in letters written from Rome. Latin, rather than French influence, is therefore to be assumed: Er hat gar vil mit mir von im conversirt (Script. Siles., IX, 69). Ich conversirt so lang mit im, das ich clerlich vornam (p. 95).

Korporation. The earliest instances are from Wieland's *Teutscher Merkur:* Dass es eine Korporation von Religionslehrern gebe . . . bey dieser allenthalben verbreiteten Korporation (1786, I, *Anzeiger,* p. IL).

kriminalisch. The earliest instance is dated 1594: sein weib, tochter oder verwandten zu schänden oder zu schmähen oder andere criminalische sachen zu vollbringen (Trier, p. 174).

Lauffeuer occurs as early as 1684: Wurde . . . das darinnen sich befindende Pulver, wie auch die Bomben und Lauff-Feuer, angezündet (Kriegs, p. 31).

Laufgraben. Instead of 1617, this word may be cited from the year 1571: haben sy . . . angefangen zů schantzen, vnnd Lauffgräben zumachen (Martinengo, f. a2).

Miliz, 'Kriegsmannschaft' occurs repeatedly in the year 1684: zumalen sich ihre Militz in die 6000 Mann stark befande (Kriegs, p. 30). die ganze Militie in Augenschein zu nehmen (p. 40). zwey Drittel unsrer Militz, so unter Commando Herrn General Strasoldi waren (p. 43). samt der Militz des Pabstes, und der Malteser (p. 44). gegen Abend sprang der übrige Theil unsrer Militz ans Land (*ib.*).

Mörser. A variant form *Mörsner* seems to have escaped notice: eine Batterie von zwey Feuer-Mörsnern, von funffzig Pfund (Kriegs, p. 48: 1684). 20. Feuer-Mörsner, eine grosse Quantität Zwieback (p. 54). zwey Mörssner aus dem feinsten Messing (Genua, p. 16). Diese Mörssner nun betreffende (p. 17). wo etwan das Feuer in den Mörssner heraus gehen möchte (*ib.*) zünden . . . nach diesem auch den Mörssner an (*ib.*). durch den Stoss des Mörssners (p. 20).

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Moschee. This word, derived from French *mosquée,* Ital. *moschea,* Arab. *mesdǰid,* is not cited by German lexicographers until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The following instances are of interest not only on account of their much earlier date, but also for their spellings: vnnd das der im brieff nennet Mesquitam, soll E. f. g. wissen, dass die Turkhen Ire bettheuser oder templa also haissen (Lac. Archiv, VI, 164: 1550). giengen sie von Stund an in eine Türkische Moschea, in welcher man, . . . das *Te Deum Laudamus* gesungen (Kriegs, p. 55: 1684).

Opposition. This word, not cited before 1571, appears in a text of the year 1546: Vnd vnsere rechtliche notturfft vnd Opposition dawidder zuthun (Joh. Friedr., f. i2).

Paralyse. The learned form *paralysis,* in which the word is cited from the year 1700, can be shown as early as 1592: mit einem schweren Zufall und Accident, das einer paralysi oder Rachung nit ungleich (Lac. Archiv, VI, 168). mit gleichen und grösseren Zufällen, welche die Medici anders nit dan paralyses abnemen konnen (*ib.*). So hab ich dannoch keine Rachung, (paralysin) daran vermirken konnen (p. 170). The term *Rachung* seems to be entirely unknown to lexicographers.

profan is not cited before the seventeenth century. It occurs as early as 1546: Cammerrichter, vnd Beirichter, in Religion vnd prophan sachen (Joh. Friedr., f. e1).

Quartiermeister. This word, usually cited from Fronsperger (1573), occurs in 1532: alle hohe ämpter als prouosen, schulthaissen, wachtmaister, quartiermaister, veldwaibel (Schertlin, p. (10: 1532). Des hertzogen quartiermeister is doit bleven (Lac. Archiv v, 172: 1543).

Rachung 'paralysis,' is not cited in the dictionaries. For instances dated 1592 cf. *Paralysis.*

rebellieren. The earliest instance is: das die flecken umb den Gartsee alle rebellieren werden (Schiner, p. 572: 1515). Similarly **Rebellion:** das wir vor, oder auch nach solchen vortregen, einiche Rebellion geübt (Joh. Friedr., f. f2: 1546).

referieren. The earliest instance is: Etlich gefangen referirn, man gewart des Moren (Scheurl, f. b1: 1537).

Regiment. As the designation of a body of soldiers, lexicographers cite the first appearance of this word from Fronsperger (1573). It is quite frequent, however, in the first half of the six-

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teenth century: soll noch ain regiment zu jnen stossen (Schertlin, p. 103). Item jch soll auch mit meinem regiment . . . vber die Marxemer pruck . . . ziehen (p. 118). So will auch jch mit meinem regiment zu euch eylen (p. 135). wan sy hetten ein regiment oder nur 6 fendlin knecht (p. 168). 1000 pferd vnd ain stargkh regiment knecht (p. 173). doch seind von Bernharden von Talhaim regiment, etlich toplsoldner dahinden bliben (p. 176). meinem regement vnd etlichen fendlein reuter (p. 178). ain regement knecht vnnd etliche pferd (p. 180). mit meinem regement vnd reutern (*ib.*). All these instances are from letters dated 1546. Others occur on pp. 181, 194, 215. All of them seem to refer to infantry. Similarly the following: Aldo ain Regiment Spanier Lantgraue Philipsen zu Hessen In verwarung gehapt (Unterfr., 47, 302: 1547). unnter dem Regiment, so zu Augspurg In besatzung gelegen (p. 319: 1548). vnd 2 fenlin knechten vom Regiment . . . das Regiment Spanier samt irem Obersten (p. 322). Ire Maiestät mit den 300 Trabannten vnd 2 fenlein knechten auss den 10 fenlein ainss gantzen regiments . . . Vnd was Ir Oberster Herr Niclas von Madrütz (p. 326). Here, it will be noted, the regiment is composed of ten companies, whereas above (Schertlin, p. 168) six companies are specified.

reparieren: The earliest instance is: die Galeen . . . kümmerlich mögen reparirt, das ist, widerumb in vorige rüstung und ordnung, gebracht werden (Scheurl, f. b2: 1537).

respektive. The earliest instance is: Johannen Berchmann vnnd Sibertenn Redinchouen respective Gulischen vnnd Cleuischenn Secretarien (Lac. Archiv, VI, 180: 1593).

Revelin. This word occurs frequently in Martinengo, an originally Italian text: derhalben haben sy den Reuelin in form ainer Katzen . . . vndergraben (f. b1: 1571). haben die Feind die Katzen oder Reuelino sampt der Maur gesprengt (f. b3). auss der Katzen oder Reuelino etwas hindersich zuweichen (f. b4). den dritten sturm gegen dem Reuelino (*ib*). aber das fünfft ort, nämlichen den Reuelino, haben wir jnen . . . lassen müssen (*ib.*). ist mitler weyl das Puluer vndter dem Reuelino angezündet worden (*ib.*). Als nun der Reuelino also zersprengt (*ib.*). Das Thor von Limisso ist gegen obgemeltem Reuelino über gewesst (*ib.*). In the eighteenth century the word is spelled *Ravelin,* like the French and English, and is defined thus by Belidor: *Ravelin,* ist ein Aussen-

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werk, so vor der Courtine über dem Graben lieget, dieselbe zu bedecken, wird ordinairement nur mit zwey Facen gemachet, . . . bisweilen auch mit Flanquen, und diese letztern nennen die Franzosen *Demilunes* (p. 176: 1765).

Rittmeister. The earliest instances of this word, in the technical meaning of 'Captain of Cavalry,' are: alle die rittmaister die hertzog Henrichen gedient, . . . Alle die Rittmaister vnd hauptleut, die in Engenland gedient haben (Schertlin, p. 44: 1545). ceitung wie die kays. Mt. rittmaister vnd hauptleut in bestallung annem (p. 46). gestern aubent hat Scheurschloss der hessisch rittmaister denen von Ingelstat 600 haupt vichs . . . hinwegk getribenn (p. 159).

Rotgiesser, 'Kupfergiesser,' is cited in the dictionaries only for Modern German. It occurs as early as 1412: wer Meyster . . . Rotgissern werdin wil (Monum., VII, 405). eyn Rotgisser, off kleyne vnd grobe arbeit (*ib.*). dy obgenannten Rotgisser, kannyngisser (p. 406). So habin das gewilkort dy Rotgisser (p. 407).

salvieren. Earliest instance: das lat uns uff unser gelt an (*ohne*) alles salviren wissen (Script. Siles., VI, 101: 1431).

Schneid, 'Mut,' in the phrase *Schneid haben,* is cited in 1789 for the Palatinate. More than 250 years earlier, Heinrich von Eppendorff, who lived in the city of Strassburg, used a locution that may be regarded as the precursor of the modern idiom: Aber yetzt acht ichs auch nit für billich, ewere gemüter, als wie ein schneid an einer whöre (*Wehre* = *Waffe*), zů widerlegen vnd weych zů machen (Epp. Gal., p. 23: 1536).

Schwadron seems to be unrecorded in the sense of a detachment of ships: Sambstag den 29. giengen Ihre Excellenz der Herr Capitäin vom Golfo, Namens Benedictus Sanudo mit seiner Suadron Galeeren die Vestung mit groben Geschütz recht scharff zu beschiessen (Kriegs, p. 49: 1684). Es machten auch die Feindlichen Franzosen ferners allda . . . zwey Squadronen (Genua, p. 39: 1684).

Serbett, 'türkischer Kühltrank,' which appears in English in 1603, is not known to German lexicographers before 1687. It may now be cited from a text of the year 1540: Ein grossze summ zymmet vnd muscaten vnd irs trancks Serbett, ist da vffgangen (Epp. Türck., p. 100).

Signatur is dated 1619 by Weigand. It occurs in 1464, in a

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letter written from Rome: ir waren gar vil, die darnach stunden, und etlich hatten gereit signaturam, dorumme vil mühe geschahn, das die andern signatur zurissen wurden, und er mag das vorwar wissen, das er sust were von der prebende gekomen (Script. Siles., IX, 98).

Spachi, 'Krieger,' is not recorded by German lexicographers: . . . vnder die reysigen yngeteylet. Vnder den selbigen, haben die Spachi Oglani, also nennen syes zům teyl die Türcken, den eerlichsten platz (Eppend. Türck., p. 80: 1540). Auch so weiben die yetztgnanten Spachi Oglani, zů den weiberen, töchteren, vnd schwesteren, des Türckischen Keyssers selbst (*ib.*). tausent andere pferd, die man Sulastros nennet, die den Spachis gleich im Adel (*ib.*). dem kryegssuolck, als den Spachis, Spaolanis, Charipigis, Silitaris, Mutafarchis, den Janischeren (p. 99). Die Spachi vnd Ciani brachen miteinander die langen spyessz zů rossz vnd fůssz (p. 100). The *NED* cites the word from the year 1562, likewise in the spelling *spachi.*

spolieren: Earliest instance: setzen in keinen zweivel, sie ist spoliert on vehde (Publ., 67, 389: 1478).

Stichwort, 'verletzendes Wort,' occurs as early as 1420: Idoch die Polen alglichwol nicht en lissen von eren stichworten, und lissen rede aus geen (Bunge, v, 668).

Stüber. This word, derived from Dutch *stuyver,* is not cited in its High German form before the year 1678, and as late as 1734 Steinbach cites both *Stüfer* and *Stüber.* The latter spelling, however, occurs as early as 1476 in Swiss records concerning the booty gained at the Battle of Murten: vnd j koral pro iii vnd xx stüber, ist Im gestollen (Ochsenbein, p. 553). Item wilhelm dietterich hat gen ij stuck gold vnn x blaphart die man nemt stuber (p. 560). Item Hanns vrich wercher hat j kürsenen, aber xxxiij blancken vnd stuberen vnder ein ander (*ib.*).

Sukkurs. Earliest instances: aber keinen Succurs von Völkern in Luxenburg einbringen (Kriegs, p. 13: 1684). dass . . . auch bald ein Succurs . . . würde . . . eingebracht werden (p. 14). bey so gänzlicher Verlassung alles Succurses (p. 34). Similarly the verb **sukkurieren:** dass man Luxenburg nicht succurriren könne (p. 12). ebenmässig schon ihme zu Succuriren parat stunde (p. 14).

Tapeterei, Tapesserei, seems not to be recorded: nit anders

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dann die, so in die tapeterey gewürcket seind (Eppend. Türck., p. 55: 1540). der Keyserliche sessel, der mit tapeterey, gold, vnnd edelem gesteyn . . . gezyert was (p. 99). vnnd sient die Heuser dar vor man gangen, ghar khostlich mit Tapecerei behenngt (Unterfr., 47,327: 1548). die Vmbheng von jren Betten, jre Tapessereyen, vnd letstlichen auch jre Leylachen (Martinengo, f. b3: 1571).

Turban. The *NED* cites this word for 1561, German lexicographers for 1618. The following instances are from the year 1540: Die herren aber selbst tragen ein anderen bundt, kleyder von guldenen stucken. . . . To this there is the marginal note: Turbantas in irer sprach (Eppend. Türck., p. 80). so füren sy Bünde oben mit spitzen (die sye Tarbantes nennen) von tůch, seiden (p. 84).

Vezier, which Weigand cites from a text of 1703, is found in the same work: Die Waschken, so man Visiros nennet, seind in des Türcken Rhäten (p. 85). das sye vff ein zeit Bellerbey, vnnd Visiri, das ist, Rhät seind (*ib.*). Wie dann Hebraimus. . . . Bellerbey vnd Visir gesein ist (*ib.*). ein Rhat, den man Visir zů irer sprach nennt (p. 119).

Votum. The earliest instance is: Er solle auch in einem rath keine stimm noch votum zu geben haben (Trier, p. 102: 1593-94).

Wachtmeister. The earliest instances are: Anno domini 1456 . . . zwen wachtmeister, genant Kalpsmul und Hans Smit (*Baseler Chroniken,* IV, 322). Hansz scherrer der wachtmeister vnn kunrat der winsticher (Ochsenbein, p. 561: 1476). The above refer to municipal officials, while the following are military titles: alle hohe ämpter als prouosen, schulthaissen, wachtmaister, quartiermaister, veldwaibel (Schertlin, p. 10: 1532). Ich hab Veitten Holzbock, E. W. diener zu ainem wachtmaister vber den hauffen gemacht (*ib.*). Conraden von Hanstein Feldmarckschalck, Jorgen Wachmeysteren, vnd andere (Heinr. v. Braunschw., f. b4: 1545). alsz nemlich, Jorgen wachmeyster, Bartel von Würtzenrode (f. c4). der Hauptman Meani, Obrister Wachtmaister (Martinengo, f. b3: 1571).

Wandelkauf. This word, not cited by Lexer, is defined in the DWb. (XIII, 1582) as *rückgängigmachung eines kaufs, rücktritt vom kaufvertrage.* The three instances cited range in date from 1479 to 1533. In the following earlier examples the meaning is

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clearly 'penalty for non-fulfillment of contract': Wandilkowff ist doruff gesaczt XXX marce, ab se das nicht enhilden (Posen, p. 65: 1408). unde wo das nicht geschege, so sollin se czen mark wandilkowfis gebin unde dach dy vorgenantin czwenczik mark beczalin (p. 98: 1417). Ap her des nicht tete, zo zal her vorvallin wandelkaufes czwenczik mark dem egenanten herren (p. 107: 1419). Ab her dy czwenczik nicht nicht beczalte off den tag, . . . so sal der vorgeschrebin Maczke XX marcas wandils kouff gabin dem vorgenanten Stasken (p. 126: 1422). et vallacione penarum alias *wandelkouff* (p. 145: 1425). Doruff is gesaczet eyn busse und wandilkawff XX marc, wer dy verichtunge nicht hilde (p. 180: 1429). dem vorgeschrebin Luca gebin und beczalin bey der bussen und wandilkowffe, der doruff gesaciczt ist (*ib.*).

Zwickmühle. Earliest instance: die jungen herrn und auch die Beyrischen hetten gerne ein zwickmul (Publ., 59, 404: 1472).

W. Kurrelmeyer.

FIELDING'S *TUMBLE-DOWN DICK*

Fielding's little known burlesque of a still less known play is of considerable interest to students of Fielding's literary development, because it is a good example of the boisterous humor of his playwriting days. *Tumble-Down Dick; or, Phaeton in the Suds,* was added to the presentation of *Pasquin* at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on April 29, 1736,[1] and curiously enough furnished the customary afterpiece or entertainment which it was intended to satirize. *Pasquin* had already been running for forty performances, and there is no indication that Fielding needed to bolster it up by the addition of an entertainment. Aaron Hill, in the *Prompter,* April 2, 1736, in announcing that Pasquin was preparing to attack pantomime, expressly said that *Pasquin* was "*but* beginning to *rise* in the Opinion of the Town." Fielding may have had an eye to the future, intending to add the afterpiece at the first sign of any falling off in his audiences. That he felt strongly the folly of the craze for pantomime and wished to satirize it there are many indications in his earlier plays.

[1] *London Daily Post,* April 28 and 29, 1736. For the errors connected with the date see "The Date of *Tumble-Down Dick,*" *Modern Language Notes,* xxxvi, 312-313.

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The particular pantomime which he chose to parody was Pritchard's *The Fall of Phaeton,* which was first produced at Drury Lane on February 28, 1736, as the afterpiece to *The Earl of Essex.*[2] It ran regularly from that day until March 9, following such plays as *Oroonoko, Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, The Conscious Lovers, Othello, Cato,* and *Venice Preserved;* it was published March 10;[3] it followed Cibber's *Love's Last Shift* on March 13, 16, 18, 27, and 30; and through April and May it had a desultory career as the afterpiece of a number of plays, including *Henry VIII, Richard III, Julius Caesar,* and *Hamlet.* When Fielding's burlesque of it appeared, *The Fall of Phaeton* had already had eighteen performances, including one on the previous evening, so that the timeliness of Fielding's satire is evident.

A study of the structure of *Tumble-Down Dick* reveals two facts. The first is that *Tumble-Down Dick* joins without a break the rehearsal plot of *Pasquin.* This is an important fact, since it shows that although *Tumble-Down Dick* was published separately, it became, in its acted form, an integral part of *Pasquin.* The idea of the rehearsal is kept throughout the piece, and the irritation of Fustian at Machine's entertainment, his caustic questions, with an occasional dry comment from Sneerwell, together with Machine's humorous replies, not only help to explain the action of the burlesque, but give it a properly satirical setting.

The second fact revealed by a study of the structure of *Tumble-Down Dick* is that Fielding, in the burlesque itself, followed rather closely the structure of Pritchard's *Fall of Phaeton,* which is a typical "pantomime entertainment," consisting of the alternation of serious and comic scenes. In *Tom Jones,* Book V, Chapter I, Fielding later explained this alternation of scenes in the English Pantomime as being done for contrast. "This entertainment," he said, "consisted of two parts, which the inventor distinguished by

[2] "To which will be added, A New Dramatic Masque, call'd The Fall of Phaeton, Interspersed with a Grotesque Pantomime, call'd Harlequin a Captive." *London Daily Post,* February 27 and 28.

[3] *London Daily Post,* March 10. It was a little pamphlet of fifteen pages, selling for sixpence, and the title page was as follows: "The Fall of Phaeton. As it is Perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. Invented by Mr. PRITCHARD. The Musick compos'd by Mr. ARNE. And the Scenes painted by Mr. Hayman. LONDON: Printed for R. Turbot, at the *Golden Key* in *Fleetstreet.* 1736."

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the names of the serious and the comic. The serious exhibited a certain number of heathen gods and heroes, who were certainly the worst and dullest company into which an audience was ever introduced, and, (which was a secret known to few), were actually intended so to be, in order to contrast the comic part of the entertainment, and to display the tricks of Harlequin to the better advantage." Aaron Hill, in his sympathetic reference[4] to Pasquin's forthcoming attack on pantomime, said: "I heartily wish him Success: he is so much in Vogue with all Sorts of Persons, that I believe, if the Thing is practicable, he alone can compass it. But I wish his Burlesque of Pantomime may not be formed upon the Model of that, of Tumblers, to introduce it on his little Theatre." That is the method of burlesque, however, and a comparative study of the two pantomimes will show how closely the burlesque imitates the original. Such a parallel study will be worth while if it throws light, as I think it does, on Fielding's particular type of humor.

In the first place, Fielding's prefixed *Argument* is a close adaptation of the argument which Pritchard prefixed to *The Fall of Phaeton.*

THE ARGUMENT

Pritchard

PHAETON *was the Son of* Phoebus *and* Clymene; Epaphus, *the Son of* Jupiter *by* Io, *wou'd often upbraid him with the Infamy of his Mother* Clymene, *telling him, she reported him to be Son of* Apollo, *only to cover her Adultery. He complains to* Clymene *of the Affront put upon them both. She advises him to go to the Temple of his Father, and there be resolv'd, from his own Mouth, of the Truth of his Sire; bidding him, at the same time beg some indubitable Mark, that should for ever convince the World of the Virtue of his Mother, and the Divinity of his Father. He goes to the Temple of the* Sun, *where* Apollo *grants his Request, and gives him*

THE ARGUMENT

Fielding

PHAETON *was the Son of* Phoebus, *and* Clymene *a Grecian Oyster-Wench. The Parish-Boys would often upbraid him with the Infamy of his Mother* Clymene, *telling him, she reported him to be Son of* Apollo, *only to cover her Adultery with a Serjeant of the Foot-Guards. He complains to* Clymene *of the Affront put upon them both. She advises him to go to the Round-House (the Temple of his Father) and there be resolved from his own Mouth of the Truth of his Sire; bidding him at the same time beg some indubitable Mark, that should convince the World that his Mother was a virtuous Woman, and Whore to* Phoebus. *He goes to the said*

[4] *Prompter*, April 2, 1736.

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the Guidance of his Chariot for a Day. The Youth, unable to manage the Steeds, was flung out of the Chariot, and drown'd in the River Po.

Round-House, where Apollo *grants his Request, and gives him the Guidance of his Lanthorn for a Day. The Youth falling asleep, was tumbled out of the Wheel-barrow, and what became of him I could never learn.*

The first scene of Pritchard's play is in a "Magnificent Garden." "The Curtain rises, and discovers Phaeton leaning against a Tree, in a pensive Posture." Clymene opens the dialogue:

> Why seems my Phaeton with care opprest?
> What Grief, or Pain, sits heavy on thy Breast?

Phaeton replies:

> My Sorrows, Mother, all arise from you;
> Whom must I Father call? for thro' the Plains
> I'm scorn'd by Nymphs, and jested by the Swains:
> All to reproach me with my Birth conspire
> All know my Mother, but all doubt my *Sire.*

Fielding's corresponding scene is *"A Cobbler's Stall,"* with Clymene calling Phaeton a "lazy, lousy Rascal," and Phaeton reproaching her because the Parish-Boys swear at him for pretending to be the Sun's Son.

The next scenes may best be contrasted by means of extracts in parallel columns.

Pritchard

Scene draws, and discovers Phoebus on his Throne, in the Palace of the Sun, attended by the Hours and Seasons.

Phae. What do I see! what Beams of Heav'nly Light
Pour on my Eyes, too strong for Mortal Sight.

Phoeb. O! tell me, *Phaeton,*
Tell, what strange Cause cou'd hither bring my Son?

Phae. Father! (if I may call thee by that Name)
I come to clear my own, and Mother's Fame.

Fielding

Scene draws, and discovers the Sun in a great Chair in the Round-house, attended by Watchmen.

Phae. What do I see? What Beams of Candlelight
Break from that Lanthorn, and put out my Sight?

Phoeb. O little Phaey! pr'ythee tell me why
Thou tak'st this Evening's Walk into the Sky?

Phae. Father, if I may call thee by that Name,
I come to clear my own and Mother's Fame.

Dance of Hours and Seasons

[Phoebus swears "by Hell's inviolable Lake" to grant any wish of Phaeton's.]

Phae. Then let me, since that Vow must ne'er be vain,
Drive thy fierce Steeds along th' Aetherial Plain
And guide thy fiery Chariot for a Day,
While radiant Beams around my Temples play;
Then wond'ring Mortals shall with Envy know,
'Tis *Phaeton* that lights the World below.

Phoeb. Rash was my Promise, but more rash thy Will.

Dance of Watchmen

[Phoebus swears "by Styx! an Oath which break I can't."]

Phae. Then let me, since that Vow must ne'er be broke,
Carry, one Day, that Lanthorn for a Joke.

Phoeb. Rash was my Promise, which I now must keep.

The first comic interlude of Harlequin follows in each play. After the interlude in Pritchard's play comes the scene in the Temple of Aurora, with the fearful priests exclaiming over the sudden heat.

1 *Priest.* What means this sudden Heat, this Blaze of Light!
Too fierce to bear, unsufferably bright!
2 *Priest.* Behold the mould'ring Statues there decay!
The Temple nods—it cracks—it melts away!
1 *Priest.* Forgive, *O Phoebus!* for thy Beams are hurl'd
With Vengeance, to destroy an impious World!
2 *Priest.* Alas! what sudden Change we've undergone!
Varying our Colour with th' approaching Sun.
1 *Priest.* Fly! let us fly with haste th' approaching Heat,
And seek a cooler, and more safe Retreat.

This is to be contrasted with Fielding's scene of the coarse and realistic countrymen, crying out because of the heat.

1 *Country.* I'll e'en go saddle my Horses.

2 *Country.* Odso, methinks 'tis woundy light all of a sudden; the Sun rises devilish fast to-day, methinks.

1 *Country.* Mayhap he's going a Fox-Hunting to-day, but he takes devilish large Leaps.

2 *Country.* Leaps, quotha! I'cod, he'll leap upon us, I believe. It's woundy hot, the Skin is almost burnt off my Face; I warrant I'm black as a Blackamoor.

[Phaeton *falls, and the Lanthorn hangs hovering in the Air.*

3 *Country.* Oh Neighbours! the World is at an End; call up the Parson

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of the Parish; I am but just got up from my Neighbour's Wife, and have not had time to say my Prayers since.

1 *Country.* The World at an End! No, no, if this hot *Weather* continues we shall have Harvest in *May.* Odso, tho' 'tis damn'd hot! I'cod, I wish I had left my Cloaths at home.

2 *Country.* S'bud I sweat as if I had been at a hard Day's Work.

1 *Country.* Oh, I'm scorch'd!

2 *Country.* Oh, I'm burnt!

3 *Country.* I'm on Fire! [*Exeunt crying Fire.*

The episode of Neptune and Terra follows, in each play, and then the lament of Clymene.

Pritchard

Art thou, my *Phaeton*, untimely gone!
O too fond Father! O too rash a Son!
Where shall I go, now all my Joy is fled?
My Child, my *Phaeton*, my Child is dead!

Air

Thus when the Nightingale has found
Her young, by some Disaster slain,
O'er the sad Spoil she hovers round,
And views it o'er, and o'er again.
Then to some Grove retires, alone,
Filling with plaintive Strains the Skies,
There warbles out her tuneful Moan,
'Till o'er th' unfinished Note she dies.

Fielding

Art thou, my *Phaey*, dead? O foolish Elf,
To find your Father, and to lose yourself.
What shall I do to get another Son,
For now, alas! my Teeming-time is done?

Air

Thus when the wretched Owl has found
Her young Owls dead as Mice,
O'er the sad Spoil she hovers round,
And views 'em once or twice;
Then to some hollow Tree she flies,
To hollow, hoot, and howl,
Till ev'ry Boy that passes, cries,
The Devil's in the Owl!

This ends the "Second Serious" in Pritchard's play, but Fielding introduces at this point a scene between Old Phaeton and his wife Clymene, at which Fustian remarks: "Pray, Sir, who is *Old Phaeton?* for neither Ovid, nor Mr. *Pritchard* make any mention of him." "Sir," replies Machine, "he is the Husband of *Clymene,* and might have been the Father of *Phaeton,* if his Wife would have let him."

Fielding then goes on into the scene of Jupiter, Neptune, and Phoebus, which follows Pritchard's second comic interlude, but

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which precedes Fielding's. Pritchard's scene is in couplets, and Jupiter commands Phoebus to take up his duties again as follows:

> *Jup.* But, *Phoebus*, learn, if thus you longer stand,
> Rashly perverse, and slight my just Command,
> My Thunder, which nor Gods nor Men can shun,
> Shall strike the Father, as it struck the Son.
> *Phoeb.* *Jove*, I obey, I must contend no more
> With thee, supreme in Wisdom as in Power.

Fielding's corresponding scene is in prose, with Jupiter telling Phoebus to "mind your Business, or I'll dispose of it to somebody else," and Phoebus replying, "Well, if I must, I must."

Pritchard's play comes to an end with the Temple of the Sun returned to its former lustre, and all the attendants united in a dance. Fielding, having postponed his "Second Comick," now introduces it, and ends his play with a hit at "the two Play-Houses."

It is easy to see, in the light of this parallel study, how closely Fielding, in burlesquing Pritchard, followed his original, not only in the succession of scenes, but in the dialogue as well. It is also apparent (and this is the important fact for students of Fielding) that his method was simply the translation of Pritchard's serious and stilted situations into corresponding ridiculous situations of low life, full of boisterous, but often coarse and vulgar, humor.

CHARLES W. NICHOLS.

The University of Minnesota.

THE LITERARY CRITICISM OF SYDNEY SMITH

No attempt has been made to list satisfactorily the literary criticism of Sydney Smith. There are at least three good lives of Smith (by Lady Holland, S. J. Reid and G. W. E. Russell), and all of these allude with some vagueness to his powers as a critic of literature. None of them state with completeness what literary criticism he wrote, or try to analyse its quality.

As in the case of most nineteenth century critics a useful compendium of opinions on literature might be made from Sydney Smith's letters. From these we learn, for example, that to him the whole subject of Wordsworth was uninteresting; that Scott's

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chief weakness was a tendency to repeat his characters in different novels; that he at first had stood out against Dickens, but in the end was conquered by his genius. From another even less formal source we learn that he was perhaps the first to appreciate the significance of *Modern Painters:* "He said it was a work of transcendent talent, presented the most original views in the most elegant and powerful language, and would work a complete revolution in the world of taste" (Ruskin, *Praeterita,* II, chap. IX.).

When we turn to his formal works we find a small but interesting body of literary criticism. *The Works of Sydney Smith* of 1840 include only one essay with a distinct literary title: "Hannah More" (*The Works of Sydney Smith,* 1840, I, 175). In these volumes are sixty-five of the eighty articles which Smith contributed to *The Edinburgh Review,* between 1802 and 1827. Thirteen other articles were not published in the collected works. Aside from the letters, and the *Letters of Peter Plymley,* which have some little gossipy literary criticism, the bulk of Smith's literary judgments are to be found in these few score essays written for *The Edinburgh Review* (see G. W. E. Russell, *Sydney Smith,* Appendix A). A study of these indicates clearly his position as a critic of literature.

W. A. Copinger has tabulated the authorship of the first one hundred numbers of *The Edinburgh Review* (*On the Authorship of the First One Hundred Articles of the Edinburgh Review,* 1845). Lady Holland's life of her father registers by volume, article, and page the essays written by Smith, and later lives have reproduced her list. But no list gives the titles of the various essays, and no list, which is relevant to our purpose, distinguishes the essays in literary criticism.

The first of these appeared in January, 1803 as the sixth article of the first volume. It was a review and criticism of M. G. Lewis's *Alfonzo, King of Castile, A Tragedy in Five Acts.* This paper illustrates admirably a trait of the critic, his brisk, vigourous judgments, like so many hammer blows, couched in language which is usually ironical, but by no means subtly so. One feels that he disposes of a book with a certain sharp precision, and that he is neither over-thoughtful or over-merciful in his verdicts. "This tragedy," he says of Monk Lewis's play, "delights in explosions. Alfonzo's empire is destroyed by a blast of gunpowder, and re-

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stored by, a clap of thunder. After the death of Caesario, . . . all the conspirators fall down in a thunder clap, ask pardon of the King, and are forgiven. This mixture of physical and moral power is beautiful. How interesting a water-spout would appear among Mr. Lewis's Kings and Queens! We anxiously look forward to his next tragedy, to a fall of snow three or four feet deep; or expect that the plot shall gradually unfold itself by means of a general thaw" (*The Edinburgh Review,* I, 314).

In April, 1803 appeared Smith's review of *Delphine,* by Madame de Stäel. There is the same metallic manner, but this paper illustrates especially the moral tone peculiar to all the reviews of these years, and shared in a large measure by Sydney Smith. He speaks often of the evil influence of such a book, and is wont to use such phrases as: "the sacred and sensitive delicacy of the female character." This book is evil, he says, because "it is calculated to shed a mild lustre over adultery." And he concludes with characteristic sharpness: "What a wretched qualification of this censure to add, that the badness of the principles are alone corrected by the badness of the style, and . . . this celebrated lady would have been very guilty if she had not been very dull" (*Ibid.,* II, 172).

Besides the articles which are definitely literary criticism, there are others which deal with books on non-literary subjects. Smith reviews them with his immense knowledge of history and politics. Sometimes, according to the manner of these early reviews they are merely starting points for discussion of an issue, in politics, history, religion, or morals. The chief essays of this character, in the field of semi-criticism are: the "Essay on Irish Bulls by Richard Lovell Edgeworth and Maria Edgeworth" (*Ibid.,* II, 398); the "Character of the late Charles James Fox" (*Ibid.,* XIV, 353); "Observations on the Historical Works of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox" (*Ibid.,* XIV, 490); "Essays on Professional Education, by R. L. Edgeworth" (*Ibid.,* XV, 40); and the "Memoirs and Correspondance de Madame D'Epinay" (*Ibid.,* XXXI, 44).

In later years Smith wrote a few more essays on literary subjects. In April, 1809, the *Review* published a study of Hannah More's *Coelebs in Search of a Wife.* The ringing phrases continue, introducing in the approved manner long excerpts from the books

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under consideration. "Lucilla," he writes, "is totally uninteresting; so is Mr. Stanley; Dr. Barlow still worse; and Coelebs a mere clod or dolt" (*Ibid.*, XIV, 145). In March, 1818, was printed his criticism of *Anastasius; or Memoirs of a Greek* (*Ibid.*, XXXV, 92), and in February, 1826, an analysis of Thomas Lister's three-volume novel, *Granby* (*Ibid.*, 395).

Although Sydney Smith founded *The Edinburgh Review*, although he is gravely numbered by historians as a literary critic, these few articles constitute the sum of his literary criticism. They are effective, but not great criticism. He follows the traditions of the literary criticism of this period: synopses, long excerpts, long discussions suggested by the books examined, a moral point of view, and summary judgments without profound analysis. He set the fashion for many later literary criticisms. Anyone interested in the beginnings of nineteenth-century literary criticism should read Smith's critical essays. It was a slight performance, but one distinguished by many virtues: directness, vigour, honesty, and wit.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

Yale University.

REVIEWS

Problems and Methods of Literary History, with Special Reference to Modern French Literature: a Guide for Graduate Students. By ANDRÉ MORIZE. Boston: Ginn and Company, [1922]. Pp. viii, 314.

PART I

Many signs, including the establishment of courses in "bibliography and methods of investigation" in an increasing number of graduate departments of literature, point to a growing recognition in America of the importance of giving to those students who contemplate serious work in literary history some sort of systematic introduction to the methods of their subject. Professor Morize's book is at once an additional sign of this new interest and an excellent means of making it effective in the training of the coming generation of scholars. Though addressed primarily to graduate students in modern French literature, it may be read with equal

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profit by students of English or German, and indeed by all those, no matter what their special field of study, who are interested in basing their work as investigators upon a foundation of clear thinking concerning the aims and processes of literary research.

The "Introduction," Chapter I ("Objects and Methods of Literary History"), and the "Conclusion" contain admirable definitions of the purposes of literary history, of its relations with the allied provinces of literary criticism and history proper, and of the spirit in which its problems should be approached. Especially salutary for the average American student are the remarks which the author throws out from time to time on the relation of facts and ideas in literary study. Far from minimizing the importance of fidelity to fact, he cannot insist enough on the need of a "regard for accuracy in detail, a habit of orderly and methodical investigation, and especially that scientific sense quick to distinguish between degrees of certainty, and scrupulous to affirm nothing that has not been clearly established"; and he has nothing but contempt for the "lecturer or the critic who scorns 'facts' and limits himself to 'ideas.'" But at the same time he has little admiration for the mere "worshipper of facts." "The final aim of these researches is not to form narrow, circumscribed minds, absorbed in childish curiosity about learned details"; the true literary historian is one who combines "love of precision" and "aspirations toward general ideas"; "respect for historical facts, and warm appreciation of beautiful writings; minuteness in research, and breadth of view"; love of the truth, and skill to give it "the most artistic and the most agreeable form discoverable." It is this tendency to stress equally the futility of "ideas" without "facts" and the sterility of "facts" without "ideas" that makes one most clearly aware of the French origin of Professor Morize's ideal of literary history. He himself acknowledges his debt to M. Lanson; and it does not require a very close examination of his useful bibliography of French writings on method to realize how much he owes to them in the spirit as well as in the detail of his theory.

The main body of the book is so organized as to give the reader an intelligent idea of the kinds of investigation which it is desirable that he should undertake. Nine out of the twelve chapters deal each with a particular type of study: the preparation of an edition

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(III), the establishment of a critical bibliography (IV), the investigation and interpretation of "sources" (V), questions of chronology (VI), of authenticity and attribution (VII), of versification (VIII), of literary biography (IX), of "success and influence" (X), and problems involving relations between the history of literature and the history of ideas and manners (XI)—this last one of the freshest and most suggestive chapters in the book. Taken in connection with the outline of problems in Chapter I, these chapters form an excellent map of the field—not an entirely complete map it is true,[1] but one sufficiently complete perhaps for the purpose which the writer had in view. Beginners will profit, too, from the pains which Professor Morize has taken to indicate the questions of detail which arise in this or that type of investigation. Certain pages in the chapters on versification (pp. 198-209), on biography (pp. 217-20), and on success and influence (pp. 226-43) are especially valuable from this point of view: they furnish the elements of a systematic questionnaire on these subjects which will be of the greatest help in orienting the researches of the inexperienced investigator.

Such a book as this would of course be very imperfect if it did not devote a large share of its space to practical suggestions on procedure in solving problems, and to cautions regarding the pitfalls into which the unwary student is likely to fall. As a matter of fact, the greater part of Professor Morize's volume is concerned with precisely such matters as these. It is true that he might have done more than he has done and perhaps done some of the things he has attempted more completely. For example, there might well have been, instead of two or three pages, a whole chapter on the analysis and interpretation of texts, constructed somewhat

[1] Except in Chapter XI, the emphasis is thrown almost entirely upon studies centering in individual authors or books—upon analysis rather than synthesis. This distribution of emphasis is perhaps in part an unconscious reflection of M. Lanson's teaching. Cf. *De la méthode dans les sciences*, 2e série, 2e édition (Paris, 1911), pp. 227, 240; *Revue universitaire*, 15 juillet 1913, p. 131; and *Revue de synthèse historique*, XXVI (1913), 125-29. For excellent discussions, from various points of view, of "synthesis" in literary history, see P. Lacombe, *Introduction à l'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1898), especially pp. 1-61; L. Cazamian, *L'évolution psychologique et la littérature en Angleterre, 1660-1914* (Paris, 1920), Ch. I; and P. Van Tieghem, "La synthèse en histoire littéraire," in *Revue de synthèse historique*, XXXI (1920), 1-27.

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on the lines of the corresponding chapter in Langlois and Seignobos' *Introduction aux études historiques,* but with a clearer discussion of the difficulties involved in the process and with more abundant illustrations. Again, one would have welcomed a chapter, complementary to the one on versification, and developed according to a similar plan, on questions of style. The subject is possibly not susceptible of reduction to precise rules; but that it lends itself to more systematic formulation than has usually been realized in this country must be evident to any one who has read M. Lanson's *Art de la prose* or glanced at such a French thesis as M. Delattre's on Herrick. These are perhaps the most important questions on which one would like to have had special chapters; the few remaining points on which Professor Morize's treatment leaves something to be desired all have to do with matters of detail. Thus the chapter on editing ought certainly to have contained at least a brief discussion of "collation by forms," a method quite as valuable, one would suppose, for the establishment of French texts as of English.[2] Then too, the chapter on "sources" would have been even better than it is if the treatment of what one may call the criteria of borrowing had been made somewhat more full and precise.[3] And finally, the whole chapter on success and influence should be read in the light of the somewhat skeptical conclusions concerning this type of studies recently set forth by M. Cazamian.[4] But these, after all, are minor defects, which do not in any degree qualify one's gratitude and admiration for what Professor Morize has done in the way of defining and illustrating methods and multiplying cautions against error. His pages on the practical details of editing (Ch. III), on the "hypnotism of the unique source" (pp. 88-90), on the value of studying "indefinite sources" (pp. 113-18), on methods of dating the parts of a work (pp. 143-56), on the various tests of authorship (Ch. VII), on the interpretation of evidence for the success and influence of a work (Ch. X), on taking notes (pp. 34-35, 292-94), and on planning the final

[2] See R. B. McKerrow, in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society,* XII (1914), 282-89.

[3] On this point see R. E. Neil Dodge, in *Modern Philology,* IX (1911-12), 211-23, and especially two very helpful articles by D. Mornet in *Revue des cours et conférences,* XXIII (1922), 446-58, 654-66.

[4] *Revue germanique,* XII (1921), 371-78. Cf. also Van Tieghem, in *Revue de synthèse historique,* XXXI (1920), 8-10.

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exposition (p. 296) all deserve to be read and pondered by whoever would learn the secrets of successful research. And the task of the student is made easier throughout by numerous and varied illustrations of the processes under discussion, drawn mainly from the best French work of the present day.

This last point suggests another and final service which the book may perform. In these illustrations, and in the abundant notes, the beginner will find an excellent list of models to study. It is natural that in this list a few outstanding names—Lanson, Bédier, Baldensperger, Villey, Mornet—should constantly recur; but the selection is by no means confined to these, and the book as a whole forms a sort of synthesis, from a methodological point of view, of the entire movement of modern French literary studies for the past generation. For the American student, whether his specialty be French or not, no better models could be offered.

Such are some of the ways in which Professor Morize's book may be of use to beginners in literary history, and for that matter also, to many who have already graduated into the ranks of practising scholars. For all such persons the great value of the book lies in its admirable combination of practicality and breadth of view. The work of one who has himself been a successful investigator, it is written throughout with the single aim of being useful to students. It is not, however, in any sense a mere "practical receipt-book," in which the methods of literary history are "tabulated in rules and formulas, ready to be applied to fresh cases. On the contrary, its pages reflect an attitude as far removed from pedantic preoccupation with mechanical rules as from metaphysical abstraction—an attitude which never loses sight of the larger relations and perspectives of literary study, and never fails to remember that "the true literary historian is he who places an irreproachable scientific loyalty and a tried method at the disposal of a keen sensibility, an exquisite perceptiveness, and a delicate taste." The spirit of the book, in a word, is preëminently humane.

Part II

This book, so sympathetically reviewed by Professor Crane, makes an admirable addition to the equipment of a student of French literary history. Even though many of the ideas may be found in scattered articles by Lanson or in Langlois et Seignobos, it is

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useful to have them brought together so intelligently and tastefully, and we all owe to Professor Morize a debt of gratitude for his admirable defense of our aims and methods, against pedants on the one hand, and superficial or dogmatic literary critics on the other. I would gladly let the criticism of this book for *M. L. N.* rest here, except that I have promised the author to add to this review by a Professor of English Literature the results of a detailed examination by a Professor of French. I heartily agree with Dr. Crane's general conclusions. It remains to be seen whether the book could have been improved by certain additions, whether it possesses the precision which Morize advocates as "the basis of psychological conclusions."

In regard to the latter point it is, of course, obvious that the danger of all books on methods is that the student may regard them as a substitute for the actual experience of study and investigation. Such a danger will be diminished if the book on methods not only gives excellent counsel, but itself shows the qualities which the student is urged to display in the writing of his dissertation.

Of course, a book of this scope cannot attempt to be at the same time a bibliographical manual; nevertheless, since La Croix Du Maine and Du Verdier are mentioned among the "essential bibliographies" (p. 20), I should like to see for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries something said about Graesse, Sorel, Goujet, Moréri, and certainly Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire,*[1] which is far more important than his supplement to Barbier and Quérard, to which reference is made on p. 24. There should also be some indication that special bibliographical works exist for various genres, such as, for drama, the frères Parfaict, Beauchamps, La Vallière, or the *Catalogue de la bibliothèque dramatique de M. de Soleinne.* Additions to Lanson's *Manuel* have been made, not only in the articles cited on p. 16, but also by Cohen in *R. L. C.,* 1922, pp. 499-504. In the discussion of how to prepare an edition something might have been said with regard to accentuation, about which there is considerable variety of usage. In the chapter on

[1] Attention might well be called, also, to the supplement to the *Manuel*, the *Dictionnaire de géographie ancienne et moderne*, without which a graduate student may have difficulty in identifying even such well known places as Argentoratum, Trajectum Inferius, or Rotomagus.

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chronology, the relative importance of *privilège, achevé d'imprimer,* and date of title-page [2] might have been pointed out, as well as the desirability that an investigator should state, when he assigns a date to a play, just what date he means, whether that of the first performance, of the *privilège,* or of the first edition. This important point is often neglected, even by some of the principal masters of French literary history. The student might well be warned, too, against the abuse of parallel columns, which should seldom be employed except when there is very considerable verbal similarity between the two passages. Finally, he should be urged to write an index to his book and some indications should be given him as to how to set about it. This advice is particularly necessary if he is to be sent constantly to French models, for much of the usefulness of many important French dissertations is lost by the omission of an index, which is, after all, not a difficult thing to make.

A few errors have crept in. It is true that the *Bibliographie de Belgique* was "discontinued in 1914" (p. 32), but it has reappeared since the war. Even in the seventeenth century an author could be and often was accused of plagiarism (p. 83). The translator of the Bible mentioned on p. 95 should be Lemaistre de Sacy (1613-1684) and not Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838). It is certainly "illuminating to discover the origin of the subject itself of a work" (p. 119), but almost impossible to do so unless the author tells us what it was. In the case of *Ruy Blas,* if we may believe Hugo's own testimony, it was not the story of Angelica Kauffmann's marriage, but some other source, probably Gaillardet's *Struensée,* that gave him the original idea.[3] Lanson has shown with great acumen that Angelica's experiences furnished the major part of the plot, but they were not "the spark that kindles the great blaze" (p. 120), rather the fuel on which the spark fell. It is stated (p. 240) that the influence of Mme de Staël's *de l'Allemagne* ceased abruptly in 1840. This is not the opinion, at any rate, of M. Reynaud.[4] The printing and proof-reading are unusu-

[2] This would lead to the adding of a remark on p. 251 to the effect that a new date on the title-page does not necessarily mean a new edition.

[3] I have pointed this out in *M. P.*, XIV, 641-646, an article cited by Morize.

[4] *Cf. l'Influence allemande en France au XVIIIe et au XIXe siècles,* Paris, Hachette, 1922, pp. 173 ff.

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ally good. I note only a few mistakes except in the index, which is unfortunately far from satisfactory.[5]

The errors that I have pointed out, apart from those in the index, are not numerous and chiefly concern matters that are comparatively unimportant in a book of such extensive scope. They may easily be corrected in a second edition and even at present detract little from the excellence of this useful and stimulating book.

RONALD S. CRANE (PART I).
Northwestern University.
H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER (PART II).

Charles Sealsfield. Ethnic Elements and National Problems in his Works. By B. A. UHLENDORF, Ph. D., University of Illinois. Reprinted from "Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter." Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois—Jahrgang 1920-21 (Vol. XX-XXI). The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1922.

It is a pleasure to welcome an appreciative monograph on an author who has never come to his own in the land of his choice and affection. What has not been, need not, however be excluded from the range of future possibility. The works of Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl), the portrayer and eulogist of American democracy in its infancy, have assumed new importance at the present time. Not less so in Europe, where numerous young republics

[5] P. 35, in the middle of a sample card, 16vo for 16mo; p. 246, XVIII for XVI; in the index, Du Bellay, p. 86 for p. 85; Massillon, p. 268 for p. 267; Melon, p. 279 for 280. "Le Maître" is not found on p. 73, as the index indicates. The following names are omitted from the index, although it does not appear to have been the author's intention that it should be incomplete: Labé, p. 16, Scott, p. 19, La Croix Du Maine, Du Verdier, p. 20, Gay, p. 28, Obert, p. 30, Latouche, p. 44, Lebarq, p. 46, Molinier, p. 50, Baum, Cunitz, Reuss, p. 52, Jore, Thieriot, pp. 54, 55, Tronchin, p. 56, Sidney, Locke, Gordon, Arbuthnot, Warburton, Bolingbroke, p. 89, Du Ryer, Fréminet, Lambinus, Lucretius, p. 95, Moland, p. 110, Weiss, p. 214. I have made out an equally long list of authors whose names are given, but with an incomplete enumeration of the pages on which they are mentioned.

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have arisen and are facing intricate problems, ethnic, social, political and national, as baffling as those that confronted the heterogeneous population of the United States in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Through the wreath of romance which Sealsfield has wound around the American national types of the twenties and thirties, there is visible a glowing background of color. That deep glow is the author's undying faith in democracy, bred perhaps under oppression at home, but developed to full consciousness only on the American frontier, and never shaken subsequently by the excesses which he himself abhorred. A monograph on this author, whose message is reawakening on two hemispheres, is therefore timely, for it is very conceivable that the future may discard the title *der grosse Unbekannte,* and restore for him the proud name *Der Dichter beider Hemisphären.*

The monograph before us does not add anything to our knowledge of Sealsfield's life, but it sums up the sources of his biography, and brings the bibliography somewhat up to date. Nor is the point of view at all a new one, for the importance of the ethnic elements and national problems in Sealsfield's works have been illustrated and emphasized repeatedly, likewise their Americanism, and their value for the student of the history of civilization and social conditions, if we may paraphrase thus the word *Kulturgeschichte.* What Dr. Uhlendorf does, is to furnish a collection of well-translated quotations from Sealsfield's works, illustrative of his general theme, and he often enriches them with passages from contemporary American historical sources, in which he is well read. The American literary sources are not drawn upon to any extent, though they might have furnished interesting parallels and contrasts.

It is regrettable, that the author of the monograph did not take the pains to prepare a complete bibliography of the subject of Sealsfield, using the work of his predecessors and bringing the materials completely up to date. For the older periods we miss, for instance, such fundamental references as: *Wurzbachs Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Oesterreich* (XXXIII); also *Die Grabesschuld. Nachgelassene Erzählung von Charles Sealsfield.* Herausgegeben von Alfred Meissner. Leipzig, 1873. (Prefaced by a very good biographical sketch of the author); also

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Joseph Sabin's Dictionary of Books relating to America, and a host of valuable articles in Austrian newspapers. Omissions among newer works are e. g.: *Die Technik der Naturschilderung in den Romanen von Charles Sealsfield,* von *Oskar Hackel.* Prager Deutsche Studien, Achtzehntes Heft. Herausgegeben von August Sauer, Prag 1911, and the references to Sealsfield in American magazines contained in Goodnight's monograph (*Knickerbocker Magazine,* and *Southern Literary Messenger*). Admirers of Sealsfield would have been grateful also for a complete list of the translations of the author's works into English. Certainly there ought to be included the best of all the translations, viz.: those in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* Vols. LIV-LVII (1843-45).

Sealsfield was very conscious of founding a new type of romance, generally called in histories of German literature, *der exotische Roman.* He defines it in a letter to Brockhaus at length, speaks of the hero as not a single personage but a whole people, and concludes, speaking of himself in the third person: "Er hält sich berechtigt, sich für den Gründer dieses neuen . . . Gliedes der Romanfamilie erklären zu dürfen, da er seines Wissens der erste war, der diese breite, geschichtliche, nationale und soziale Basis zu Grunde legte." In discussing the theory of this national-ethnic novel, Dr. Uhlendorf falls into a misstatement. It was the monograph he mentioned on p. 20 (reprint; Jahrbuch, p. 28), not the review of it, which pointed out, that Sealsfield anticipated by over fifteen years Karl Gutzkow's *Roman des Nebeneinander.* But more interesting to the general reader than discussions of priority, is another fact brought out by this same letter: "Es ist in diesem Romangenre, dem er die Benennung des nationalen oder höheren Volksromanes (zum Unterschied vom sog. Volksroman) geben zu sollen glaubt, dem Roman die breiteste Unterlage gegeben, durch die derselbe zunächst der Geschichte sich anzunehmen, *eine wichtige Seitenquelle derselben zu werden,* berufen sein dürfte." Sealsfield's works are a handmaid to history, they are sources of history, and therein lies their strength and permanent value. The works of no contemporary American writer bristle with historical materials as do those of the author of the *Transatlantic Sketches.*

This is a different claim than to hail him as an historian, or endow him with "the keen insight of an historian" (reprint, p. 123). Sealsfield was a partisan,—witness his attitude in the Jack-

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son campaign,—he is never judicial, even in his portrayal of national characteristics. He reflects the sentiment about him, particularly that of the frontiersmen, and in that way performs a service. The judgments given are generally narrow, often superficial, but nevertheless interestingly genuine, as when the Texan Alcalde has the Normans "on his brain," or comes near declaring it would be "unconstitutional" in God not to pardon the murderer Bob Rock.

Neither can the reviewer follow Dr. Uhlendorf's claim, that Sealsfield was a born artist (reprint, pp. 224, 123, etc.). Thereby the author is placed upon a high pedestal which removes him from our sight. Sealsfield was an impulsive, rapid writer, careless of his style. But he was a great observer, he had a strong imagination, and he could write a fascinating, impressive story. In fact, from *Tokeah* to *Wahlverwandschaften* every one of his tales is so compelling and gripping that the reader loses sight of all their glaring defects.

The reviewer enjoyed most Chapter IV of Dr. Uhlendorf's monograph, entitled Liberty and Equality, and containing an exposition of Sealsfield's views on American democracy as expressed in his works. How interesting is Sealsfield's insistence on the doctrine, that the security of property is a fundamental prerequisite for social freedom in America,—a trait emphasized at the present day. For Goethe's ideal of intellectual freedom, Sealsfield probably had no understanding. He certainly discovered nothing of the sort in Jacksonian democracy.

However interesting to scholars careful studies as the one before us may be, the multiplication of monographs on Sealsfield will not bring him the desired recognition in America. His works are almost inaccessible. The German editions have been out of print for generations, and they are rarely seen in American libraries. The translations are even more scarce, and most of them are an injustice to the author. What is needed is a first-class translation into English of Sealsfield's complete works. They would speak for themselves, and secure for the author the place that belongs to him in American literature by the side of Cooper, and Irving, in the front rank of the early romance writers.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

Cornell University.

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Nature in American Literature, by NORMAN FOERSTER. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1923.

Professor Foerster's title promises both more and less than his book performs. He is concerned not with American literature *in toto,* but with Bryant, Whittier, Emerson, Thoreau, Lowell, Whitman, Lanier, Muir, and Burroughs. Perhaps he will yet give us essays on nature in Hawthorne, Melville, Mark Twain, Parkman, Howells, Edith Wharton, the local colorists.

The title misleads also because it contains no hint that Professor Foerster is a Puritan humanist of the school of Babbitt, More, and Sherman, and that therefore he will not rest content with nature as his theme. Like his masters, he insists on moral judgment of the authors he criticises, even when such an appraisal has only a remote connection with their attitude toward nature.

But the attraction and the usefulness of his book do not lie in his earnest and penetrating but sometimes narrow and unkind application of Platonic platitudes and Babbitt fallacies and half-truths. Historically and religiously, we dissent. The devil, we are sure, antedates Rousseau. We do not believe this is the worst of all ages—we go back no farther than the early eighteenth century (before Rousseau) to find a worse one. Nor do we believe that Christianity and Professor Foerster's humanism are quite congruous. We cannot understand how one can save one's own soul first and love one's neighbor next—the two processes intertwine in our conception. We are altogether stumped in our attempt to reconcile the golden rule with the golden mean.

We enjoy Professor Foerster more when he exhibits the biographer's gift of presenting human beings in their habit as they lived. The earlier parts of the essay on Burroughs and almost all of that on Muir are thus made agreeable; and in his *Emerson* he meets with remarkable success a difficult test of this capacity. He is, in addition, an acute and sympathetic student of books and nature, and of nature in books. He enumerates with life and color his subjects' favorite natural forms, and compares discriminatingly the strength of their five (or more) senses as it affects their responsiveness to nature. True, use of the same method of analysis in several essays becomes slightly annoying.

Glow and warmth and accompanying distinction come into his writing when he is reproducing the nature and the outer humanity

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of others. But when he assumes the divine prerogative and with assured infallibility divides the sheep from the goats, he is neither so interesting nor so convincing. Passing judgment is never a certain or comfortable process if the scales do not tip decidedly. Professor Foerster, like others of his ilk, is prone to a sharpness of decision, a simplification, which, to be quite consistent, he should abhor as romantic. He casts Burroughs into outer darkness as being soft and lazy, yet haloes Thoreau as a humanist. Do not the two, we wonder, have a common center of transcendentalism? Sometimes he sits on the scales. He acknowledges in Bryant, for instance, paganism, romanticism, and a Wordsworthian transcendentalism, but he asserts, without much proof, that these are utterly subordinated to Puritanism. He has decided to save Bryant. A complete analysis would show in Bryant, we believe, an unresolved confusion of Christian orthodoxy and the non-Christian elements just named. Surely, Bryant's melancholy is inherited as much from the romanticists as from the gloom of his Puritan forebears. In Bryant, too, there is a quite Wordsworthian blending of nature and humanitarianism, at which Professor Foerster should be aghast. See, for example, *The Song of the Sower.*

Canonization is carried too far, once more, in the case of Emerson. Emerson, Professor Foerster notwithstanding, does not consistently distinguish between God and nature. Emerson followed Swedenborg in believing nature mystically symbolic of divinity. For him, Nature is God's language, a divine cipher which man interprets only by flashes of intuition. Emerson frequently says of Spirit what he says of Nature, for he finds it easy to identify the words spoken with the speaker. He seeks for truth not only in communion of his own mind with the Over-Soul, but in the riddle which God has set for him in Nature. For this sin we are inclined to consign Emerson, after all, to the easiest room in Professor Foerster's hell.

EMERSON GRANT SUTCLIFFE.

University of Minnesota.

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La Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri. Edited with introduction, notes, and vocabulary, by KENNETH MCKENZIE. Boston: D. C. Heath, 1922.

This, the first edition of the *Vita Nuova* with an English commentary, is addressed to the general reader, who, with an incomplete knowledge of Italian, is making his first acquaintance with the work. The Vocabulary does not exclude the commonest words; the Notes translate the Latin sentences, and give much information that is unnecessary for any one who is familiar with the *libello.*

The scope of the book makes the editor's task very difficult. He is precluded from discussing any of the debatable questions thoroughly, and, on the other hand, he cannot restrict himself to providing indisputable information, for the extent of such information is far too small. The whole work—its purpose and character, and the interpretation of every passage, the meaning of which is not obvious—is still the subject of debate.

Professor McKenzie has accordingly chosen to settle dogmatically a few questions, as to which his convictions are definite—for example, the date of composition, "1292 or possibly a little later" (p. ix)—and to treat others with a varying attitude, sometimes defending his own opinion, sometimes offering alternative opinions, with or without indicating his own preference.

For further discussion, an enquiring reader has to rely on the Bibliography (pp. xxiv–xxvi) and on the too scanty references in the Notes. The list of "Studies Concerning the *Vita Nuova*" includes Bartoli's *Storia,* but not Gaspary or Rossi; a number of the items are concerned with matters which affect the *Vita Nuova* only indirectly, and this is particularly true of the items in the English language; Marigo's important *Mistica e scienza nella Vita Nuova,* 1914, and his article in the *Miscellanea Flamini* are absent; Barbi's *Studi* should have been mentioned; what one misses most is a whole series of articles and reviews in the *Bullettino* and elsewhere, which, if not listed here, should have found a place in the Notes. There is no indication anywhere that Cesareo's edition (mentioned in the long list of "other editions") contains a radical and influential contribution on the whole character of the *Vita Nuova.*

The larger questions affecting the whole work are treated, as extensively as space would permit, in the Introduction supple-

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mented by the appropriate Notes. As to whether the *Vita Nuova* is an historically true account, Mr. McKenzie takes the definite position that to understand the work "as a narrative of real events, related in a series of poems written under the conditions specified by Dante himself . . . seems the only rational method of interpreting the apparently simple but really complex little book" (p. viii). Dante "does not invent or distort incidents, he merely interprets them. The modern reader, in attempting to interpret the book, must follow the same principle" (p. xviii). Beatrice is tentatively identified with Bice Portinari on the evidence of Boccaccio and Pietro di Dante (accidentally called Jacopo Alighieri, p. xix). As to whether the *Vita Nuova* is an allegory, the editor's stand is not quite so definite: "Allegory has been defined as 'organized symbolism'; if found in the *Vita Nuova,* it is of the most elementary sort, hardly organized at all, and not comparable to the complex allegory of the *Divina Commedia*" (p. xviii).

Perhaps it would have been better to state these questions a little differently; for it is no doubt true, as Benedetto Croce says in his *Poesia di Dante,* that it is unimportant, for understanding the *Vita Nuova,* to know what the background of historical events may or may not have been. But it *is* important that we should know what Dante intends us to understand, for this affects the meaning of the author's words, upon which—as Croce is the first to admit—the esthetic appreciation depends. For example, it is important for us to know whether Dante means us to believe—as some of his words seem to indicate—that his attentions to the ladies 'of the defense' were merely a pretence of love, or whether—as other words of his seem to indicate—they represent genuine love-affairs that were stepping-stones in the way toward understanding and appreciating his own love for Beatrice. Failure to comprehend is destructive of all esthetic appreciation.

As to allegory, which, according to Croce, has nothing to do with the esthetic value of any work of art, it seems to me that, as in reading the *Divina Commedia,* it is important to know, if possible, what the intended allegory is, so that we may not be disconcerted by frequent expressions that are incomprehensible without that knowledge; so the reader of the *Vita Nuova* needs to have peace of mind, to be saved from distracting suspicions, and to be warned of the quagmire of contradictions in which the allegorists flounder helplessly.

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The account of the *dolce stil nuovo* (pp. x-xi, and note 15, p. 98) leaves something to be desired. "In the *Purgatorio* he (Dante) intimated that the essential element of the new style was in following the dictation of Amore; by this name he meant a personification not merely of individual feeling and inclination, but of the whole system of chivalric love, as interpreted by the new school of poets" (p. xi). The note says: "His (Guinizelli's) innovation consisted in the introduction of new ideas and new forms of expression, and in the development of the doctrine of the gentle heart. Critics have often stated that the difference between the poets of the new school and their predecessors was in their sincere writing according to the dictates of their feeling; but this entirely ignores the connotations of the word Amore, which . . . are far more abstruse and complicated than mere natural sentiment."

No "system of chivalric love" can be imagined which will be different from the traditional system accepted by all thirteenth-century poets, and which, at the same time, will include the widely diverging views on love of Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, Dante, and Cino. In defining the new style Dante seizes on the one feature that the new poets have in common, and which the other Italian poets have not, that is, the new style expresses sincerely a genuine understanding of fine love, based on personal experience. His definition does not distinguish the new poets from the Provençals, but only from the other Italians, as appears clearly in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia.*

In discussing the meaning of the title *Vita Nuova,* Mr. McKenzie understands the adjective in what he calls "its natural sense of 'new,' the sense which occurs first to any reader" (p. xii). He means new life in the sense of *different from the previous life.* And yet it is certain that one cannot think of the word "new" without thinking of its other meaning also, "new" in the sense of *fresh, unspoiled: new life* in the sense of *different from the subsequent life.* The two meanings are always present, no matter which seems predominant, no matter whether the expression be *turning over a new leaf* or *eating new potatoes.* It is the first time, I think, that any one has suggested that "Questi fu tal ne la sua vita nova" (*Purg.,* XXX, 115) does not refer to the book. Certainly this passage, to which Rajna and Barbi attached such great importance, should not have been dismissed so summarily.

As to the apparent conflict between the *Vita Nuova* and the

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Convivio, in their accounts of the "donna gentile," Mr. McKenzie holds that *Voi che 'ntendendo* was written "not long after the *Vita Nuova*" (p. xviii), without any allegorical intention, and that "some years later, in exile, . . . Dante hit upon the idea of making this lady the symbol of his philosophical studies" (p. 128). Now, the text of *Voi che 'ntendendo* represents Dante as on the point of yielding to the attractions of the new lady, to that temptation, that is, which, in the *Vita Nuova,* is said to have been completely overcome by the power of the memory of Beatrice. This is the conflict that needs explaining: the conflict that appears long before Dante undertakes to interpret the poem.

The editor pays no attention to this real difficulty, but devotes himself to showing that the allegorical interpretation of the lady as Philosophy need not be thought of as contradicting the account in the *Vita Nuova.* In the Notes (pp. 126-127) he reproduces the two statements which, in the *Convivio,* serve as introductions to the literal and allegorical commentaries respectively, and concludes that "the two accounts of the episode do not contradict each other." He is undoubtedly right: the allegorical is based on the literal meaning, and does not conflict with it; and it is also true that the allegorical account need not be considered a contradiction of the story of the *Vita Nuova;* but the canzone *Voi che 'ntendendo* does seem to contradict the story of the *Vita Nuova,* and the literal *ragione* of *Conv.,* II, II, when understood in the usual way, seems to contradict the *Vita Nuova* just as sharply. The solution of the difficulty is to be found, I think, only in the correct understanding of that literal *ragione.*

Regarding the famous passage of *Conv.,* II, II, "Cominciando adunque, dico . . .," which contains the reference to that revolution of Venus "che la fa parere serotina e matutina, secondo diversi tempi," and which has a bearing on the date of the *V. N.,* the editor says (pp. 126-127): "But it is not certain to which one of two possible revolutions he refers—one taking 584 days, the other 225 days. Twice the longer period brings us from June, 1290 to August, 1293; twice the shorter, to September, 1291." It is true that the meaning of the reference to the revolution of Venus has been much debated, but by this time the debate ought to be considered closed. In *Conv.,* II, V (vi), 16, Dante cites the work of Alfraganus, *Libro de l'Aggregazioni de le Stelle,* and gives the

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three movements of the planet as they are according to that book.[1] Alfraganus is, therefore, the authority to whom we should look for the solution of the problem, and he settles it completely. According to him, it is the movement of the epicycle that causes Venus to appear as morning and evening star, and this movement is the only one that could bring about that result.[2] Also, according to Alfraganus, the revolution of the epicycle occurs once in 584 days,[3] and no other period for this revolution is mentioned, or even hinted at.

There would never have been any dispute over the meaning of Dante's words if Dante scholars had relied on the book to which he himself referred them, and had taken the trouble to study it. The *Liber Aggregationis Stellarum* was apparently inaccessible to Carpenter, who allowed himself to suspect that Dante may have deduced a revolution of the epicycle in 225 days, that was not observable with the naked eye. Alfraganus never suggests that the revolution in 584 days is not the actual revolution, and, presumably, neither does Ptolemy—for I have not seen the *Almagest*.[4] To say, as Carpenter did, "the *actual* period of the revolution of Venus in her epicycle is approximately two hundred and twenty-five days,"[5] is to take our modern knowledge that Venus moves round the sun once in 225 days, and apply that knowledge to an epicycle which never existed, but which, when it was believed in, could not be supposed to revolve in that period.

Chistoni, on the other hand, misunderstanding an important passage in the book of Alfraganus, concluded that the appearance of Venus as morning and evening star is not caused by the revolution of the epicycle, but by that of the eccentric orbit of Venus, which, according to Alfraganus, revolves in the same time as that of the sun, that is, once in 365¼ days.[6] Chistoni was apparently

[1] Cf. Alfraganus, *Il libro dell' aggregazione delle stelle* ecc., ed. Romeo Campani, Città di Castello, 1910, XIV, 124.

[2] Cf. Alfraganus, ed. cit., XIV, 122, and XXIV, 154. For a better version of part of this latter citation see Chistoni, *La seconda fase del pensiero dantesco*, Livorno, 1903, p. 28, but beware of Chistoni's misinterpretation.

[3] Alfraganus, ed. cit., XVII, 131, and XIV, 124.

[4] My presumption as to Ptolemy is confirmed by M. A. Orr, in *Dante and the Early Astronomers*, London (1913?), p. 315.

[5] Cf. *Eighth Annual Report of the Dante Society*, 1889, p. 58.

[6] Cf. Chistoni, *La Seconda fase, ecc.*, Livorno, 1903, pp. 27-29.

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misled by the statement in the aforesaid passage, that Venus and Mercury are "swifter than the sun," and he did not notice that the statement is explained by the following words, "when either of them is in conjunction with the sun and is on its *direct* course," that is, its course eastward. Of course, it is the revolution in the epicycle that is referred to here, as it is explicitly in the very next sentence ("in circulo brevi"), and the revolution in the epicycle is the only movement of Venus that can cause her to race ahead of the sun when she is in line with him and moving eastward in the epicycle, for the revolution of the deferent is equal with that of the sun.

The technical meaning of Dante's "secondo i diversi tempi" is also plain in Alfraganus;[7] it means the different seasons, when Venus rises in different latitudes, and in different signs of the zodiac.

The note on *Ego tanquam centrum circuli* (pp. 88-89) is an attempt to cut a Gordian knot, to explain this difficult passage *alla buona*. It was well to quote the passage in *Conv.*, IV, XVI, as the most appropriate to compare with this, but that quotation is anything but a sufficient commentary, and what is added by the editor throws very little light. It is only clear that he feels sure that the figure of the centre of the circle has something to do with the circle as a symbol of perfection, and with Aristotle's doctrine about virtue. "Love drives away the vices and is perfect and noble. Virtue consists in following a middle course and avoiding extremes. The centre of a circle is a perfect example of this." But in *Conv.*, IV, XVI, it is the circle that is spoken of as being perfect, as arriving at its proper virtue, not the centre. The centre is what it is, but does nothing. Any one who has puzzled over the problem will understand the difficulty of writing a short explanation, but surely there should have been some references to the literature of the discussion.

The note on *Ond' è laudato chi prima la vide* (p. 107) quotes a comment on the whole sonnet by Prof. J. B. Fletcher, which does not agree well with that of Dante, since it takes no account of the distinction between the effect of the glance of Beatrice and the effect of her speech. The "pensiero umile" (v. 9) is not the result of seeing her, but of hearing her speak. She speaks to those

[7] *Op. cit.*, XI, 106, and XXVI, 160.

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with whom she is acquainted (Cf. III, 46-47), but the effect of her presence is so destructive of pride and anger, that instead of envying the favored one, the others lay it to his credit. (Cf. son. *Vede perfettamente,* v. 6.)

In commenting on the *mirabile visione* (p. 139), the editor yields, as others have done, to the temptation of guessing what it was that Dante intended to write about Beatrice. He says (p. 140): "For certain reasons that do not concern us here, D. chose 1300 as the time for that action (the action of the *Commedia*) not at all because he had any particular inner experience in that year." However, there was a period in Dante's life, after the *Vità Nuova* was written, of which he became ashamed still later. It is not at all unlikely that repentance came in 1300. "The period of preparation" [for writing worthily of B.], says the editor, "is treated in *Conv.* II." But *Conv.,* II, puts Beatrice resolutely in the background of the poet's thoughts—*cf. Conv.,* II, VIII (IX), 7—and explains why the "donna gentile" has taken her place—*Conv.,* II, VIII (IX), 5—and why it is right that she should—*Conv.,* II, XV (XVI), 6.

Some of the notes on smaller matters seem to me not altogether satisfactory:

III, 46 (p. 78). *veduto per me medesimo,* interpreted "discovered in myself." *Vedere* often means 'to become acquainted with,' 'to have experience of'; *cf.* examples in Tommaseo e Bellini. It has this sense, I think, in *V. N.,* XXI, "ond' è laudato chi prima la vide," and in *Inf.,* XXII, 1-11. Cf. English:

'This soldier has seen a great deal of fighting.' "per me medesimo" may well mean 'on my own account,' *i. e.,* he had had a practical acquaintance.

VIII, 7 (p. 83), *gentilissima.* "In *Conv.* II, 15, III, 6, *gentilissima* is applied to the lady Philosophy." True, but in the first passage the word is not used by itself, as in the *V. N.,* and in the second it is not an epithet at all, but a learned superlative, "gentilissima di tutte le cose ecc."

VIII, 22 (p. 84). *sovra de l'onore.* "*Onore* means not so much *virtue* as *reputation,* or perhaps *social position.*" Good, but why translate "*aside from* her honor," which is an "unusual meaning for *sovra,*" instead of the usual *above honor? da laudare* means praiseworthy not "praised." *Cf.* Aristotle, *Ethics,* II, 7:

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"For one can aim at honor both as one ought, and more than one ought, and less than one ought."

VIII, 48-49 (p. 85). *cortesia . . . vertute.* "Ciò ch'è in donna da pregiar vertute" is *gentilezza. Cf. Le dolci rime,* 105-108: "E noi in donna e in età novella—vedem questa salute,—in quanto vergognose son tenute—ch'è da vertù diverso," and *Conv.*, IV, XIX, 8: "Poi quando dice: *E noi in donna . . .* , pruova ciò che dico, mostrando che la nobilitade si stenda in parte dove virtù non sia." *Cf.* also *Doglia mi reca,* 12-13: "che se vertute a noi—fu data, e beltà a voi."

XV, 17 (p. 94). *riprensione,* "the *pensamento forte* (to cease trying to see B.), which needs excuse or at least explanation." Not the "pensamento," but the rebuke of the "pensamento," which "continuamente mi riprendea," 'rebuked me.' "Escusandomi a lei da cotale riprensione" means *defending myself against such a rebuke.*

XXIX, 1 (p. 120). "In some southern Italian dialects to-day, *cristiano* is a current word for 'man.'" So it is elsewhere in Italy; *cf.* Agnese in *I Promessi Sposi,* chapter VI: "Ecco; è come lasciar andare un pugno a un cristiano."

XXXI, 32 (p. 122). *per vinti son remasi,* they have been left as conquered." Not "have been left," but *have given up:* "Son remasi" (di lagrimare). *Cf.* Boccaccio, *Dec.*, VII, 5: "Questo è mal fatto, e del tutto egli ve ne convien rimanere," and *V. N.*, XXXVII, 12.

XXXVIII, 56 (p. 134). "*nostri* indicates that both *anima* and *core* had suffered in the battle." No: "nostri martiri" are those which moved the "donna gentile" to pity, *i. e.*, the grief for the loss of B.

XL, 48 (p. 138). *per volerlo udire,* "through wishing to hear it." I think *per* means *in order to,* not "through" or *because. Volere* is only a modal auxiliary; *cf. Inf.*, XXIII, 35-36: "Ch'io gli vidi venir con l'ali tese,—Non molto lungi, per volerne prendere." Literal translation, 'If you stay in order to wish to hear it'; idiomatic, 'If you will stay to hear it.' Cf. also *V. N.*, VI, 3.

XLII, 12 (p. 140). *qui est.* The quotation from *Conv.*, II, VIII (IX), should not have been left unfinished. The period after *innamorata,* where there is no stop of any kind in the text, gives an entirely different meaning to the sentence.

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I have succeeded, I think, in refraining from that unfair kind of criticism which consists in complaining that the editor has not adopted interpretations favored by the reviewer. By far the majority of the abundant notes are appropriate as they are clear. I could wish that more of them had been designed less to throw light each on its particular point, than to illumine the subject of the work. The *Vita Nuova* is the story of the gradual growth of Dante's conception of love and Beatrice, until it acquires the breadth and depth and the peculiar quality that have inspired the composition of the book. The reader might be kept aware of this growth at every step, and might be shown how the conventions are shed little by little; how Cavalcanti's view of love struggles with that of Guinizelli in the poet mind; how the Averroistic concept is discarded, and how the view of Guinizelli is transcended; how what was at first a fashionable fancy for a charming maid, becomes a powerful passion for a lost love, and then emerges as calm adoration of an angelic saviour.

However, it was impossible to satisfy all or even most of those who have made a study of the work. The editor has kept his eye on his own object, and has provided us with a useful text-book, the arrangement of which has been carefully planned and thoroughly well executed—there is not a typographical error in it. The difficult enterprise required courage as well as learning. While others have been content to tease the bull, he has taken it by the horns.

J. E. SHAW.

The University of Toronto.

CORRESPONDENCE

A LITERARY ALPHABET

In Mr. Roundabout's paper *On Ribbons,* Thackeray discusses a possible Order of Minerva for literary people; he pleasantly suggests the rivalries to which such an honor might give rise. "Of the historians—A, say,—and C, and F, and G, and S, and T,—which shall be Companion and which Grand Owl? Of the poets, who wears, or claims, the largest and brightest star? Of the novelists, there is A, and B, and C D; and E (star of first magnitude, newly discovered), and F (a magazine of wit), and fair G, and H, and I, and brave old J, and charming K, and L, and M, and N, and O (fair twinklers), and I am puzzled between three P's—Peacock, Miss Pardoe, and Paul Pry—and Queechy, and R, and S,

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and T, *mère et fils,* and very likely U, O gentle reader, for who has not written his novel nowadays? . . ."

This essay was printed in the *Cornhill Magazine,* of which Thackeray was then editor, in May 1860. It is an interesting exercise to fill out the names; and while one cannot, of course, prove that he is right in his surmises as to who was in Mr. Roundabout's mind when he wrote each initial, one can at least be plausible. As Thackeray is placing his hypothetical Order in "our present time," it may be assumed that all the individuals were living when he wrote, or had but recently died; and we may also assume that only British authors were included in this British Order.

Of the historians, A is perhaps Sir Archibald Alison (d. 1867); he was made a baronet in 1852, and is, possibly, one of the writers referred to, later in the same essay, when Thackeray notes that "our fountain of Honour" has "spirted a baronetcy upon two, and bestowed a coronet upon one noble man of letters."[1] C may be Thomas Carlyle (d. 1881); F is probably Froude (d. 1894); G, Grote (d. 1871); S, perhaps Agnes Strickland (d. 1874), who was perhaps better known than William Stubbs (1825-1901)—at least in 1860. T may be Connop Thirwall (1797-1875).

Turning to the novelists, we find a wider choice. Probably A is Harrison Ainsworth, who, with other authors, is referred to in the opening paper—that *On a Lazy Idle Boy.* Though she had died in 1855, Charlotte Brontë may be the B of our list; *The Last Sketch*—which came out in the April (1860) *Cornhill*—was inspired by *Emma,* a fragment which Mrs Nicholls left unfinished at her death. C D is, obviously, Charles Dickens; E, equally surely, is George Eliot, whose *Scenes from Clerical Life* had appeared in 1858, followed by *Adam Bede* in 1859, and *The Mill on the Floss* in 1860. F is doubtless *Fraser's;* G (the adjective leads us to assume a lady) probably Mrs Gaskell; H, Mrs Anna Maria (Fielding) Hall (d. 1881); the adjective may hold over, which makes Theodore Hook and Thomas Hamilton (both of whom were dead in 1860) less plausible guesses. Mrs Inchbald having died as early as 1821, I am more inclined to think that Jean Ingelow is indicated by the next letter; and "brave old J" is certainly

[1] Perhaps the other baronet is Sir Walter Scott, although he had died almost thirty years before. James Stephen (1789-1859) was made K. C. B. in 1847, but this is not a baronetcy; Francis Palgrave (1788-1861) was knighted in 1832; Francis Bond Head (1793-1875), traveller, essayist, and biographer, was made a baronet in 1836, while governor of Upper Canada. Bulwer Lytton was not raised to the peerage until 1866; Disraeli was not made Earl of Beaconsfield until 1876, and Tennyson was not made a peer until 1884. Macaulay was given his title in 1857, two years before he died; and he may have been the one whom Thackeray had in mind when he wrote this passage. In this connection, we may note that *Nil Nisi Bonum* (the Roundabout paper for February 1860) was a eulogy of Washington Irving and Lord Macaulay, both of whom died at the end of the preceding year.

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G. P. R. James, already figuring among the author's favorite novelists in the opening paper.[2] The adjective "charming" might suggest that K was of the "fair sex"; and Julia Kavanagh, whose *Madeleine* appeared in 1848, may be meant. But a writer can charm, be he man or woman, and perhaps Thackeray had one of the Kingsleys in mind. L might be Lytton (d. 1873), or Lever (d. 1872), or Samuel Lover (d. 1868)[3]; M, Marryat (d. 1848), or Meredith, whose *Shaving of Shagpat* (1856), *Farina* (1857), and *Richard Feverel* (1859), had already appeared; but if a lady seems called for, there is Dinah Mulock, who did not become Mrs Craik until 1864. Mrs Caroline E. S. Norton might fit N; and the "fair twinklers" are perhaps Mrs Amelia (Alderson) Opie (d. 1853), and Mrs Margaret (Wilson) Oliphant (d. 1897). P and Q explain themselves; R is doubtless Charles Reade (d. 1884); and while S might be George Augustus Sala (d. 1895), it is more likely to be Robert S. Surtees, who was one of those mentioned in the initial Roundabout paper.[4] The end of the list is obvious.

ROBERT WITHINGTON.

Smith College.

THE GREAT AND SMALL INFINITIES IN SOREL

In Sorel's novel, *Francion,* appears a ridiculous pedant, Hortensius, (supposed to be a caricature of Balzac), who is the butt of many jests. Francion and his friends while away an idle hour by questioning Hortensius about the works he is planning to write. Here are some passages of interest. "Vous sçavez que quelques sages ont tenu qu'il y avoit plusieurs mondes: les uns en mettent dedans les planètes, les autres dans les étoiles fixes; et moi, je crois qu'il y en a un dans la lune." Hortensius tells of the marvellous events in the lunar world which he means to relate. An Alexander will set out from the moon to conquer the universe. He will visit the earth. "De là, il se transportera dedans le grand orbe déférent ou porte épicycle, où il ne verra rien que des vastes campagnes qui n'auront pour peuple que des monstres; et, poursuivant ses aventures, il fera courir la bague à ses chevaliers le long de la ligne

[2] "Does the veteran, from whose flowing pen we had the books which delighted our young days, 'Darnley,' and 'Richelieu,' and 'Delorme,' relish the works of Alexandre the Great. . . . ?" *On a Lazy Idle Boy.* James died at Venice, 9 June, 1860.

[3] Probably neither Harriet nor Sophia Lee is meant; both had died some years before 1860. Lady Caroline Lamb had died in 1828; Mrs Eliza Lynn Linton (1822-1898) had published *Azeth, the Egyptian* in 1846, *Amymone* in 1848, and *Realities* in 1851, though most of her successful novels came later. Does "charming" cover all the following letters?

[4] "... does the dashing 'Harry Lorrequer' delight in 'Plain or Ringlets' or 'Sponge's Sporting Tour'?" *On a Lazy Idle Boy.* (Among the other authors whose works are named in this passage, are Dickens, Lever, Lytton, Ainsworth, Stowe, George Eliot, and the Trollopes, *mère et fils.*)

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écliptique. Après, il visitera les deux colures et le cercle méridional . . ." But Hortensius has also other plans.

> " Sçachez que, si le monde nous semble grand, notre corps ne le semble pas moins à un pou ou à un ciron: il y trouve ses régions et ses cités. Or il n'y a si petit corps qui ne puisse être divisé en des parties innombrables: tellement qu'il se peut faire que, dedans ou dessus un ciron, il y ait encore d'autres animaux plus petits, qui vivent là comme dans un bien spacieux monde: et ce sont, possible, de petits hommes, auxquels il arrive de belles choses. Ainsi il n'y a partie en l'univers où l'on ne se puisse imaginer qu'il y a de petits mondes. Il y en a dedans les plantes, dedans les petits cailloux et dedans les fourmis. Je veux faire des romans des aventures de leurs peuples. Je chanterai leurs amours, leurs guerres et les révolutions de leurs empires; et principalement je m'arrêterai à représenter l'état où peuvent être les peuples qui habitent le corps de l'homme, et je montrerai que ce n'est pas sans sujet qu'on l'a appelé microcosme." (*Francion*, ed. E. Colombey, Paris, 1858, pp. 436-437.)

Neither Hortensius nor Balzac nor Sorel carried out these interesting projects. I have quoted them because the juxtaposition of the two infinities recalls Pascal (*Pensées,* Art. I, ed. Havet.) I am far from supposing that Pascal wasted his time in reading *Francion*. The passages quoted do show a remarkable interest in the microscopic world before Swammerdam's discoveries. I would recall too that Diderot put forth some of his boldest hypotheses as a dream of d'Alembert's.

BENJAMIN M. WOODBRIDGE.

Reed College.

SHELLEY DEFENDS KEATS

Something more than a year ago, by the gracious courtesy of Mr. Byrne Hackett, proprietor of the Brick Row Bookshop, New York City, I was privileged to examine and make notes upon the Shelleyan treasures which he had garnered at the sale of the far-famed Buxton Forman Library in 1920. Among these were several notebooks originally the vade-mecums of Edward Williams, the friend of Shelley, who was drowned with the poet in 1822.

On examining these I discovered that Trelawny, through whose hands many of Williams' MSS. had passed, had himself employed the books for setting down random jottings relating to Shelley. Some of these entries were based on previously-published material, and are therefore of little interest. A few, however, fully justify publication.

Of Shelley's reaction to reviews of his works Trelawny records: " It is not to be supposed he was proof against the neglect and contumely of the world—yet time taught him to endure and the slander of Reviews penetrated not his breast. Byron told me nothing would annoy him for more than 48 hours; but Shelley was indifferent to the most virulent abuse of his works, if the peace of

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those he loved was not invaded by personal slanders. He said one day on the subject:

> The shriek of the world's carrion jays
> Their censure, their wonder or their praise
> I care not for."

Shelley's generous nature has been substantially attested by his many friends. This is Trelawny's tribute, in the notebook: "Shelley, almost alone of authors, was the least pretending and jealous. The gold mine from which he extracted his ideas was too deep and rich to fear exhaustion. He cared not who came—they had no Cerberus to deal with—all were welcome to take as much as they could carry away." The remark, applied by Trelawny to Shelley's ungrudging gift of the wealth of his mind to his friends, might have been applied with equal justice to his numerous financial benefactions.

Having this nature, it was to be expected that the appearance of a different temper in the field of letters should amaze and anger him. Thus when the *Quarterly* reviewers attacked Keats we have Medwin's evidence (*Life of Shelley,* rev. ed., 1913, pp. 290-1) supported in the Williams notebook by Trelawny, that Shelley wrote an indignant letter to Southey on Keats's behalf. In selecting Southey as his target Shelley was, of course, mistaken; for though that prolific writer had joined the *Quarterly's* forces in 1809, and had written many articles for the magazine, he did not write the critique on Keats which so annoyed Shelley. That was the work of Croker.

But let us hear Trelawny: " . . . he was deeply affected at hearing of the unsparing ferocity with which his young Poet friend, Keats, was treated in the same Review.—He wrote to Southey, the author of the articles or if not the writer as an influential person in this work. He pointed out to him in a temperate yet forcible appeal to both his head and heart if he had one, the cruelty and injustice of it. He spoke of the youth of the author of *Endymion,* the exceeding delicacy of his consumptive constitution, the probity and worth of his character, the arduousness of the task he had undertaken. He showed that if his plumage was not yet full and strong enough to bear him up aloft, undazzled by the sun, yet he had done enough to show he justly achieved to a loftier flight superior to the wallowing herd of writers.

"He desired Southey to read (for he could not believe he had) *The Ode to Pan* in the *Endymion* in proof that he, Shelley, was not biased by partiality in saying Keats merited not the harsh severity which had been heaped upon him in the review with the anticipated hope of crushing him in the cradle of his genius instead of by criticising him according to his deserts; that the overwhelming, sweeping, unmeasured censure on him and his poem could only be considered as a type of the reviewers venom, hate, not as literary criticism on his works; and much more to the same effect. South-

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ey's reply was, like himself, equivocating, bullying, lying, and cowardly."

To turn now for a moment to another poet, graceful, musical, but of a lesser order than either Shelley or Keats (though he was an intimate of both and brought the two into contact) we find that Trelawny has left in this notebook a statement as to Shelley's opinion of Hunt's poetry. It shows that though Shelley could and did entertain an intense admiration for the courage of Leigh Hunt, the fearless journalist, he did not allow this admiration to include Hunt's least satisfactory work, his poems.

Says Trelawny: "Leigh Hunt's poetry Shelley could not endure. He said it might be begot in lawful wedlock as it was . . . monotonous, a passionless abortion; that, was no power brought into the world, with pain though like child birth and torture, then it expired; not having the germs of life, it could not live. Of his Translations he said they looked as if they were word by word extracted from Lexicons. Some of his tales in the *Indicator* he thought pretty. He spoke in praise of his early devotion and sacrifice to liberal politics, and he thought he was a good man, and would have been better if he had kept himself aloof from the jackals of Literature, who by making him their Lion, instead of providing him with prey, preyed on him."

WALTER EDWIN PECK.

College of Wooster.

BRIEF MENTION

Ignorance, by John Burnett, Honorary Fellow of Merton College. The Romanes Lecture, delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, 18 May, 1923 (Clarendon Press, 1923). The title of this lecture might have been *Agnoiology;* that would have made it a trifle more difficult to divine. Mr. Burnett recites the interesting fact that "about seventy years ago" Professor Ferrier invented two words to designate the Theory of Knowledge and the Theory of Ignorance respectively, *Epistemology* and *Agnoiology.* The first of these words has become technically indispensable; the second "has been overlooked and indeed forgotten. Yet it is surely true that we have far more experience of ignorance than of knowledge." The moral philosopher with his cold disquisitions on virtue is surpassed by the theologian in effectively dealing with the question of conduct, for the latter puts ignorance and sin into closest relationship,—from the sense of sin, which is sure and deep, it is easy to advance to some understanding of the nature of ignorance. "In the same way," says the lecturer, "I would suggest that our only chance of reaching a satisfying theory of Knowledge and Reality is to start from our immediate experience of Ignorance."

It is a wide and varied basis for reflection and for constructive reasoning, this range of "our immediate experience of ignorance."

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The lecturer's suggestion must stimulate thought in many directions. Many a one not given to abstractions may reasonably be imagined to assume a philosophic attitude of mind at the suggestion that he attempt to put into orderly form with reference to underlying principles his "immediate experience of ignorance." In other words one should like to believe that not much need be said to convince most men of average honesty of thought that the theory or science of Ignorance should be more thoroly studied and expounded for general reproof and guidance.

To probe Ignorance until it exposes its principles of, let us say, 'success,' that is the task that concerns and will always in some measure concern every department of life and thought. So long as Plato's cave, to which the lecturer refers, keeps its value as a symbol of human conditions of thought, so long will Agnoiology be concerned with shadows and unrealities,—with shadows and unrealities in the form of established tradition, of venerated institutions and practices, in every form of unreality that unrestrained fancy may create. Here emerges the point of highest importance with reference to the science of Ignorance. Ignorance has a psychology of its own, methods of observation and of demonstration of its own, its own mode of resisting correction, and its own variety of self-approbation. Its marvelous and even stupendous successes in the history of culture invite the philosophic psychologist to the study of problems of unmatched human interest.

At all events, speculation is led into a *cul-de-sac* thru the evasive assumption that ignorance is merely the absence of knowledge. The philosophy of the people in the cave is a positive philosophy, rich in the products of the creative imagination. These people are not easily, most of them not at all, persuaded by the few who return from the light for their conversion. So declares Plato. The principles and convictions of these people, with their eyes fixed upon shadows, are not mere negation. Undeniably to understand the 'nature of ignorance' the process of inquiry must in its essential character correspond with method of inquiring into the 'nature of knowledge.'

The lecturer is, however, concrete in his argument. He protests against certain tendencies in education, and asks, "Are we taking the best way just now to secure the maintenance of that higher education on which all the rest depends?" As a teacher of the classics he laments the condition that has lowered the attempt of the schools to give adequate preparatory training in the humanistic subjects, and has, of course, induced the Universities to lower the entrance requirements in these subjects. There is compensation for this reduction in the extraordinary advance made in the physical and natural sciences; but there remains a loss, and that residuum concerns him deeply. There is a loss in the sense for grammar. The educational theorist would have grammar taught inductively. "No normal boy" works that way. "Fancy inductive

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cricket!" The old method of memorizing grammar was not faultless, that may be admitted, "But it remains true that nothing can ever take the place of the instinctive and automatic responsiveness to grammatical forms which we certainly acquired on the old method, and which can hardly be acquired otherwise." The discussion leads to a generalization: "the value of all knowledge depends on something that is not actual knowledge. That presupposes in the first place an automatic facility of response to stimuli [*e. g.* grammatical forms, and the multiplication table, and the musical scales, are simple illustrations] that can be acquired only by practice and drill." And by way of reverting to the subject of the lecture, this may be cited: "Ignorance is, after all, only another name for the possibility of knowledge; it is essentially what Aristotle calls a στέρησις." Dogs, for example, are in a sense not ignorant, for they know all they are capable of knowing, but "man is more ignorant than any other animal, and it is just because he is so that he stands higher in the scale of being."

The lecture is not offered as a piece of close reasoning; it is rather pleasantly unrestrained, but pedagogically sound; and it may by chance direct attention to the systematic study of Agnoiology.

J. W. B.

Professor Johan Vising's *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature,* published in the *Language and Literature Series,* under the editorship of C. T. Onions (London, Oxford Press, 1923) is a helpful and unpretentious little manual of 111 pages. In the readable and informing introduction on the Anglo-Norman Language the author exaggerates the extent to which Anglo-Norman was used in England when he speaks (p. 18) of the "complete dominance of the Anglo-Norman language during the second half of the twelfth and most of the thirteenth century in nearly all conditions of life." The "Detailed Catalogue of Works" (pp. 41-78) in the literary section is the most developed and useful part of the book. It is a comprehensive bibliography of a field in which the author is specially competent. An arrangement simply by *genres* would have been preferable to that by centuries, subdivided into *genres.* One is surprised at the omission of Marie de France; does Professor Vising subscribe to the dubious theories of Emil Winkler as to Marie's having lived in France? Particularly useful is the list of manuscripts in which Anglo-Norman texts are found (pp. 88-100), arranged somewhat similarly to the invaluable list of Mss. in Bos' *Index* to *Romania.* It would be desirable to have such a list covering the whole of Old French literature. A queer blunder is that which lists under "America" the Fox library, which contains William Giffard's metrical version of the Apocalypse. The error seems to have been caused by listing the periodical in which Mr. (now Sir) John Charles Fox published a study of his Ms. as (p. 51, § 77) *Mod. Lang. Notes,* viii; the reference should read *Modern*

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Language Review, VIII (1913), 338-51. At the time of publication of the article the author wrote from Streatley-on-Thames, England; his present address, according to *Who's Who* for 1923, is Willow Grange, Goring, Oxon. As this instance indicates, the references in the bibliography have not always been adequately checked.

Of minor matters that should receive attention in a second edition it may be mentioned that the Index should include names of modern authorities and places cited as well as those of mediaeval writers and works. Of works on the dialect of Guernsey (p. 25) that of Edwin Seelye Lewis, *Guernsey: its People and Dialect, PMLA.* x (1895), 1-82, also separately as a Johns Hopkins dissertation (Baltimore, 1895), should be mentioned. The bibliography fails to cite under "Studies in Proper Names" either Bardsley's standard *Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames* (London, 1901) or Henry Harrison's more recent and in some ways more comprehensive work, *Surnames of the United Kingdom* (London, 1912-18). It is regrettable that the bibliography (pp. 101-3) gives no places of publication and sometimes no dates.

D. S. B.

Literaturgeschichte der Czechslowaken, Südslaven und Bulgaren. Von Dr. Josef Leo Seifert (Verlag Josef Koesel & Friedrich Pustet. München und Kempten. 1922). The excellent *Sammlung Koesel,* which now contains about a hundred titles of remarkably succinct, complete, and readable manuals covering various branches of knowledge, including philosophy, pedagogy, theology, law, economics, mathematics, natural science, technology, history, literature, and music, has been enriched by a history of the literatures of three related nations whose intellectual activities have never been advertised in the Western Hemisphere. Of Czechs, only the seventeenth-century educator Comenius has been translated or read extensively in this country. Most of us have heard of President Masaryk, because of his political prominence, but few of us know that he is one of the profound philosophical thinkers of his generation. As to Jugoslavia and Bulgaria our ignorance is well-nigh absolute. Little of Jugoslav writing and practically nothing of Bulgarian is available to the English reader except some collections of fervid patriotic songs; yet Bulgarian and South Slav historians, dramatists, novelists, and poets, freed only within the last century, it is true, from foreign linguistic shackles,—Jugoslavia from the grip of German Austria and Bulgaria from the tyranny of Turkey and the Greek church,—have within a generation or two made rich and original additions to the literature particularly of race and class consciousness. It is unfortunate that Americans have as yet no such aid as this sympathetic little volume to the understanding of the active young Slav peoples this side the Russian border. R. T. H.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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ROUSSEAU'S PESSIMIST

In the ninth note to the *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality,* Rousseau refers to "un auteur célèbre, [qui], calculant les biens et les maux de la vie humaine, et comparant les deux sommes, a trouvé que la dernière surpassait l'autre de beaucoup, et qu'à tout prendre, la vie était pour l'homme un assez mauvais présent." Rousseau's editors and commentators seem to have failed to identify this anonymous pessimist; even Mr. Vaughan in his admirable edition of the *Political Writings* is "unable to suggest the name of the author referred to." There can, I think, be little doubt that Rousseau's reference is to Maupertuis, at that time, by invitation of Frederick the Great, the President of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin, and commonly regarded by his contemporaries (not including Voltaire [1]) as one of the foremost French men of science of his age. The thesis mentioned by Rousseau is that which stands at the head of the second chapter of Maupertuis's *Essay* (sic) *de Philosophie Morale,* 1747: "Que dans la vie ordinaire la somme des maux surpasse celle des biens."

[1] It is to be feared that, in so far as Maupertuis is known at all to students of French literature, it is through his famous quarrel with Voltaire and the latter's satire upon him in the *Histoire du Docteur Akakia,* 1753—which, it is doubtless superfluous to say, is not a trustworthy source of information about Maupertuis. His general reputation in his own time is better indicated by the lines addressed to him by Voltaire before the quarrel, in the first edition of the *Discours sur l'homme* (*4e Discours*):

> Apôtre de Newton, digne appui d'un tel maître,
> Né pour la vérité, viens la faire connaître . . .

The lines are omitted, and the entire tone of the passage referring to Maupertuis is altered, in the subsequent editions.

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The argument offered in support of this thesis is not without interest for its analogies with certain ideas in later writers. Maupertuis may be said to beg the question rather completely by the definition of "pleasure" with which he begins; for he makes it essential to the conception of anything entitled to be called a pleasure that it shall fulfil the requirement of Goethe's Faust in his wager with Mephistopheles: man is happy only when he can

zum Augenblicke sagen:
Verweile doch! du bist so schön!

"Le plaisir," says Maupertuis, is "toute perception que l'âme aime mieux éprouver que ne pas éprouver; toute perception, dans laquelle elle voudrait se fixer; pendant laquelle elle ne souhaite, ni le passage à une autre perception, ni le sommeil" . . . "Le temps que dure cette perception est ce que j'appelle *Moment heureux.*" Goethe's hero, then, merely demands of the Devil a single *moment heureux,* as that had been defined by Maupertuis. The earlier passage in *Faust* about "die Pein des engen Erdelebens" is also much in the vein of the French pessimist. The general moral of Goethe's drama, in short, has a close logical if not a direct historical relation to Maupertuis's reasoning. Goethe's hero too discovers that happiness, in Maupertuis's sense, is not attainable by man; but precisely in this fact he finds man's "salvation."

Given his definition of pleasure, Maupertuis develops the argument in a way which partially anticipates that of Schopenhauer.[2] Since any moment of desire is a moment which one does not wish to remain unchanged, and since life consists chiefly of moments of unfulfilled desire, it follows that, at best, there is very little "pleasure" in life.

> Combien rares sont les perceptions, dont l'âme aime la présence? La vie est-elle autre chose qu'un souhait continuel de changer de perception? Elle se passe dans les désirs; et tout l'intervalle qui en sépare l'accomplissement, nous le voudrions anéanti. . . . Si Dieu accomplissait nos désirs; qu'il supprimât pour nous tout le temps que nous voudrions supprimé: le vieillard serait surpris de

[2] Though Schopenhauer frequently refers to Maupertuis, it is in connection with his "anticipation of Kant" in the doctrine of the subjectivity of space; and he apparently became acquainted with Maupertuis's writings only in 1852 (cf. *Schopenhauer's Briefe,* Grisebach ed., pp. 116, 123). The French pessimist, therefore, does not seem to have had a part in forming the philosophy of his German successor.

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voir le peu qu'il aurait vécu. Peut-être toute la durée de la plus longue vie serait réduite à quelques heures.[3]

Maupertuis also argues that men's constant quest of diversions as " un étourdissement à leurs ennuis," and the use by all races of intoxicants and sedatives, show that all mankind is forever seeking " remèdes au mal de vivre." Finally he propounds the test-question of which Schopenhauer and Hartmann were afterwards to make so much:

Qu'on interroge [les hommes]; on en trouvera bien peu, dans quelque condition qu'on les prenne, qui voulussent recommencer leur vie telle qu'elle a été, qui voulussent repasser par tous les mêmes états dans lesquels ils se sont trouvés. N'est-ce pas l'aveu le plus clair qu'ils ont eu plus de maux que de biens?[4]

The moral philosophy which Maupertuis bases upon these pessimistic premises is, naturally, of a somewhat ascetic or, more precisely, Stoic type. We can do little to "augment the sum of pleasures," but are not without power " to diminish the sum of evils. It is upon the latter calculation that the life of the wise man should be employed." The lives of the Stoic sages show to how considerable a degree it is actually possible for men, " by mastering their beliefs and desires, and annihilating the effect of all external objects," to become free from suffering, if not positively happy. Maupertuis is not, however, content with this merely Stoical consolation; and his essay ends with an argument for religious belief, of a type much more usual now than then—an argument similar to that of William James's *The Will to Believe.* No theoretic proof of Christianity, or of its assurances respecting the attainability of happiness in another world, says Maupertuis, is possible; the arguments both for and against this lack cogency. But—where logical proof is excluded—the fact that belief in a proposition is needful for our happiness should be regarded as evidence of its truth. Without hope of compensation hereafter this life would not be worth living; but we are entitled to believe whatever is necessary to make it worth living.

Il est un principe dans la nature, plus universel encore que ce qu'on appelle *la lumière naturelle;* plus uniforme encore pour tous

[3] *Oeuvres de Mr. de Maupertuis,* Dresden, 1752, pp. 381-2. I have modernized the spelling and capitalization.

[4] *Ibid.,* 382.

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les hommes; aussi présent au plus stupide qu'au plus subtil; c'est le désir d'être heureux. Sera-ce un paradoxe de dire que . . . c'est par ce principe que nous devons reconnaître les vérités qu'il faut croire? . . . Dans cette égalité de ténèbres, dans cette nuit profonde, si je rencontre le système qui est le seul qui puisse remplir le désir que j'ai d'être heureux, ne dois-je pas à cela le reconnaître pour le véritable? [5]

Here is a fairly plain expression, in the middle of the eighteenth century, of one of the numerous varieties of "pragmatism."

Though my purpose in this note has been merely to identify the writing to which Rousseau referred and to summarize its contents, it should be mentioned in conclusion—since few seem to know even the most essential facts about this "auteur célèbre"—that in two other respects Maupertuis has a place of importance in the history of ideas. (1) He was—however incongruously—one of the founders of utilitarianism in France, and indirectly in England. In the first chapter of the essay already mentioned he attempts to formulate a sort of hedonic calculus, which anticipates that of Bentham; and in his *Éloge de Montesquieu* he lays down *le principe du plus grand bonheur,* in opposition to all abstract theories of natural rights, as the basis of political and social philosophy. "The problem of the legislator is simply this: A multitude of men being collected together, to procure for them the greatest sum of happiness possible." It was from Maupertuis, next to Helvétius and Beccaria, that the doctrine of Bentham was derived [6]—though the pessimism of the *Essay de Philosophie Morale* was, of course, repugnant to Bentham. (2) The doctrine of organic evolution was definitely propounded and defended by Maupertuis as early as 1745, in his *Vénus Physique,* and in 1751 in his *Système de la Nature,* which was apparently the source of the evolutionary ideas in Diderot's *Pensées sur l'Interprétation de la Nature,* 1754. Of all modern men of science Maupertuis has perhaps the best claim to be called the first evolutionist. The evidence on this matter I have already presented elsewhere.[7]

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY.

Johns Hopkins University.

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[5] *Ibid.*, 404.

[6] Cf. E. Halévy, *La Jeunesse de Bentham,* 1901, pp. 288-9.

[7] "Some Eighteenth-Century Evolutionists"; *Popular Science Monthly,* 1904, pp. 345-351.

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THE WORD "GOTHIC" IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CRITICISM

Critical terms, like other speculations, have their ups and downs. So it has been with the adjective "gothic." The term had its inception humbly enough as a Germanic race-name. But because the Goths, being Teutons, conceived and built upon an ideal of beauty foreign to the world they overset; and because mediaeval men, in fashioning their new world, rebuilt it nearer to the Teutonic than the classic heart's desire; and because to Renaissance sceptics the Gothic ideal, wrought in castle and cathedral, seemed dark and thwarted beside the measure of a Parthenon, it came to pass, in the early Renaissance, that the term "gothic" took on a new and colored meaning, a meaning that masked a sneer. To the Renaissance, mediaeval or Gothic architecture was barbarous architecture. By a trope all things barbarous became "Gothic."

With the emergence of the democratic-romantic side of the Renaissance, however, the change bent back upon itself. Men wearied of long vistas and conformity; they commenced to seek a nearer reality in clash and color, and to look not through but to mediaeval history for the roots of their own proximate past. Thus mediaeval things, and so gothic things, rose to favor again. As a result Gothic became once more an adjective, if not of praise, at least of respectability.

In English the real history of "Gothic"[1] begins with the eighteenth century. The word, of course, is to be found before. Chaucer employs the noun,[2] as does Shakespeare.[3] Spenser uses the adjective.[4] Nor are these uses isolated.[5] The dark Renais-

[1] The word is protean even in its orthography. N. E. D. lists the spellings: Gotic, Gotiq, Gothicke, Gottic, Gothiq, Gothique, Gothic.

[2] Boethius I, Pr. iv. "Theodoric, the king of Gothes."

[3] Usually in a disparaging sense. In *As You Like It*, for instance, III, iii: "As the most capricious poet, honest Ovid, was among the Goths. . . . O knowledge ill-inhabited. . ." The noun is used some 27 times in *Titus Andronicus* in connection with the adjectives "warlike" (4), "barbarous," "traitorous," "lusty," "trusty," "lascivious," "giddy," "worthy."

[4] *Ruins of Rome*, XI, 8. "Gothique cold"—*i. e.*, the cold blood of the Gothic race.

[5] The earliest use listed by N. E. D. in the modern spelling is from the

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sance color haunts the word even in merry England.[6] And with growth of the interest in black letter[7] and mediaeval architecture,[8] the word is again given a fillip toward popularity. But it is not until one strikes into the period of Anne and the Georges that he finds the expression used in literature with critical edge. In this period the word seems to have three meanings, all closely allied,—barbarous, mediaeval, supernatural. The rise, development, and exact relationship of these synonyms it is the purpose of this paper to determine.

The meaning first in both time and scope, is "barbarous."[9]

1611 preface to the King James Bible: "Ulfilas is reported to have translated the scriptures into the Gothicke tongue." Cotgrave lists the word "Gothique" in the same year. The earlier form of the adjective appears to have been "Gotish" or "Gottish." N. E. D. lists *Metam. Tobacco* (Collier), 46, "Gottish"; Camden, *Rem.*, 51, 1605, "Gotish" (of race); Brerewood *Lang. and Relig.*, VII, 59, 1612, "Gottish" (of language).

[6] N. E. D. quotes Waterhouse *Fire Lond.*, 66, 1667, "Gottish cold" as a damning-term. The English usage in this sense is very early. In 1602 *Metam. Tobacco*, "Gottish Spaniards" equals "barbarous Spaniards." In 1611 Cotgrave glosses "Gothique" as "rude, cruell, barbarous." And Waterhouse in 1667 means barbarous or destructive when he speaks of "Gottish and Vandalique fire."

[7] See Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, 1781: "this edition . . . is in Gothic letter." The usage appears very early. See N. E. D., Shelton *Quix.*, I, IV, XV, 1612-20: "with Gothical characters but containing Castilian verses." Evelyn's *Diary*, 1644, 18-21 March: "Some English words graven in Gothic characters."

[8] I have attempted to follow the term "Gothic" only as a critical adjective in letters, ignoring its application as a racial, a linguistic, a typographical word. Its use in English from at least 1641 as a term in architecture I have not tried to chronicle, because it is there part of a different and highly specialized vocabulary which has for the most part little to do with literature. In architecture the term was used early, apparently, in a neutral, and even in a faintly eulogistic, sense: see, for example, Langley's *Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved by A Great Variety of Useful Designs . . . in the Gothic Mode*, 1742, and his *Gothic Architecture Improved*, 1747. Sometimes this usage touches tangentially on the literary-critical usage, as in *The World*, No. 12, 1753: "A few years ago everything was Gothic; our houses, our beds, our bookcases, and our couches, were all copied from some parts or other of our old cathedrals. The Grecian architecture was totally neglected." In such employment, of course, architectural "Gothic" contributes to the background against which all Gothic, literary or otherwise, is to be appraised.

[9] This point is so generally accepted that I shall not attempt to break

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The French refer to the middle ages as "les siècles gothiques."[10] And possibly the French usage helped motivate the modern English twist of the critical adjective into the sense of barbarous.[11] But chiefly the color is an inheritance from the Renaissance. Of this color there are in the eighteenth century many examples. Johnson, for instance, in 1775 defines a Goth in his Dictionary as "one not civilized, one deficient in general knowledge, a barbarian." In connection with criticism, Addison's usage is particularly interesting, as a direct application of both the noun and the adjective in a critical way to imagination and taste in literature.[12] The connotation "barbarous" extends well into the next century. In 1812 Shelley in a letter refers to the "gothic and superstitious ages."[13] Even today the tenor of the word has vitality, and may be heard, rarely, among pundits.

One may say generally, then, that in English of the eighteenth century, the adjective "Gothic" is employed as a definite and recognized synonym for barbarous. Most often this usage is in connection with ignorance, cruelty, or savageness, qualities associated with the inherited Renaissance view of the middle ages. Sometimes, and with increasing frequency, it is used in connection with taste, and so becomes a critical adjective of disapprobation. Sometimes it is used to describe literary style.

down open doors by proving it again here. For many examples of the word in this meaning see N. E. D.

[10] Cp. Boileau, *Art:* "Fredonner ses idylles gothiques."

[11] It is in an essay on French criticism that Dryden, making one of the earliest applications of the word in this critical bearing, strikes out the phrase, "a barbarous and Gothique manner." *A Parallel of Poetry and Painting.*

[12] In 1711 Addison in the *Spectator* remarks, "I look upon these writers as *Goths* in Poetry, who, like those in Architecture, not being able to come up to the beautiful simplicity of the old Greeks and *Romans*, have endeavoured to supply its Place with all the Extravagance of an irregular Fancy." No. 62. In 1712 again, he prays for banishment of the "Gothic taste" of false wit. No. 409. Such a use becomes quite common after Addison. In 1723, the preface to *A Collection of Old Ballads* equates "Gothick wit" with "false wit." Voltaire, in the *Temple of Taste* in 1731 refers to the tasteless hoi-polloi as the "Gothic horde." And the preface, dated 1763, to an anonymous *Numidian Tale* in the Widener Library at Harvard, contains the clause, "I am aware that this will be called Gothic taste."

[13] *Prose Works*, 1888, I, 348. Note the lower case "g."

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The second meaning of "Gothic" is mediaeval." As the eighteenth century broadened and deepened, "Gothic" ceased to have wholly a derisive implication. With the shifting of emphasis in literature from "decorum" to "imagination," there came a complementary shift in emphasis from classic and pseudo-classic to the mediaeval as a quarry for literary thought: and with this swing in point of view came a change in the overtones of "mediaeval" and all words associated with it. This drift shows specifically in the word "Gothic." Much of the drift was motivated by the architectural experiments of such persons as Batty Langley and Sanderson Miller. But to Richard Hurd, whose *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* mark one of the high reaches of eighteenth century romanticism, the about face appears primarily due, so far as literature is concerned.[14]

In his *Letters* Hurd's theme is the contrast between classic and mediaeval literary method. In this contrast, he takes sides with the gothicists. It is natural, therefore, that in his hands the term "Gothic" should cease to be a word of obloquy, and become something else. As a matter of fact it becomes tantamount to mediaeval, that is only a neutral critical turn, and not, as one might expect from Hurd's premises, a term of approbation. Ordinarily Hurd uses the adjective as a simple foil to "classic," "heroic," or "Grecian." "I think the Gothic tilts and tournaments exceeded both in use and elegance, even the Grecian gymnastics," he writes.[15] Thus he constantly balances against each other "heroic" manners and "Gothic." The word fairly strews his pages—"Gothic ages," "Gothic warriors," "Gothic manners," "Gothic enchantments." Frequently he too, like Addison, associates the term specifically with literature, though now purely in a neutral sense, writing of "Gothic tales," "Gothic poems," "Gothic romancers." He even employs the phrase "Gothic romance" which is later to be so trippingly upon the critical tongue.[16] Hurd's achievement, then is the re-neutralizing of the word "Gothic." Under his pen it loses its implication of libel,

[14] See Phelps, *Beginnings*, 112.

[15] *Works*, 1888, vol. III.

[16] *Works*, II, 10. "It cannot seem strange, that of all the forms in which poetry has appeared, that of pagan fable and Gothic romance, should in their turns be found the most alluring to the true poet." See also II,

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and becomes once more a staid adjective of description—"mediaeval," without prejudice or explicit prepossession.

After 1762 Hurd's followers in this use of the word are legion. Beattie, in 1771, writes of "gothic days" and "my gothic lyre," where "gothic" is obviously an adjective of neither praise nor blame, and where the lower case "g" indicates that the term is losing its racial and linguistic affiliations.[17] But the most important of these followers was Horace Walpole, for it was Walpole who, by calling his *Castle of Otranto* on its title-page a "Gothic story," really launched "Gothic" on its way as a critical term in prose fiction. He thus associated the term for all time with a certain type of novel. Walpole achieved this critical feat quite unpremeditatedly. To him, as to Hurd, "Gothic" meant "mediaeval" and no more. This is his habitual use of the term in his letters. Of architecture he uses it often, as one would expect from Strawberry Hill,—"a simple Gothic arch," or "a Gothic Columbarium." And *Otranto* was to him a "Gothic" story simply because it was a "mediaeval" story. It is important also that Walpole, like Beattie, uses the word "Gothic" at least once without the capital.[18]

From the time of Hurd and Walpole on through the rest of the eighteenth century this new meaning, "mediaeval," exists side by side with the meaning "barbarous," the dark age being one or the other according to one's point of view as neo-classic conformist or romantic rebel. In 1775 L. A. Barbauld, in a Gothic story, *Sir Bertrand,* speaks of "old Gothic" (*i. e.,* mediaeval) "romance" in contrast to Oriental story. Clara Reeve, in the *Old English Baron* of 1778, speaks of the tale as "a Gothic story, being a picture of Gothic times and manners." Maturin, in *Montorio,* in 1806, uses "Gothic romance" in the same bearing. This meaning, like meaning one, extends late into the nineteenth century, for in the 1863 edition of Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature,* a "Gothic romance," is still a mediaeval tale.

So the second meaning of "Gothic" as a critical term in the

239, and III, 203. Note that "Gothic" here means simply "mediaeval" and no more. It is a term neither of approval nor of disapproval.

[17] *Minstrel,* I, xi, and lx.

[18] Letter to Cole, March 9, 1765: "a head filled like mine with gothic story."

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eighteenth century, is simply "mediaeval." This meaning is not an off-shoot of the first meaning, except in so far as the use of "Gothic" as a literary term in meaning one, helped to make easier its use as a literary term in meaning two. It is not an off-shoot of it. It goes back to an original source with it; and its difference in meaning represents not an unbroken semantic change, but the readapting of an old word in a totally new sense, motivated by a change in point of view. The old meaning "barbarous" marches on unchanged. The new meaning "mediaeval," with a growing tendency to be commendatory, marches on beside it.[19]

We have now two colorings for the word "Gothic," each apparently independent of the other in its development, though deriving each from the same root. The third, and for us the most important of these meanings, "supernatural," is an outgrowth of the second of the former two.

Walpole's *Otranto* and Clara Reeve's *Old English Baron* were literally "Gothic stories" in the second sense of the word "Gothic"; that is, they aimed at a mediaeval atmosphere by means of mediaeval background,—lonely castles, haunted towers, subterranean passages, knights in armor, magic. But to the reading public the outstanding feature of these stories appears to have been, not their gothic setting, but their supernatural incident. Imitators and followers of Walpole and Reeve, therefore, being thrifty persons, and acutely conscious of the public's taste in best sellers, —for the Gothic romance was the first best seller,—kept accenting this spectral side of the genre more and more, because there was a market for it; until, under the influence of new styles and themes, most notably those of the German robber, the Rosicrucian mystic, and the Oriental djinn,[20] the original mediaeval tone and setting of the romances was in many cases lost.[21] The name "Gothic,"

[19] The propagation of this change was undoubtedly influenced, after the publication of Percy's runic pieces and Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, by the new romantic interest in Norse and Celtic antiquities, called indiscriminately "Gothic" in the eighteenth century. See Farley, *Scandinavian Influences*, 45 n. Olaus Magnus's works appear as those of Olaus Magnus the Goth. Warton speaks of "Gothic Scalds." Farley, *op. cit.*, lists a Norse or pseudo-Norse poem of 1789 called "an old Gothic romance." And the Hevarer Saga appears as "A Gothic Ode." This literary use would confirm the others.

[20] See Schiller's *Robbers*, and *Ghostseer*, and Beckford's *Vathek*.

[21] As in Lewis's *Monk* and Godwin's *Caleb Williams*.

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however, had in the meanwhile stamped itself indelibly upon the type, and continued to be used as a catch-word for it, even although the original occasion for its use had vanished. The result was the logical one; the term "Gothic" itself imperceptibly underwent a change in the direction of specialization to meet the new conditions, gradually lost all connotation of mediaeval, and became at last, as a literary term, a mere synonym for that grotesque, ghastly, and violently superhuman in fiction which had become the outstanding feature in "Gothic" novel writing. Gothic romance became, concretely, the romance of the supernatural, and "Gothic" identified itself with ghastly.

Just when this transmogrification started it is difficult to say with assurance. It undoubtedly was expedited by the fact that in the case of meanings one and two, "Gothic" had already become a general critical term associated with literature and taste, or even, as in the quotations above from Addison and Warton, with imagination. It appears to have been fairly well established, however, by 1800. In 1798, Nathan Drake, himself a gothicist of some note, writes in a miscellany, *Literary Hours:* "The most enlightened mind . . . . involuntarily acknowledges the power of Gothic agency, a phrase in which "Gothic" unequivocally is "supernatural." In 1799, also, the author of a third edition of a choice musée of horrors in prose, chooses to call his melange "Gothic Stories,"[22] notwithstanding the fact that the mediaeval flavor is so weak that it is present largely by inference. In 1804 again, Drake employs the term "Gothic imagination" where we should use wild or ghostly imagination. J. Stagg, a blind Cumbrian poet, entitles a volume of poems dated 1810, *Legendary, Gothic, and Romantic Tales;* but many of the poems included are gothic only in the restricted sense of the term.[23] In the *European Magazine* for 1815, there is an odd poem, half *Christabel,* half *Lamia,* the whole set back apparently in a frame of Druidical magic not unlike that of Mrs. Radcliffe's poem *Stonehenge.*[24] The mediaeval element is very nebulous, yet it is called *Christobell, a Gothic Tale.*

These examples would tend to show that the term "Gothic," in

[22] In the Widener Library at Harvard.

[23] The association of "Gothic" with "legendary" and "romantic" in this instance is significant.

[24] See E. H. Coleridge's edition of *Christabel.*

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its modern transferred sense, is a fairly late usage, post-dating the chief Gothic romancers, Walpole, Reeve, Lewis, and Radcliffe, who never used the adjective except with mediaeval connotation, and not greatly ante-dating the end of the eighteenth century.

So—apart from its technical use in linguistics and architecture—run the ups and downs of "Gothic," from a race-term to a sneering-word, from a sneering-word to a cool adjective, from a cool adjective to a cliché in criticism.

ALFRED E. LONGUEIL.

University of California.

WORDSWORTH'S *MARGARET; OR THE RUINED COTTAGE*

To point out similarities in thought, style, and diction between the work of the French Romanticists of the late Eighteenth Century and the poetry of Wordsworth is by no means a difficult task, for, as one would suppose, it was from these French writers of the Continent that the English poet derived in part, at least, the thought and spirit that animated his work. It was not, however, entirely a pious and unreasoned reverence for these solitary worshippers of Nature which made Wordsworth the man he was. England herself, had, by the time of Wordsworth, begun to experience a definite reaction from the super-conventionality of the times. That highly-wrought state of society which found its most bitter expression in class-hatred, and which resulted in the lordly exaltation of the rich and titled, and a merciless trampling of the poor and degraded—the artificial solidification of human life and institutions, and the corresponding artistic *cliché,* which produced nothing more fit for poetic expression than that polished, but unflexible Popian couplet,—all this had a profound influence on the sensitive soul of Wordsworth. Both England and France, finding themselves involved in an iron net-work of conventionality, sought a similar escape from their toil,—a return to Nature.

Rousseau's uncompromising insistence upon a return to Nature also expressed in substance the English Romantic spirit. Born of a reaction from artificiality, rationality, and high-strung city

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life, the Romantic movement insisted first of all upon spontaneity and simplicity of thought and action. Going back to Nature meant, in the first place, a change of attitude from society to the individual. It meant an abandonment of worldly pleasure and dignity for solitude, seclusion, and simplicity of life. It meant a deep love and reverence for the *naive*,—a delight in the helpless, bright-eyed child; a joy in the tiniest woodland flower; a sermon in the rain-washed stone; and good in everything that had not been contaminated by the filth of the city. Lastly, it meant a new religion. The theology and dogma of the Eighteenth Century, attempting to justify a God as complex and brazen as the times that conceived him, was now swept away for a God of the valley, delighting in laughter of little children, and making his home with farmer and herdsman. Nature, in place of dogmatic theology, now became the way of approach to God. It was one of the primary tenets of these early Romanticists that a far-reaching, transcendent knowledge would be imparted to the faithful worshipper of Nature,—that the mind in close communion with the beauties of Nature would grow in a wealth and power entirely denied to the mere discoursive kind. Thus in the Romanticist was combined the Pagan worship of Nature and the worship of that unseen anthropomorphic God which, deeply rooted in Hebraic theology, had had so marked an influence on the abstract mind of the Middle Ages.

In reading Wordsworth's *Margaret; or the Ruined Cottage,* which the poet later incorporated in the first book of the *Excursion,* one is often reminded of *Paul et Virginie.* Bernardin de Saint-Pierre was in no way a servile imitator of his forerunners, Rousseau and Buffon. He struck out for himself into the field of Nature, observing and tabulating anew her varied laws, and seeking ever fresh and stimulating experience in the contemplation of her beauties. But in spirit he was a true son of Rousseau.

In both Saint-Pierre's story of Paul and Virginia, and Wordsworth's poem of Margaret may be observed those distinctly Romantic tendencies which we noted above. Of similarity in feeling, emotion, and thought, and, indeed, in attitude toward life in general little need be said. The scene of each story is laid amid the beauties and charms of a Nature which everywhere breathes of the spirit of God. It is life and communion with this Nature

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that brings to the peaceful and reverent inhabitants contentment, love, and joy. Without, in the cold, hard, rational world,—in the savage cities teeming with vice and sin—reigns discord, hate, and misery. Contentment and happiness come only with retirement from worldly pleasure, and endure only so long as these true children of Nature keep themselves unspotted from the world. As the affairs of the world slowly penetrate their quiet, peaceful abodes, then comes an evil that no virtue or goodness can withstand. In both stories it is solitude that frees the mind for the generous outpourings of the spirit of God. And this communion with Nature and solitude also brings with it an infinite tenderness, as well as an emphasis upon the more primitive and gentler emotions.

It is a similarity in more specific details, however, that makes one feel that possibly Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* was one of the sources of Wordsworth's poem. To be sure, Wordsworth does not mention the Frenchman's story in the preface to his poem. But this fact need not trouble one. Wordsworth, who had probably read the Frenchman's story many years before (some twenty-five or thirty years elapsed between the dates of composition), had, by the time he started his poem of *Margaret,* quite forgotten the details of the story, and would scarcely have recognized it as a possible source of his poem. How much the vitality and fertility of the imagination depends upon the subtle operations of the subconscious mind, it is hard to say. But this much we may say, that the unfolding of the imagination involved in artistic expression is shrouded in deep mystery. The details of Saint-Pierre's story, though lost to outward memory, might well have become a part of the permanent possessions of Wordsworth's inner mind.

The setting of each story is similar. The cottages, now in irreparable ruin as the tales begin, are withdrawn from the world, one, on an island in the Indian Ocean, where scarcely a murmur reaches it, but the ceaseless, muffled roar of the sea; the other, in England, in a less secluded spot, but almost equally removed from contact with city life. Wordsworth's description of the remains of Margaret's cottage,—

> four naked walls
> That stared upon each other,

compares well with the general impression given by Saint-Pierre of the ruined state of the abodes once loved by the two French

families. The one-time inhabitants had cast their lots amid the simple charms of Nature. But, as if not wholly satisfied with a Nature wild and unadorned, each family had cultivated gardens, which are quite distinct and separate from the uncouth and untended wastes lying round about, although, as Saint-Pierre says of Paul's garden,

Il ne s'était pas écarté de celui [le plan] de la Nature.

One might almost say that these gardens symbolize the prosperity, decline, and final ruin of those simple and reverent worshippers of Nature who had once cultivated them. While yet life is dear, and faith in the future keen for these people, their gardens bloom with delicate, exquisite beauty. But when misfortune and hardship come with the intrusion of the world without, then the flowers begin to wilt, the stalks to droop, and weeds and thorns quickly spring up, which choke all but a bare semblance of the beauty and loveliness that had once quickened the hearts of those unfortunate people.

The similarity between Wordsworth's Pedlar and Saint-Pierre's Old Man, both of whom narrate the stories in question, is too striking to escape the notice of even the superficial reader. This is the Frenchman's description of his "homme déjà sur âge."

"Il était, suivant la coutume des anciens habitants, en petite veste et en long caleçon. Il marchait nu-pieds, et s'appuyait sur un bâton de bois d'ébène. Ses cheveux étaient tout blancs, et sa physionomie noble et simple."

With this description compare the following lines of Wordsworth about his pedlar:

A man of reverend age,
But stout and hale, for travel unimpaired.
There was he seen upon the cottage bench,
Recumbent in the shade, as if asleep;
An iron-pointed staff lay at his side.

Although differing much in phraseology, the descriptions in each case give one like impressions of two venerable old men. We must not assert too boldly, however, that the Old Man of Saint-Pierre's story it the prototype of Wordworth's Pedlar, for in the preface to his poem Wordsworth gives us a hint of the source of his character. But it is interesting to observe that Wordsworth is here

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not describing any single person he had ever known or seen, but rather several persons. Just as the Old Man in Saint-Pierre's story, we may believe, is a portrait of the author himself, who, unfitted by temperament to live in a society which showers its blessings only upon the flattering and obsequious, fled the irksome bonds of propriety and convention to take up his abode with a true and simple-hearted people; so the Pedlar of the opening book of the *Excursion* is, according to Wordsworth's own words, in part a picture of the man he himself would like to have been, had not circumstances of birth and education guided him into other walks of life. In the same preface, Wordsworth speaks also of two other men he had once known who contributed to the picture of this character,—one, an old Scotchman, named Patrick, a kinsman of his and a pedlar; the other, a pedlar whom he had known when a school boy, and who had made a deep impression upon his childish imagination. It is scarcely too much to say, I think, that the sage Old Man of Saint-Pierre's story also contributed his bit to Wordsworth's Pedlar.

It is not only in dress and physical appearance that these two old men resemble each other. Even more is a similarity apparent in the moral and spiritual sides of their natures. To be sure, the manner of characterization is in the case of each different. Wordsworth devotes some ten pages (Aldine Edition) to a detailed description of the Wanderer's spiritual life, showing how from childhood to youth and youth to manhood, Nature had been the chief agent in forming the moral and intellectual possessions of the man. Instead of adopting this direct narrative method in dealing with his character, Saint-Pierre choses rather to show us from the Old Man's attitude toward life, from his reactions to the sufferings and hardships of others the kind of a person he really is. Both men, paragons of wisdom and virtue quite beyond their learning and station in life, have been ardent lovers and worshipers of Nature. And Nature who "never did betray the heart that loved her," lavish in the abundance of her blessings bestowed upon these simple children of hers, leaves nothing undone that might add to their spiritual, moral, and intellectual welfare. It is with a childish delight that these two men, so long separated from the outer world of action, tell their simple tales of happiness and misfortune.

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The name Margaret seems to have been a favorite with Wordsworth, and appears to have responded to the poet's imagination as peculiarly befitting a person in humble station of life. In *Paul et Virginie* we see that Paul's mother is named Margaret,—a woman of less culture and refinement than the more religious and melancholy Madame de la Tour. Wordsworth wrote in the preface to his poem that "several passages describing the employment and demeanor of Margaret during her affliction" he gleaned from certain observations which he had made in Dorsetshire and Somersetshire. But he also states that the character as a whole is composite, partaking of the traits and virtues of women who had come under his direct observation, and of whom he had been told. Wordsworth's Margaret, however, resembles more closely Virginia's mother, Madame de la Tour, although Paul's mother, too, possesses many of those tender graces for which we love the English Margaret. Of Madame de la Tour Saint-Pierre says,

"Je trouvai dans madame de la Tour une personne d'une figure intéressante, pleine de noblesse et de mélancolie."

In essence we find Wordsworth's description of Margaret similar.

> She was a woman of a steady mind,
> Tender and deep in her excess of love;
> Not speaking much, pleased rather with the joy
> Of her own thoughts: by some especial care
> Her temper had been framed, as if to make
> A Being, who by adding love to peace
> Might live on earth a life of happiness.

These two pathetic stories of happiness and misfortune conclude in a similar way. Both listeners find in the gloomy recital of love and joy completely wiped out by cruel disaster a human experience that touches the depths of their souls. It is Wordsworth who in his simple, sincere lines expresses more delicately and poignantly than Saint-Pierre the effect of his tale of suffering upon his fellow-companion.

> The Old Man ceased: he saw that I was moved.
> From that low bench, rising instinctively
> I turned aside in weakness, nor had power
> To thank him for the tale which he had told.

Saint-Pierre's rather blunt, matter-of-fact way of ending his story lacks much of Wordsworth's simple dignity.

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"En disant ces mots, ce bon vieillard s'éloigna en versant des larmes; et les miennes avaient coulé plus d'une fois pendant ce funeste récit."

NELSON F. ADKINS.

New Haven, Conn.

MUSSET ET COPPÉE INSPIRATEURS DE ROSTAND

Dans sa copieuse étude sur Rostand,[1] Jules Haraszti consacre un chapitre très étoffé aux maîtres de l'auteur dramatique. A côté de Corneille, de Victor Hugo, de Banville et de tant d'autres, Alfred de Musset a sa place marquée parmi les modèles de Rostand. Outre l'art des tirades lyriques et musicales, outre l'idéalisme glorifiant la souffrance et l'amour pur, qu'ils ont en commun, il y a surtout l'influence pour ainsi dire "matérielle" et directe de la délicieuse comédie *A quoi rêvent les jeunes filles* sur les *Romanesques* et, selon Jules Lemaître, celle de *Carmosine* sur la *Princesse lointaine.*

Une troisième pièce de Rostand et, cette fois, une pièce du Rostand "arrivé," en pleine possession de sa doctrine autant que de sa routine, paraît devoir quelques-uns de ses contours les plus importants à un conte de Musset. *L'Histoire d'un merle blanc* (1842) appartient aux contes les plus connus, le plus souvent cités de l'auteur qui s'y met en scène sous les traits du merle célèbre et rare. Rostand, à son tour, prête la moitié de son âme à Chantecler, symbole du poète idéaliste et optimiste, illustre auteur que la foule prône et déteste à la fois. Chacune des pièces de théâtre d'Edmond Rostand fait sensation tout d'abord par le choix du sujet et du "milieu." Dans *Chantecler* il renchérit sur toutes en choisissant pour héros des bêtes et en rehaussant l'éclat de la scène par toute une exhibition de plumes bariolées.[2] C'est que ses héros

[1] *Edmond Rostand*, Paris, Fontemoing, 1913.

[2] Ce n'est pas le moment de passer en revue les prédécesseurs de Chantecler sur la scène et dans la littérature française. Nous renvoyons nos lecteurs à un article qui va paraître dans la *Revue bleue* (*Sujets curieux dans la comédie du dix-septième siècle*), où nous nous efforçons de tirer de l'oubli des pièces de théâtre qui, deux cents ans avant Rostand, avaient demandé aux costumes d'animaux des effets comiques et des coups de théâtre.

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sont des oiseaux qu'il paraît préférer aux quadrupèdes, à peine représentés par le Chien, le Chat, la Taupe,—de même qu'aux insectes qui se contentent de fournir les chœurs et l'accompagnement musical de quelques parties plus ou moins lyriques. La tradition littérare, dès le fameux *Ver-Vert* de Gresset et *l'Oiseau blanc,* de Diderot (qu'on peut hardiment rapprocher du *Merle blanc* de Musset non seulement pour les héros, mais aussi pour le ton), fait une place d'honneur aux oiseaux, et le culte de l'aigle, de l'hirondelle et du rossignol est devenu une mode obligatoire pour les prosélytes de Victor Hugo et de Michelet. Cette préférence s'explique avant tout par le chant de certains oiseaux qui les rapproche des chanteurs humains, des poètes (le merle de Musset et Chantecler seront poètes en effet!) autant que par la science du vol qui les rapproche des cieux et qui les fait considérer comme des êtres supérieurs.

Musset accepte tout le bagage de la tradition littéraire qu'il enrichit de ses trouvailles à lui.[8] Son merle blanc est un être exceptionnel comme Chantecler: poète de renom et personnage intéressant, il a pour lui toutes les "femmes" qui, en général, ne sont pas à même de comprendre son génie. (La pie s'effraie de sa voix tandis que la doucereuse tourterelle s'endort pendant qu'il chante; les grives sont trop folles pour approfordir quoi que ce soit.) Il finit par s'éprendre d'une étrangère, comme Chantecler: il épouse une jeune merlette anglaise, romancière comme George Sand. Dans la première ivresse de son amour, il croit avoir trouvé la femme digne de lui: toujours comme Chantecler, il se désabuse bientôt. Notons que la merlette doit sa blancheur à une pommade; la poule faisane, aventurière à son tour, a emprunté à son mâle son plumage éclatant.

Il va sans dire que les oiseaux de Musset ne se contentent pas de jouer leur rôle de symboles ou d'hommes masqués; ils veulent vivre en même temps leur vie de vrais oiseaux, avec leur caractère apparent, leurs attitudes typiques que le poète des *Nuits* a saisi d'un coup d'œil digne de l'auteur des *Fables.* Nous ne relevons ici que deux oiseaux "littéraires" qui figurent aussi dans *Chantecler:* le rossignol auquel le héros porte envie et qui aime éperdu-

[8] Le vieux poète classique Kacatogan continue la lignée de Ver-Vert, des perroquets et des cacatois, oiseaux "en chef" de l'exotisme littéraire du dix-huitième siècle.

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ment la rose hautaine;[4] et le pigeon ramier, très affairé et très rapide, dont un cousin, pigeon voyageur, remplit, dans *Chantecler,* les fonctions de facteur des oiseaux.

Ce rapprochement doit être complété par celui du ton, commun aux deux ouvrages. C'est celui du persiflage spirituel et souvent très fort qui se fait voir chez Musset autant que chez Rostand. Le merle noir (encore un merle!) prend sur tous points le contre-pied des opinions de Chantecler et, par conséquent, de celles du merle blanc de Musset: il représente l'esprit étroit, terre à terre, dénigreur de tout génie et de tout enthousiasme. Et s'il se met en frais d'innombrables jeux de mots, il pourrait en avoir trouvé le moule dans l'histoire de son confrère blanc, ou les *Grives* tiennent des propos *Grivois* et où l'on parle du feu roi *Pie X,* roi des *pies!*

Un rapprochement significatif doit être fait pour une tirade de Cyrano. Celui-ci, en administrant une correction au vicomte de Valvert et en lui donnant une leçon de verve et d'esprit, paraît s'inspirer d'une des poésies les plus populaires du principal modèle de son auteur. La fameuse *Ballade à la lune* fit scandale: le jeune Alfred de Musset, espèce d' "enfant sublime," eut l'impertinence de se moquer de la Lune, objet de tant de soupirs languissants et de l'affection passionnée des romantiques.[5] Tout en se réservant le droit de faire valoir les sentiments de dévouement et de tendresse que lui inspirait la Lune, la Diane des Anciens,—ce qui est le cas, en effet, dans la deuxième partie de la Ballade,—il montre à ses lecteurs le talent qu'il a de surcharger d'abord son invocation de comparaisons burlesques et irrévérencieuses sur le compte de la fidèle compagne de ses promenades mélancoliques.[6] Cyrano en agira de même en nous donnant un échantillon de son savoir-faire: il tourne en ridicule son nez trop grand, une difformité qui, au fond, lui cause du chagrin et dont la pensée fait vibrer en lui des cordes plutôt sérieuses. Notons, du reste, que le vrai Cyrano étant l'auteur d'un voyage imaginaire à la Lune, son nom dut nécessairement attirer l'attention de Rostand sur cette mémorable "Ballade à la Lune."

[4] Cf. *The Nightingale and the Rose,* d'Oscar Wilde, où le rossignol meurt, comme à la fin de "Chantecler."

[5] Cf. le *Charivari à la Lune* dans les *Musardises.*

[6] Ainsi la lune serait un "faucheux" sans pattes et sans bras, idée baroque, puisque l'araignée sans pattes n'a par de forme caractéristique.

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Parmi les maîtres d'Edmond Rostand, il faut réserver une place d'honneur à François Coppée. L'auteur si populaire du *Passant* fut l'un des fournisseurs ordinaires du "théâtre des poètes" dont Rostand trouvera la formule parfaite. Rien de plus ingénieux, de plus "rostandesque" que les péripéties et les mots finals des drames héroïques tels que *Severo Torelli.* Alain, dans l'immense mosaïque de la Guerre de cent ans, réduit par son frère à l'inactivité des villanelles et des rêves, ouvre les ailes, s'arrache au nid qui ressemble à une prison, et finit par se briser. C'est comme une première ébauche de la figure de l'Aiglon. *Les Jacobites,* drame joué à l'Odéon en novembre 1885 et qui marque les débuts de Mme Segond-Weber, semble avoir prêté à l'*Aiglon* plus d'une situation importante. Le jeune et sympathique rejeton d'une famille détrônée prend la résolution de reconquérir le pays dont le peuple le préfère à ses maîtres actuels. Il est aimé de plus d'un femme (Lady Dora, femme de Lord Fingall, et Marie, fille du mendiant aveugle Angus), et un rendez-vous compromet presque le succès de la guerre et tous les efforts d'un patriote ardent, aux manières un peu théâtrales (Angus, Flambeau). Comme le duc de Reichstadt, le prince Charles-Edouard finit par avoir des doutes et par reculer devant l'immense responsabilité des meurtres commis en son nom. La tragédie s'exhale en élégie . . . .[7]

Le *Luthier de Crémone* contient en germe ce qui est essentiel dans le sujet de *Cyrano,* l'antithèse romantique et le sacrifice cornélien. Filipino, le bossu, ose caresser un impossible rêve d'amour. Après un moment d'espoir, préparé psychologiquement par un triomphe du héros difforme,[8] il se résigne, il renonce à l'amour; de plus, il fait son possible pour assurer la victoire à son rival Sandro, artiste inférieur, mais homme beau et aimé de Giannina. Après cela, on n'a presque plus besoin de rappeler le succès bruyant autant que durable du *Luthier de Crémone* (1876).

JEAN HANKISS.

Université de Debreczen, Hongrie.

[7] Notons que Coppée sait préparer des scènes à effet fondées sur des détails singuliers et pittoresques tels que les jouets de l'Aiglon. Cf. surtout les scènes de Joé, *Jacobites,* IV, 4 et 5.

[8] Des liens plus directs, plus "matériels" réunissent l'*Aiglon* au *Fils de l'Empereur,* poésie de Coppée, cf. Haraszti, *Edmond Rostand,* p. 57, n.

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NOTES ON THE *RABENSCHLACHT*

The Middle High German minstrel epic called the *Rabenschlacht*[1] describes at length how King Etzel promises to help Dietrich von Bern conquer his kingdom. Queen Helche has an evil dream; a dragon carries off her two sons on a wide heath, where they are killed by a griffon. Soon after the two young princes, called Scharpfe and Orfte, beg their parents to allow them to accompany Dietrich on his campaign. But both Etzel and his queen refuse to let them go. Moved by their entreaties, Dietrich himself asks Etzel for this permission, and finally even Helche, seeing that Dietrich promises to be responsible for their safety, joins her prayers to those of her sons and Dietrich. Then Etzel yields, and the princes prepare to take part in the expedition. Arrived in Italy, Dietrich leaves the young men in Bern, charging the hero Ilsan with their care. Moreover he asks his own brother Diether not to let them leave the city. No sooner has the army left than the princes entreat Ilsan to allow them to ride out. At first he refuses, but finally decides to accompany them. In the dense fog he is separated from them and Diether. The princes spend the night on the heath. Next morning, when the sun disperses the fog, they meet the hero Witege, Dietrich's enemy. They attack him, but are slain all three. In the meantime, Dietrich has defeated the army of Ermanarich in a terrible battle which lasted twelve days. When he is at last victorious, one of his men brings him the news of the death of the two youths and of Diether. Dietrich hastens to the spot where the three corpses are lying; he kisses the wounds of Etzel's sons and bites off a joint of his finger, from sorrow. The rest of the story is not of immediate concern here. Suffice it to say that Dietrich pursues Witege and drives him into the sea; himself returns to Etzel, where he obtains the pardon of the king and his wife for the death of their sons, of which he was the innocent cause.

[1] For this study I use the edition of E. Martin, *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, zweiter Teil, Berlin, 1866, pp. 217-326. The episodes here discussed form stanzas 340-357 and 896.

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I

It is two themes of this narrative which deserve some discussion and have, as far as I know, never received the attention of scholars. The first of these motifs is that of the young heroes who ride out for battle against the will of their guardian. It is found in several Old French *chansons de geste*. In the *Chevalerie Vivien*[2] Guischard, Vivien's brother, desires to be dubbed knight. His uncle William tells him that he is too young, but he gets hold of a horse and escapes his guardian Gautier. He insists that Guibourc, his aunt, confer upon him the order of knighthood and then follows the army of William, overtaking it after having killed some Saracens on the road. The outcome is not tragic in that the young hero is not killed but merely taken prisoner.

This episode is already found in the older *Chanson de Willame*. There William leaves his nephew Gui in the care of his wife Guibourc. The young hero is loath to stay at home; he asks his aunt to let him go and promises to tell William that he stole away secretly and against her will. Then she permits him to go. He joins the squires and is not noticed by his uncle until some time later.[3]

The same motif is found in the so-called *geste du roi*. In the long and late poem *Charlemagne* by Girard d'Amiens, the young Charles who has assumed the name Mainet at the court of the Saracen king of Toledo, prays his guardian David in vain to let him go to battle with him and the other Frenchmen who have taken service under the Moorish king Galafré; then he rushes out of the tower where he has been confined for his own safety, enters the battle line and kills the enemy leader.[4]

In the chanson *Aspremont* the young hero is Roland himself who, condemned to stay behind at Laon, cannot endure the sight of the army in battle array. With some companions he breaks out of his prison, throws a number of Bretons from their horses and joins the host.[5]

[2] Léon Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises*, Paris, 1882, IV, 457.

[3] Ed. H. Suchier, Halle, 1911, vv. 1543-1562.

[4] L. Gautier, *op. cit.*, III, Paris, 1880, p. 45.

[5] *La Chanson d'Aspremont*, éd. Louis Brandin, Paris, 1919, vv. 1244-1315, pp. 41-43.

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It is therefore most likely that this motif, like so many others, had its origin in the French *chanson de geste* and was later borrowed by the authors of the Middle High German minstrel epic.[6]

II

In the second place, Dietrich's strange expression of his sorrow deserves some explanation. Immoderate signs of mourning are quite common among many savage races and have been so at all times. Plutarch remarks on it, admonishing his friend to show, as a true Hellene, more discretion than the barbaric races in giving vent to his feelings of sorrow.[7] Among the many ways of manifesting grief for a deceased person self-mutilation has always played quite an important part. The most famous example of classical antiquity is that of Orestes who in sorrow over the murder of Clytemnestra bit off one of his fingers.[8] Skeletons with finger joints missing have also been discovered in the excavations of Crete.[9] Amputation of finger joints in mourning over the loss of a child or a husband was quite common among many North American Indian tribes.[10] A similar custom obtained in British New Guinea, where the women would amputate the top of a finger up to the first joint, at the death of a child.[11] There can be very little doubt that the episode in the Middle High German poem is an archaic feature dating from a time far anterior to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the Middle High German epic flourished.[12]

[6] Cf. R. Heinzel, *Ueber die ostgothische Heldensage, Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Kl.*, Band CXIX. The theme under discussion is met with in antiquity; cf. Livy, XXVII. 19.

[7] *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, cap. 22.

[8] Pausanias, *Descr. Gr.*, VIII, 34. 3.

[9] Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*, London, s. d., p. 31.

[10] Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, London, 1918, III, 227.

[11] *Ibid.*, III, 237.

[12] Finger mutilation, though for a different purpose, existed in Iceland, where a law was necessary to punish any woman who bit off her child's finger in order that it might live longer; cf. on this subject M. Bartels, *Isländischer Brauch und Volksglaube in Bezug auf die Nachkommenschaft, Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XXXII, 1900, p. 81.

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Both episodes discussed in this study are rather instructive for an understanding of the genesis of the German epic, which is undoubtedly a juxtaposition of elements of very unequal age. Comparatively modern themes are found side by side with others which lead us back to a time and a civilization prior to the empire of Charlemagne and the influence of Christianity on the rude tribes of the Central European forests.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

Flat River, Mo.

TWO SLICES OF LITERATURE

Some would have us look upon every piece of writing in a detached manner, holding with Mr. Saintsbury that "it is what the artist does with his materials, not where he gets them, that is the great question." But to look on literature as the output of solitary craftsmen, is to revel in dry, merely technical studies and to lose the intimate human touch that appeals to all normal minded, gossipy men, the touch that made for the success of the old BOOKMAN with its details about what George Barr McCutcheon had for breakfast and what sort of furniture Marion Crawford used in his Italian villa. So the biographical element was introduced. Some of the earliest extensive accounts of literary men, Johnson's *Lives of the Poets,* satisfied first the biographical requirement, and then studied the verse as verse. This method is that which governs such a "standard" work as Gosse's *Eighteenth Century Literature* (1888), avowedly planned on the selection and the exclusion of names and the apportioning of space to individual figures. This method still controls Moody and Lovett's *English Literature* (1902) although these gentlemen have set the chief figures in relief, "and the minor figures have been grouped about them in an endeavor thus to suggest their significance." Thus we have the various "ages" and "periods" of literary history used to order and systematize the study.

It is quite apparent, though, as Mr. Chesterton remarks, that "it is useless to urge the isolated individuality of the artist, apart from his attitude to his age." Investigation of biographical data

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showed how the early training of Blake, the physical infirmity of Pope, and the later circumstances of Swift affected the character and intent of their writings. Consequently the scholars began to study "origins" and "influences" and concluded that no writer was really solitary, "indifferent to the commonwealth and unconcerned about moral things." Taine insisted and Hancock repeated with apposite example the doctrine that every man should be considered chiefly in relation to his "age"—in the light of the social, economic, political, and philosophical conditions of his time. "We cannot understand a man," these persons said substantially, "unless we understand the conditions under which he lived and wrote." All studies thus became aids to the study of literature. Professor Baldwin, in his preface to *English Medieval Literature* (1914) even congratulates himself that the scantiness of medieval biography enables him to speak of poems in their relation to theology and sociology, unencumbered by personal detail.

Yet still we face a difficulty. It hampers us wherever we turn. It is one of the perennially perplexing problems of all time. It is the problem of time. Men may be grouped by the dates of their births and deaths, between 1660 and 1780, or between 1830 and 1880. Works may be assembled according as they indicate this or that particular "movement." We may trace the "beginnings of Romanticism" and find fertile seeds in years long, long before the flower bloomed. We may scamper up and down the years and pick up here and there a "tragedy of blood." And at the end we will have proved little or nothing. Even Miss Allene Gregory, who in her volume on *The French Revolution and The English Novel* (1915) says that "economic changes and resulting social conditions" affect literature, considers her observations on this subject "superficial and commonplace" and is unwilling to grant, except as a side issue, that literature offers evidences which may be valuable for the historian. History must be her hand-maid; she will not be history's. Just so long as students insist on writing a history of literature instead of admitting that what they scrutinize is really a part of the literature of history, they will be unable to solve the problem of time. They will have to confess with Mr. Chesterton that "the names never come in the same order in actual time as they come in any serious study of a spirit or a tendency; and the critic who wishes to move onward with the life of an epoch,

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must be always running backwards and forwards along its mere dates." Or else they will declare with Miss Gregory that "chronological generalizations made in a pigeon-holing spirit are valueless; they are merely matters of convenience."

Write a biography (I have done it) and you get nowhere unless you happen to have selected a man who in the Carlylean sense epitomizes his time. Write the history of a particular metrical device (and I have done that too) and you produce nothing of any value as a reflection of the progress of the human mind and human life. What we really need in this world of books is the story of human thought and human society, not an account of sonnet technique or personal dates and profits. In spite of the aversion to mere dates, already mentioned, it is true that what we want to know is what men were thinking at certain times. You may agree with the English essayist: "Mere chronological order is almost as arbitrary as alphabetical order. To deal with Darwin, Dickens, Browning in the sequence of the birthday book would be to forge about as real a chain as the 'Tacitus, Tolstoy, Tupper' of a biographical dictionary." However, if you do agree (and I do, in part, and at times), I shall ask you to bear with me for a few more paragraphs and observe the effect of applying a chronological method in two instances.

In the critical jargon which professors use are two phrases: "the graveyard school of poetry" and "the satire of the early eighteenth century." These are my examples. I shall look at them with one eye while I watch the calendar with the other. I shall compare two decades. The first extends from 1730 to 1740; and the second from 1740 to 1750. The first of these, that of the 'Thirties, was critical, satirical, given largely to condemnation of the existing modes and the existing social customs and life. The second of these, the 'Forties, was gloomy, anti-social, disgusted with people, and quite content with country churches and tottering tombstones where one might regret through many a solemn hour the sadness of life, and its unhappiness. The limits of the periods are not exact. Men do not change their minds promptly on the turning of a new decade. Yet the correspondence is close enough for the general purpose.

Here is Edward Young, ambitious in his youth, of whom his son remarked to Boswell that "he had met with many disappoint-

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ments." In his seven satires on *Love of Fame* (1725-1728) he slashed at the evils he saw in London:

> What swarms of amorous grandmothers I see!
> And misses, ancient in iniquity!
> What blasting whispers, and what loud declaiming!
> What lying, drinking, bawding, swearing, gaming!
> Friendship so cold, such warm incontinence;
> Such gripping avarice, such profuse expense;
> Such dead devotion, such a zeal for crimes;
> Such licensed ill, such masquerading times;
> Such venal faith, such misapplied applause;
> Such flattered guilt, and such inverted laws!
> Such dissolution through the whole I find,
> 'Tis not a world, but chaos of mankind.

After looking at sights like these, and inveighing against them without effect, is it any wonder that the man of letters should retire from a community where "virtue's a pretty thing to make a show" and betake himself to the writing of *Night Thoughts* (1742-1745) on immortality and the terrible vengeance of a just God? He finds amid the violated decencies of the world no inspiration but in contemplation of "what beams upon it from eternity" and that in the life to come

> Each virtue brings in hand a golden dower
> Far richer in reversion.

Here in two flashes from the work of one man we have the semblance of an outline of the whole.

There are exceptions, like Parnell's *Night Piece on Death* (1721), which comes a little early, and Churchill's *Rosciad* (1761) and Goldsmith's *Retaliation* (1774) which come too late, but the general conception seems to hold. In the 'Thirties they were fighting for proper ideas; in the 'Forties they had grown disgusted and gone out to look for them "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife."

Here is Pope with his *Moral Essays* (1735) and his *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* (1735), and his *Satires* (1738), and his *Dunciad* (1728-1743) extending over the whole period. Even in his *Essay on Man* (1733) in which he is frequently said to have become philosophical instead of satirical he represents humanity in terms like this:

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> Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurled,
> The glory, jest, and riddle of the world.

Here was James Thomson in *The Seasons* (1726-1730) arguing his best that men should leave the viciousness of the cities and find "the mighty breath of God" and "the general smile of nature" in the "brooks and groves, in hollow-whispering gales."

Here was Swift writing the *Modest Proposal* in 1729 and his vicious deductions in *The Beasts' Confession* in 1738. Here is an anonymous poet in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1732 telling of the happy savage,

> Of all human arts
> Happily ignorant, nor taught by wisdom
> Numberless woes, nor polished into torment.

Here is Soame Jenyns in his *Essay on Virtue* (1734) while the Whigs and Tories were squabbling, while the Jacobite Pretender was still a danger, while the memories of the War of the Spanish Succession were still fresh and the War of Jenkin's Ear was about to break out, bewailing the "error, fraud and superstition," condemning "servile tenets," and hoping to see the end of "envy, hatred, war, and discord." Here is Henry Brooke condemning the "self-sufficient sons of reasoning pride" for failing to observe the *Universal Beauty* (1735) in the lessons of nature which is so superior to civilization. Here is Matthew Green in *The Spleen* (1737) laughing out of countenance the strict dissenter, the place hunters, and the "deep tragedies that make us laugh." And here is Charles Wesley writing fervent hymns, lame and infirm with sin and yet eager to rush forward in the chase like William Somerville's fox hunter, but hoping that he may penetrate to everlasting life, above and remote from this.

Finally, it seems, they made an end of their arguments. They seem to have given up the fight and retired with Robert Blair to *The Grave* (1743) and "a long and moonless night." The flashing wit of Congreve was giving place to the sober solemnity of George Lillo. Occasional conformity may have been expedient and the shortest way with dissenters a joke, but the poets were losing their "zeal for slander" and their "keen tongue" for their "licentious times." Perhaps they felt with William Whitehead the sentiments he poetized in his lines *On Ridicule* (1743):

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That eager zeal to laugh the vice away
May hurt some virtue's intermingling ray.

At any rate, from now on they leave alone "that scented nothing of a beau" and we see

Critics grow mild, life's witty warfare cease,
And true good nature breathe the balm of peace.

Of course, personally we would prefer to "laugh away the folly of the times" with Addison and Steele than deplore in sententious long, drawn out sentences the Vanity of Human Wishes as Johnson saw it in 1749. But not the men of those days. Their good nature was not a social grace. The virtuous were too likely to be abducted like Pamela, if they were too familiar with their wicked superiors in the social world. The balm of peace that they found was the damp and musty air of an English evening. The "setting sun's effulgence," as Akenside has it in *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (1744), refines the passions to "a chaster, milder, more attractive mien." Joseph Wharton typifies their mood in *The Enthusiast* (1744):

But let me never fail in cloudless nights,
When silent Cynthia in her silver car
Through the blue concave slides, ...
To seek some level mead, and there invoke
Old Midnight's sister, Contemplation sage,
To lift my soul above this little earth,
This folly-fettered world: to purge my ears,
That I may hear the rolling planets' song,
And tuneful turning spheres."

They have ceased to satirize and ridicule the town pursuits and pleasures. They have ceased even to compare, as did Brooke, the "sacred truth" of the countryside with "the courtier's word, the lordling's honor" of the city. They have been driven quite away and take delight in other things.

Here is John Gilbert Cooper writing of *The Power of Harmony* in 1745 and finding value in "a leafless wood, a mouldering ruin, lightning-blasted fields." Here is Collins in 1746 singing soulfully of a weeping hermit, the twilight path, the darkening vale, the lone heath, the gliding ghosts, and a haunted stream. Here is Thomas Wharton in 1747 praising the *Pleasures of Melancholy,* and finding not undelightful the solemn midnight hour, even when

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elaborated with mouldering ruins, wasted towers, glimmering walls, and ghostly shapes.

Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* is of course one of the finest pieces of writing in the language. Penned by a man who had travelled about Europe more than did the usual poet of the time, by one who was judged "perhaps the most learned man in Europe," it represents this decade of the 'Forties almost perfectly. Begun in 1742 and finished in 1750, though not published until the following spring, even in its composition it almost exactly spans the period. It has the sepulchral air, of course. It has its moping owl who complains to the moon. It has the typical plea for the simple life,—such as the poets were seeking, after their vain endeavors to reform the world,—a life of homely joys and useful toil. It contemns the boast of heraldry and the pomp of power, fortune and fame. It praises lonely contemplation and wayward fancies. But—enough of this. The poem is sufficiently well known. It distinguishes the type. By its very perfection, its "extreme conciseness of expression," it marks the end of the decade with a period. But more than that, it represents the 'Forties in English literary history, when people of a poetic frame of mind thought that

> The hues of bliss more brightly glow
> Chastised by sabler tints of woe.

Do not for a moment imagine that I am presenting an exhaustive study of twenty years of literature in these few paragraphs. The two decades which I have sliced out are here epitomized simply as examples.

What I am really trying to find out is, whether or not we could profitably apply the chronological method to the study of literature. So much has been said against it that even dates are disliked. What people seem to want now are "influences" and "movements." And these are likely to be all too exclusively purely literary in character. What really does matter more than anything else is the thought of the nation. There are political events. There are social conditions. There are philosophies. There are economic problems. There are amusements. There are religions and ideals. There are conflicting parties and sects in each of these. Yet from time to time in each of these there appears a dominating

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trait, a reflection of the temper of the mind of the nation, of its desires and aversions, as the psychologists would say. Certainly concrete evidence of its behaviour. The man alone, crying aloud in the wilderness should not concern us. But a crowd of men shouting on a street corner mean something. It seems to me that it is our duty as interpreters of literature to be in addition interpreters of life. Many men may say the same thing in very nearly the same way over a long number of centuries. And it need not bother us. Still, when many men say the same thing at the same time, their voice is as positive an expression of opinion on the current conditions of life as an avalanche of ballots in a country-wide election. There will always be some who have the art, the inspiration, and the fervor to say it well enough so that it will be worthy to stand as a record of the traditional history of the race. Study biography? Yes, if it aids in the main purpose without obscuring it. Use chronology in grouping writers and writings for discussion? Yes, if the chronology shows a coincidence of ideas. Study "influences" and "movements" and such like? Yes, but only where these are at their peak and may be truly said to represent the mind of the reading public. The educated, thinking men of England who wrote verse were in the 1730's waging war, and vigorous and bitter war on the evils of their times. In the 1740's they had almost completely given up the fight and were retiring very nearly like sullen misanthropes, to let the world wag as it would in all its wickedness. Are these things true, as the poems above cited would seem to show? If so, we have learned something of the history of the English people, and it is very apparent from the narrowness of the field from which I have drawn my examples that there is much more to be learned.

In any event, whether true or not, I feel like remarking in the words of DeFoe that "if those that know these things better than I would bless the world with further instructions, I shall be glad to see them, and very far from interrupting or discouraging them."

ELBRIDGE COLBY.

War Department,
Washington, D. C.

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SURREY AND MARTIAL

Among the poems ascribed to Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, in Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (1557), as well as in the Park Ms. (Add. 36259), is the translation of Martial's epigram X, 47, headed (in Tottel) "The meanes to attain happy life." Professor Berdan recently has called attention to the excellence of this translation (*Early Tudor Poetry,* 523-525), comparing it with two seventeenth-century English versions of the same epigram, and with Clement Marot's French version. In another connection Professor Berdan points out (p. 257) the error of Warton and later commentators in referring to this epigram as "Martialis ad seipsum," whereas it belongs among those addressed to Julius Martialis. Warton, of course, merely repeated a very old error; in 1571, copies of this epigram in Latin, English, and Welsh, were printed by John Awdley on black-letter sheets, with the title, "Martial to himself, treating of worldly Blessedness . . . Ex M. Valer. Martialis ad seipsum libro 10."

No recent student of Surrey, however, seems to have noticed that the translation attributed to Surrey, with variations in a few phrases, was printed almost ten years earlier than *Songes and Sonettes,* by William Baldwin in his *Treatise of Morall Phylosophie* (January, 1547/8); there it appears with the heading, "The thinges that cause a quiet life, written by Marcial." Flügel reprints the two versions in *Neuenglisches Lesebuch,* without perceiving their virtual identity. In fact, he takes the verses as given by Baldwin to be a translation of a different epigram, Martial's V, 20. Placing the two versions side by side will show beyond doubt that they represent one and the same translation:

BALDWIN (1547/8)

My frende the thynges that do attayne
The happy lyfe, be these I fynde:
The richesse left, not gotte with payn
The fruitfull ground, the quiet mynd.

The equall frend, no grudge, no stryfe,
No charge of rule, nor gouernaunce:

SURREY (1557)

Martiall, the thinges that do attayn
The happy life, be these, I finde.
The richesse left, not got with pain:
The frutefull ground: the quiet mynde:
The egall frend, no grudge, no strife:
No charge of rule, nor gouernance:
Without disease the healthfull lyfe:
The houshold of continuance:
The meane diet, no delicate fare:

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Without dysease the healthy lyfe,
The houshould of continuaunce.

The meane dyet, no daintie fare,
Wisdome ioyned with simplenes:
The night discharged of all care,
Where wyne the wyt may not oppresse.

The faythful wyfe without debate
Such slepes as may begyle the night:
Content thy self with thyne estate,
Neyther wishe death, nor feare hys might.

Trew wisdom ioyned with simplenesse:
The night discharged of all care,
Where wine the wit may not oppresse:
The faithful wife, without debate:
Suche slepes, as may begyle the night:
Contented with thine owne estate,
Ne wish for death, ne feare his might.

We have no ascription of this translation to Surrey in any manuscript known, or even conjectured, to be older than Tottel's miscellany. This fact leaves open the possibility that the translation was made by Baldwin. In support of this, we have the phrase on the title-page of the *Treatise of Morall Phylosophie,* "contayning the sayinges of the wyse, Gathered and Englyshed by Wlm Baldwyn," and the fact that the translation in question appears with others, supposedly made by Baldwin. There is extant, however, at least one early edition of the *Treatise* in which the poem is ascribed to Surrey; and it seems likely that it was taken over by Baldwin from a manuscript, perhaps from the very manuscript used by the editor of *Songes and Sonnettes.*[1] In this case, we have here the earliest publication of any of Surrey's poems, giving us an opportunity to examine a version closer than others to his own, and to note changes made by the editor of the miscellany. Yet Surrey's claim to these verses was overlooked by Hazlitt when he pointed out (*Handbook,* 379) that the translation in Baldwin's *Treatise* represents the first appearance of any bit of Martial in English; while Warton named Surrey as "the earliest translator of any portion of Martial into English" and Baldwin as the second.[2]

No other of Martial's epigrams seems to have attracted so much attention as the one under discussion. Beside the translation ap-

[1] This view is well supported by W. F. Trench, "William Baldwin," *Modern Language Quarterly,* I (1899), 259 ff.

[2] Both writers overlooked the portion of Martial's epigram XII, 34, given in English by Thomas Elyot in Book I, chapter XIII, of *The Governour* (1531).

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pearing in Baldwin's work and the *Songes and Sonettes,* and the different one given on the black-letter sheet of 1571, we find that Kendall reprinted the Baldwin-Surrey version, evidently copying from Tottel but with one change, in his *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577), and added another translation, presumably his own. A fourth English rendering appeared in *The Dove and the Serpent* (1614); while still another was found by Collier in a Dulwich manuscript and by him ascribed to Henry Wotton or Ben Jonson, preferably to Jonson. The two last-named translations may be seen in Collier's *Bibliographical Account,* I, 273-274. John Manningham copied down in his diary (ed. by Bruce, Camden Society, 1868), under date of June 9, 1602, a rather free verse-translation made by "Th. Sm."[8] In view of the popularity of this epigram, the problem raised by conflicting ascriptions of its earliest (and perhaps best) translation becomes an important one; and is intimately bound up with the larger problem concerning the sources used by the collector of *Songes and Sonettes.*

HOYT HOPEWELL HUDSON.

Cornell University.

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[8] An unpublished translation from the sixteenth century is mentioned by the editor and collector of *The Epigrams of Martial* (Bohn's Library, 1890), who says that this epigram is included in "a very interesting MS. of the age of Elizabeth, which versifies with considerable ability a great proportion of the Epigrams."

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REVIEWS

The Dependence of Part I of Cynewulf's Christ upon the Antiphonary. By EDWARD BURGERT, O. S. B. Washington, D. C.; The Catholic University of America, 1921.

The publication, in 1900, of Professor Albert S. Cook's first edition of the *Christ,*[1] threw considerable light upon the sources used by Cynewulf. Professor Cook found Part I to be a series of paraphrases of the Great Antiphons of Advent. The value of this discovery cannot be overestimated, for as Father Burgert says, it determines "the character of the poem," it defines more accurately the divisions, and leads to a deeper realization of the religious fervor out of which the poem was born.

Acknowledging the greatness of the work accomplished by Professor Cook, Father Burgert proposes to satisfy some of the questions still remaining unsolved. The first of these regards the structural plan of *Christ I,* which has been considered by most scholars " A more or less meaningless jumble of lyrical outbursts." Professor Cook remarks in this connection, the fault of Cynewulf is in harmony with the Old English poets in general, a tendency to dwell too much upon details, and neglect the architectonics, the perspective of the whole. (Pp. xc f.) A similar opinion is held by George A. Smithson, who attributes to the entire poem a "lyric unity," or a "unity of mood that is more easily felt than formulated." This unity he finds in the predominating mood of the *Christ,* which is "The spirit of Advent, the threefold coming of Christ to men, through the Virgin birth, through the faith of the believer, and through the final judgment."[2]

This theory Father Burgert rejects, since Cynewulf nowhere mentions the threefold coming, and St. Bernard, whose Third

[1] *The Christ of Cynewulf,* edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by Albert S. Cook, Boston, Ginn & Co., 1900. Second impression, 1909. The Albion Series.

[2] *The Old English Christian Epic.* A Study in the Plot Technique of the Juliana, the Elene, the Andreas, and the Christ, in comparison with the Beowulf and the Latin Literature of the Middle Ages, by George Arnold Smithson, University of California, 1910.

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Advent Sermon[3] supplies Smithson's only proof for his assumption, died A. D. 1153, at least three centuries after Cynewulf. Patristic writers before St. Bernard mention only the two comings of Christ expressed in the Advent liturgy, namely, His coming in the Incarnation, and His final coming at the Last Judgment. Moreover the characterization of Part II as "a coming," is a misnomer, the absurdity of which was indicated by Cook in his refutation of Dietrich's theory. (P. xvii.) Tho the question of the unity of the *Christ* is foreign to his study, Father Burgert suggests as a basis more plausible for the unity of the three parts than St. Bernard's "ad homines" and "in homines," the fifth stanza of the Advent hymn, *Veni, redemptor gentium:*

Egressus ejus a Patre,
Regressus ejus ad Patrem,
Excursus usque ad inferos,
Recursus ad sedem Dei.

Placed in opposition, lines 1 and 3 show a parallelism in which the *terminus a quo* is complementary to the *terminus ad quem;*

Egressus ejus a Patre . . . . . Excursus usque ad inferos,
Regressus ejus ad Patrem . . . Recursus ad sedem Dei.

Lines 2 and 4 form a second parallel, being synonymous. Lines 1 and 3 indicate the two extreme points in Christ's human life, His Incarnation or advent among men, and His Ascension, His departure from them. *Egressus ejus a Patre* gives the clue to Cynewulf's frequent use of the theme of Christ's co-existence with the Father; *usque ad inferos* coincides with the Harrowing of Hell motive. The theme of Part III following from that of Part II,[4] completes the unified scheme of the poem, for, as Father Burgert says, "in *Christ I,* Christ can be considered as beginning His work of Redemption; in *Christ II,* as completing the work and receiving His personal reward from the Father, and *Christ III,* as demanding the fruits of the Redemption from the whole human race."

Leaving the question of the unity of the entire poem, Father Burgert proceeds to prove that the sources of *Christ I* form the bases for its divisions, and that the poet strictly adhered to his

[3] *Third Advent Sermon,* Migne P. L., 183, 45; cf. Smithson, 343; quoted also in Cook, XXVII f.

[4] See especially lines 523-526.

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Antiphonary both for material and for plan of construction. The divisions of the *Christ* manuscript found in the Exeter Book, have always with more or less distinctness been noted by scholars; Wanley and Gollancz recognized but the five manuscript divisions; Thorpe and Dietrich increased this number to six, and Grein and Wülker made five additional sections. With his discovery of the sources, Cook made only one more division, at line 18. Each of the twelve divisions begins with the word *Eala*. Each represents an individual lay, and marks a progression of thought, the sources being classified by Cook (p. 71) as the seven Greater Antiphons or O's of Advent; four Antiphons included by certain mediaeval churches among the Greater Antiphons or associated with them; and two of the Antiphons for Lauds on Trinity Sunday (here counted as one) according to the Sarum Use. To these findings another was contributed in 1914 by Professor Samuel Moore [5] who based the last section of *Christ I* (ll. 416-439) upon the Antiphon, *O admirabile commercium*. The series of antiphonal paraphrases is interrupted at lines 164-213, by the dialogue between Mary and Joseph, called by scholars *The Passus*. Comparing these twelve divisions in the text of the *Christ* with the sections indicated in the Exeter Book, Father Burgert finds that the poet evidently followed a definite constructive plan. The one-line spaces in the manuscript determine the following grouping of the smaller divisions.

I {
1 O Rex gentium
2 O Clavis David
3 O Hierusalem

II {
1 O Virgo virginum
2 O Oriens
3 O Emmanuel

. . . . *The Passus*

III {
1 O Rex pacifice
2 O mundi Domina
3 O Radix

IV {
—The Doxology
—O admirabile commercium.

This symmetrical arrangement of the paraphrases into groups, indicates to the writer a purpose on the poet's part of following at

[5] In *M. L. N.* xxix, 226 f.

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least the broader structural plan of the usual Church hymn in the organization of the smaller members of his poetical composition. This hymnic character of *Christ I* has impressed various commentators since Wanley, who was the first to designate it *Poema sive Hymnus de Nativitate D. N. I. C. et de B. V. Maria.* Broadly applied, the term "hymn" as defined by Clemens Blume,[6] may be used to characterize Part I of the *Christ,* since it is "a lyrical religious poem" with groups or divisions serving as stanzas. In this case each stanza consists of three O-paraphrases. The "rhythmical offices," common in Cynewulf's time as the Antiphonary of Hartker shows, may have furnished the model for the poet's plan. This theory of "hymnic structure" excludes both *The Passus* and the closing section, lines 416-439; the latter is not Advent matter, and dramatic form of *The Passus* debars it from place among the paraphrases. If it is the work of Cynewulf, and not, as has been supposed, the interpolation of a West-Saxon scribe, the poet found his source in the liturgical service for the Vigil of the Nativity, (Matt. 1; 18-21) and may have found his formal model also in the homiletic dialogues of the Greek Fathers quoted by Cook.[7] Whatever the source of Cynewulf's poetical expansion of this subject matter may have been, it is most likely that it likewise belonged to the celebration of the Vigil of Christmas. The three groups of "stanzas" are followed by Division XI, a paraphrase of the Doxology, thus completing "The extensive hymn of praise which Cynewulf so skilfully wrought from the Greater Antiphons of the Advent season." The last section of *Christ I,* lines (416-439) paraphrases the principal Antiphon used by the Church during the Octave of Christmas. Father Burgert is of the opinion that this Division was added to the preceding portion of the poem after the lapse of an interval of time. "Yet," he adds, "with the *O admirabile* as its basis, this final paraphrase, even if a later addition, fittingly closes the great theme carried out in Part I of Cynewulf's *Christ,* for it is with the Octave of Christmas to which the source belongs, that the Christmas Office finds its close."

As the result of his examination of the sources which form the bases for the twelve divisions of *Christ I,* Father Burgert finds the

[6] "Hymns" in *Catholic Encyclopedia,* vii, 595.

[7] "A Dramatic Tendency in the Fathers," *Journal of Germanic Philology,* v, 62-4.

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conclusions made by Cook clear in all except Divisions VII, X, and XII. Though the direct source for Division VII or *The Passus* must remain doubtful, its source material belongs to the Vigil of the Nativity, and is found in the Gospel passage of that day. (Matt. I; 18-21). As the source for Division X, Father Burgert gives the Preface sung in the midnight Mass on Christmas, wherein the thought expressed is found to be, like Cynewulf's paraphrase, a glorification of the eternal generation of the Son of God. This theory gains strength from the fact that Division X is followed immediately by the Doxology, a hymn of praise to the Holy Trinity, which in Lines 403-415, contains a faithful paraphrase of the Sanctus, or the part of the Mass following upon the close of the Preface. The material for Division X is, then, taken from the Christmas service, the chief source being the Preface of the midnight Mass. It is not, then, as Cook supposed, based upon the Antiphon, *O Radix,* which together with the *O Sapientia,* and the *O Adonai,* Father Burgert thinks was included in the material of the "Lost Portion" of the *Christ* manuscript.

In the third chapter of his dissertation, Father Burgert considers Cynewulf's sources as found in actual Church use. The reader is reminded of the fact that, in the history of liturgy, the Cynewulfian epoch presents a stage of development witnessing the addition of many accretions to existing formulas of worship, and showing numerous points of divergence between the usage of the parent Church at Rome and the dependent sees thruout the world. This fact probably accounts for Cynewulf's seemingly arbitrary arrangement of the Seven Universal Antiphons, which are almost invariably listed according to the *Liber Responsalis.* Basing his supposition on the fact of the indulgence shown the Church in England, which is noted by Amalarius of Metz in his account of Pope St. Gregory's correspondence with St. Augustine, Father Burgert is of the opinion that Cynewulf may have known a specifically English Antiphonary, containing all the Greater Antiphons (except, possibly, the *O Gabriel*) yet presenting them in an order unlike that of the *Liber Responsalis.* This opinion is strengthened by the fact that variants from the order of the Antiphons as listed by St. Gregory, are found in the Antiphonary of Hartker, and in those of Lucca and Toledo, which date from the twelfth century. As there can be found nowhere stated any inherent reason for the

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order given in the *Liber Responsalis,* and since examples of variant lists appear in the Antiphonaries cited, the writer supposes that Cynewulf used an Antiphonary wherein the arrangement of the Universal O's corresponded to the order of the paraphrases in *Christ I.* Even granting that the poet followed the Roman use, the customs prevailing in his particular church or monastery might account for a slight difference in the order of the O's as chanted in the Office.

Under the caption, *The Added or Monastic O's,* the writer studies the sources of four Paraphrases in addition to those of the Universal O's. These he agrees with Cook in tracing to a monastic origin.[8] Examination of various Antiphonaries reveals that any O's used in addition to the seven Greater Antiphons, were always listed after the latter. This does not imply that the Monastic O's were chanted in the Office after the completion of the Universal O's except, possibly, in those churches whose custom sanctioned the beginning of the chanting of the Advent O's early enough to allow each of the added O's a separate place in the Kalendar. But since common custom enjoined the beginning of the O's eight days before Christmas, the additional O's, perhaps, found place outside the strictly liturgical Office as Antiphons for special services or occasions. The Antiphonary of Hartker gives a clue to the use of the Added O's, *O Hierusalem, O mundi Domina,* and *O Virgo virginum,* which on page 57, the Antiphonary assigns to the service following the Magnificat with its appointed Antiphon. This service is referred to as *ad crucem* and it followed the *Benedictus* in Lauds, and the *Magnificat* in Vespers, corresponding thus to the "memorials" in the English use, which were always chanted after the regular Antiphon and prayer of the day or feast. The term *ad crucem* is derived from the fact that the memorial of the Holy Cross usually preceded all other memorials; in some mediaeval churches, moreover, it was customary to perform these memorials before an image of the Cross. The rubric, *ad crucem* was retained for the service, even when, as during Advent, a special memorial in honor of the Virgin Mary was substituted for the ordinary commemoration of the Cross. These services termed *ad crucem* commemorations, or *honorem S. Mariae,* are of interest, since the Added O's found their place in this part of the Divine Office.

[8] P. xxxix f., note 6.

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The four Added or Monastic O's used by Cynewulf, are *O Hierusalem, O Virgo virginum, O Rex pacifice,* and *O mundi Domina.* The first of these appears to Father Burgert to be of purely monastic origin; its use was, therefore a matter of individual choice, and so, remains indefinite. The *O Virgo Virginum* is assigned the eighth place in the *Liber Responsalis.* It is the earliest of the Added O's, and, in the beginning, was probably used as a regular Great O of Advent, taking the last place of these, and falling either on the Vigil of Christmas, or on the "super-vigil" (December 23). Later, as the Antiphonaries of Lucca and Toledo show, this Antiphon was used for the feast of the Annunciation (March 25), and from that feast it was naturally transferred to the feast of the *Expectatio Partus,* or *Commemoratio de la O* (December 18), Other monastic uses prevailed, showing that in those days the *O Virgo virginum* was not attached to any special feast such as the Annunciation or the Expectation, and thus allowing the poet a greater freedom in its use.

Since it was apparently restricted to purely monastic use, we may suppose that it belonged to the *ad crucem* service, following the solemn Vespers on December 24, or to some other service of the Vigil of Christmas. The last Added O employed by Cynewulf is the *O mundi Domina,* which, in Hartker's Antiphonary, is assigned to the service *ad crucem* for the Vespers of Christmas Day. The Leofric Collectar makes it the Antiphon proper of the *Magnificat* on the Vigil of the Nativity. Other uses, however diverse, concur in assigning this Antiphon a place in the immediate preparation for Christmas.

From his study of these Added or Monastic O's, used by Cynewulf, Father Burgert concludes that they were used in various ways by the different mediaeval churches, and, being chanted in various services not strictly liturgical, they were more subject to local variations in use than were the Seven Universal O's.

In *The Remaining Sources,* Father Burget states his conclusions regarding the actual Church use of the sources for *The Passus,* for Divisions X and XI, and for the final section, Division XII. The source for the Passus is found in the Office chanted on the Vigil of Christmas (December 24) Division X, the writer believes to be the poet's own "O," paraphrasing the Preface for midnight Mass on Christmas. It therefore belongs liturgically to the Feast itself. Division XI, or the Doxology in its first portion (lines 378-402)

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is based on two Antiphons to the Holy Trinity, found in the Office of the Holy Trinity, which was not in Cynewulf's time confined to the Sunday following Pentecost. In the Antiphonary of Hartker and the Collectar of Leofric, the two Antiphons used by Cynewulf are assigned to the Sundays after the feast of the Epiphany. Cynewulf, therefore found the sources for the first half of the Doxology, much nearer to the Christmas Office, than they are in the Breviary of today. The second half of the Doxology (lines 403-415), the writer finds to be a "faithful transcription of the Angelic hymn, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,* which, in the Mass follows the Preface and is introduced by it." The final portion, Division XII is based on the outstanding Antiphon of the octave of Christmas, the *O admirabile commercium.*

In the concluding chapter of his thesis, Father Burgert presents a tabulated summary of Cynewulf's sources, under the headings, the Seven Universal O's; Four Added O's, and Other Sources. A fourth column assigns each source to its proper liturgical use. Grouping these sources under literal indexes, the writer shows that Cynewulf has drawn from liturgical usage that extends from the week of preparation before Christmas through the Octave of the feast. Under Group A, the three Antiphons, *O Sapientia, O Adonai,* and *O Radix,* are found; the author concluding that they were paraphrased in the "Lost Portion" of the Exeter Book, since no part of the poem "treats them commensurately with their importance and position in the Antiphonary."

Having proved that the poet's arrangement of his material is not arbitrary, but on the contrary is most coherent and unified in mood as well as in structure, the writer adds, "From the manner in which Cynewulf followed Church use in his arrangement of the various paraphrases, his inspiration was derived not so much from the service books themselves, as from an actual attendance at the Divine Office. In other words, the sources of *Christ I* must not be taken out of their proper environment, that is, from their liturgical setting in the actual chanting of the Divine Office; for only in that essential atmosphere do they receive that life and that spirit which warmed the emotions and stimulated the power of song in Cynewulf. Only in that life which they live in the liturgy of the Church, can their true influence upon the structural plan of *Christ I* be measured."

SISTER MARY CATHERINE.

Mt. Washington, Md.

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The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt. By THOMAS OF BRITAIN. Translated from the Old French and Old Norse by ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1923. XVII + 294 pp.

"Eleanor brought with her to the fogs of London and the stark brutalities of Henry's court a breath from the olive gardens of Provence, a glimpse of the opaline sea, a new idealism of love." This iridescent sentence plucked at random from Mr. Loomis's introduction,—a preface that affords the clearest exposition of the Provençal ideal of courtly love I have met in any language and illumines the social atmosphere in which the Thomas poem was composed in England shortly after 1185,—gives a hint of the properly colorful style which the romance assumes in Mr. Loomis's rendering. The translator has already made his reputation in Tristan scholarship by his published treatises in his chosen field of iconography. He has followed the pictographs of the Arthurian legend from the north portal of Modena to the sword Curtana of British coronations derived from the blade which Tristan broke on Morholt's cranium. In the present volume the style is modelled upon Malory so skilfully that some antiquarian of the next millenium might well pronounce this Tristan a lost supplement to *Morte d'Arthur.* Yet Mr. Loomis's fifteenth century English will not terrify an infant; indeed the book is as refreshing to the lay reader as it is invaluable to the scholar.

Beautifully in keeping with this style are the copious reproductions from the tiles recovered from the foundations of Chertsey Abbey with which Mr. Loomis has embellished his book. There is one of the dragon that fiercely exhibits all the dashing suggestiveness of our most futuristic decorators of today. Another illustration indicates that two artists must have been at work at Chertsey, for in one tile "Duke Morgan smiteth Tristram" in a kimono, whereas in the next "Tristram slayeth Duke Morgan" in a full panoply of mediaeval mail.

Mr. Loomis has given us a more consistent and satisfactory Thomas than M. Bédier's reconstruction. Three-tenths of his text is from the extant Anglo-Norman fragments and the remaining seven-tenths, with insignificant exceptions, is a faithful translation of the conscientious rendering which Brother Robert made into Old Norse in the year 1226. Lovers of the Icelandic will regret

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that Mr. Loomis has contracted the first fifteen chapters, although they must admit that he has improved the story and throughout created a nobler piece of prose than his original. Robert's everlasting *ok* connectives are absorbed into a closely knit style more worthy of court romances. When the translator turns from Old French into Old Norse he makes his transition without any stylistic hiatus. Witness p. 184: *Nequedent cest anel prenez: por m'amor, amis, le gardés; þetta skal vera bréf ok innsigli, handsǫl ok huggan áminningar ástar okkar ok þessa skilnaðar.* "In the mean while take thou this ring: for my love's sake, my love, guard it; it shall be for writing and seal, surety and solace to mind us of our loves and of this parting."

A happy alliteration; here, as often, the saga, the more difficult medium, is more skilfully rendered and with less staccato effect than the French. Mr. Loomis handles the difficult passages about dressing the hart with the skill of an old huntsman; his lyrical soliloquies attain to real beauty. The translation is singularly free of spots to cavil at: "cursed" on page 255 is apparently a misprint for "avised." On page 46 the Norwegian *syðra Bretlandi* should be translated "Brittany," not "South Brittany." Only occasionally does the translator's pen grow heavy and lapse into a surfeit of archaisms or allow itself in successive chapters the modern "alive" and the *antient* "on live." The publisher seems to have deleted the "marginal notes" to which Mr. Loomis refers rather tantalizingly in his introduction and again in the appendix. Instead, there are only the barest of footnotes. We begin without knowing whether the text is from Robert or Thomas, and it is not until page 182 that we find the first footnote: "Here endeth Brother Robert and beginneth Master Thomas."

Mr. Loomis has dedicated his Tristan to the memory of his wife, Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis, whose two-volume *Tristan and Isolt* has been these ten years the final word on the sources of the romance.

H. G. LEACH.

The American Scandinavian Foundation.

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Am Sagenborn der Heimat, Sagen und Märchen aus dem Kreise Leobschütz, von Hugo Gnielczyk. Leobschütz, Adolph Rölle, 1922. 212 pp.

This little book is a collection of legends and folk-tales from the district of Leobschütz, in the southernmost part of the County of Glatz, in Prussian Silesia. A number have been collected directly among the people, others were taken from various publications inaccessible outside of Germany. A few are reproduced from the monumental work of Kühnau.[1] The large majority of the tales are local legends of the common European type: tales of cities swallowed up (pp. 7 ff.), treasure-lore (pp. 12 ff.), the wild hunt (pp. 16 ff.), mountain gnomes (pp. 26 ff.), changelings (pp. 41 ff.), the nix (pp. 46 ff.), the will o' the wisp (pp. 61 ff.), witch stories (pp. 77 ff.), tales of nightmares (pp. 90 ff.), the spectres' mass (pp. 98 ff.), the snake queen (p. 106), the "White Lady" (pp. 113 ff.), ghost stories (pp. 124 ff.), and devil stories (pp. 160 ff.). Some of the stories are certainly contaminated by learned influences and by the chapbook literature, for example two tales of Melusina (pp. 24-25) and the Sibyl (p. 108). *Die Venixweiblein als Gehilfen* (p. 36) is strongly influenced by the well-known poem of Kopisch[2] of which it is, in places, a mere prose résumé. Since there is a strong Slavonic substratum in the population of Silesia, we meet with typical examples of Slavonic folk-lore in this collection, too, among them must be counted a vampyre story (the vampyre bears the West-Slavonic name *Strzyga*). There are also clear traces of the Legend of the Ploughman King,[3] such as the election of the ploughman in the field, a legend localized near Königsdorf (p. 72; cf. the *Königsbrunn* and the *Königshäusel* at Stadiče, in Bohemia) and the meal at the iron table (pp. 29, 36 and 37). Elsewhere in Silesia is found the tale of the devil helping the serf to carry out a seemingly impossible task assigned to him by a cruel lord (p. 164).[4] On pp. 165-166 we find a version of the well-known legend of Richmodis von der Aducht buried for

[1] Richard Kühnau, *Schlesische Sagen*, Leipzig, 1910-1913.
[2] *Gedichte*, 1836, p. 98; *Die Heinzelmännchen.*
[3] Felix Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 59.
[4] Kühnau, *op. cit.*, II, 718 ff.

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dead and rescued by a thief who came to despoil the corpse.[6] Two are mutilated fairy stories: p. 85: *Blaubart der Mädchenräuber* (Grimm, *K.H.M.* 46) and p. 117: *Ihr kocht, aber essen werdet ihr's nicht* (Grimm, *K.H.M.* 91). Several genuine Märchen form the last part of the collection: *The Man who had no Soul in his Body* (p. 186), *Blue-beard* (p. 189), *Beauty and the Beast* (ibid.), *Don Juan* (p. 191), *The Earth-man* (p. 197), *The Stupid Wife* (p. 198), and also five fables, among them a Silesian version of La Fontaine's *Le Corbeau et le Renard* (p. 203).

Folklorists will welcome this unpretentious collection, whose value is enhanced by the neat appearance of the book and the clear and faultless print.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

Flat River, Mo.

Les Femmes savantes, by Molière, edited with Introduction and Notes by C. H. C. WRIGHT, Professor of French Language and Literature at Harvard University. New York, Oxford University Press, 1920. xiii + 144 pp.

In this new edition of *Les Femmes savantes,* we find an excellent presentation of the text of the play, together with a brief introduction and notes. The text followed is the standard one of the *Grands Ecrivains français,* edited by Despois and Mesnard. To the text have been added the directions for the production of the play followed by the *Comédie française.* These directions are taken from the *Edition de la Comédie française* by Georges Baillet, who played the rôle of Clitandre for some thirty odd years. It is the presentation of these directions to the American student which constitutes the sole novelty of Professor Wright's edition.

The introduction is well written and pleasant to read, but far too short to give more than a passing glimpse of the comedy's value as a literary production or of its place in Molière's work. The notes are adequate in so far as they elucidate linguistic obscurities and their explanations of literary references are correct; it could hardly be otherwise in the case of a text subjected to so much previous commentation. We might wish a somewhat fuller citation

[6] A. H. Krappe, *Revue Hispanique,* XLVI, 516-546, and *Revue des Etudes Slaves,* III, 86-89.

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of parallel and explanatory passages from other writers in an edition which must often be used by students not in reach of a library of French literature. There is no vocabulary.

Taken altogether, Professor Wright's edition of the *Femmes savantes* is carefully prepared and offers sufficient material for a clear understanding of the play by a student whose work on Molière is supplemented by abundant outside reading or by a good course of lectures by a competent teacher. To the writer, however, it seems unfortunate that a new edition of Molière's greatest comedy of manners, and especially one by so competent an authority as Professor Wright, should not have an exhaustive introduction which would interpret to the student in the twentieth century the interesting life of the French salon in the seventeenth. I am aware, from personal experience, that the American publisher bitterly begrudges the space so required, yet if this new edition is to do more than fill the gap in the Oxford Series of French texts, only such an introduction would justify its publication.

MURRAY P. BRUSH.

Tome School.

The Colonnade, Volume XIV, 1919-1922. Published by the Andiron Club of New York City, 1922. xx, 555 pp.

The new and greatly enlarged volume of *The Colonnade,* for the years 1919-1922, reflects much credit upon its publishers, the Andiron Club, of New York. The first part, a miscellany of some 280 pages, gives evidence of the combination of scholarly soundness and literary finish aimed at in the Club programs, from which the articles have been selected. The second part, a reprint of the *Poetical Works* of John Trumbull, is a contribution to American literary scholarship for which college libraries and students of the field will be decidedly grateful.

Outstanding articles of scholarly interest in Part One are J. S. Kennard's address, "La Femme dans le Roman Italien," in the original French as delivered before the Sorbonne; two studies by J. W. Draper, "Spenserian Biography: A Note on the Vagaries of Scholarship," a sifting of the theories and discoveries relating to the poet's life and work, enlightening as to the extreme nebu-

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lousness of some views often presented and accepted as established facts; and "The Summa of Romanticism," perhaps a little too conclusive title for Professor Babbitt's *Rousseau and Romanticism,* —with its apparent thesis that romanticism is the sum of the opposites of all the good things that go to make up classicism— of which the article is a lucid and sympathetic review; a translation in full of the "Twelfth Oratio" of Dio of Prusa, by Professor Waters, of New York University; and Clifford Parker's graphic account of the burial of Rostand, at Marseilles. "English Verse in South Africa" attracts by reason of its novelty, though Mr. Rich's explanation of the prevalence of the sonnet form in the poetry of South Africa as due to the similarities in climate and landscape between that country and Italy calls forth an amused protest from the editors. Doubtless the most interesting and perhaps the most important article is Elizabeth Stein's account of what purports to be a manuscript diary of David Garrick, recently brought to light by Mr. Houdini and dealing with the actor's first trip to Paris, in 1751. If its genuineness is proved, it is of value as correcting some of the present views of Garrick's attitude toward the French stage. Several pages are reproduced in *fac simile.*

The poetry scattered throughout Part One is mostly of the type aptly described as "difficult," as to composition and often as to comprehension—much of it experiments in the villanelle, rondel, and other recondite forms. An exception is Margaret Widdemer's *Shadows,* owing to a surer poetic touch and approach to the reader's experience and emotions. There are also three short stories, *The Lady of the Eucalyptus,* by Kate Bigelow Montague, and two by Horace Fish, *Spanishing Hans,* a local color story of provincial Spain, and *Electrons,* a study of the emotional effects of a comet which threatens to collide with the Earth. Both give evidence of unquestioned power in both realism and imaginative suggestiveness, but the realistic and imaginative elements are grotesquely combined, with an effect which is sometimes obscure and sometimes merely bizarre.

It is the very praiseworthy policy of the Andiron Club that a portion of each of its yearbooks should be a reprint of some important literary work now out of print and inaccessible to most scholars. For the next volume, for example, it is proposed to publish an extensive collection of eighteenth century American essays,

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gathered from the newspapers and magazines of the period by Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Quimby. Other such projects, as a reprint of the *Dramatic Works* of William Dunlap, will readily suggest themselves as of great value in such a series.

The *Poetical Works* of John Trumbull (1750-1831) was chosen for the present issue because of the lapse of an exact century between the first publication and the undertaking of the reprint in 1920. Trumbull is remembered chiefly as the author of the popular Revolutionary satire *M'Fingal* and as the most truly poetical of the Hartford Wits. He deserves more to be remembered, perhaps, not for having passed the Yale entrance examinations at seven—though he considerately refrained from entering until he was thirteen—but for his determined and successful attempts to introduce into the curriculum of his *alma mater* the study of English literature along with that of the ancient classics, theology, logic, and mathematics. He served as a tutor at Yale for a few years, studied law with John Adams at Boston during the stirring days preceding the Revolution—of which *M'Fingal* was a product—and later was prominent as an attorney and judge in his native Connecticut.

M'Fingal, a Hudibrastic satire in four cantos, of which only two appeared before the end of the Revolutionary War, is given credit, along with Paine's *Common Sense* and the *Crisis,* for having done much to rouse men's spirits for that memorable conflict. The narrative, which moves slowly owing to the succession of long speeches of Whig and Tory advocates, deals with a town meeting divided between the two factions, at the abrupt conclusion of which M'Fingal, an irate Tory squire, is tarred and feathered and suspended from the village liberty pole, and with M'Fingal's later prophecy — explained as Scotch second sight — of the disastrous future for his party. The arguments are conducted with much spirit, Butler's meter and end-rhymes are handled with considerable skill, and there are plenty of clever couplets, such as

> But optics sharp it needs, I ween,
> To see what is not to be seen,

or the charge that M'Fingal

> Refused to heaven to raise a prayer
> Because you'd no connection there.

An interesting change of tone is observable in the last two cantos. The Revolution accomplished, Trumbull and his Federalist friends

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were much concerned with the signs of growing anarchy and the gradual development of a democratic party. The Whigs who tar and feather M'Fingal become more and more an antifederalist rabble, and the speeches of both Whig and Loyalist betray an undercurrent of distrust concerning the extension of popular power. The poet, in contrast with his early colleague, Joel Barlow, was increasingly conservative and opposed to political as well as theological radicalism. One finds oneself unconsciously missing "normalcy" in the prefatory remarks touching his work; "Bolshevism" is actually there—"What he and his associates . . . accomplished . . . against the Bolshevism of his day." This growing change is all the more noticeable because Trumbull's career as a poet practically ceases at the end of the Revolution, though he continued to live for nearly half a century longer.

The lyric poems which complete the collection—odes, elegies, translations, *et cetera*,—though Miss Cogan finds a faint romanticism in the *Ode to Sleep*, are characterized mainly by the "sustained flight," or excessive long-windedness, which was so fatal to Trumbull's group. The *Progress of Dulness* in spite of its immaturity, deserves probably at least equal credit with *M'Fingal*, though it is generally underrated in comparison with the more celebrated poem. The careers of Tom Brainless, Dick Hairbrain, and Harriet Simper, characterizing three types of defective education, are adequately developed and are given some degree of unity by the marriage of Harriet, after being jilted by Dick, to Parson Tom, though the ending is abrupt and ineffective. The satirical purpose is well maintained, and there are several good passages, such as the two following, descriptive of Tom Brainless' farewell to pedagogy and his acceptance as a minister:—

> The year is done; he takes his leave;
> The children smile; the parents grieve;
> And seek again, their school to keep,
> One just as good and just as cheap.
> . . . .
> What though his wits could ne'er dispense
> One page of grammar, or of sense;
> What though his learning be so slight,
> He scarcely knows to spell or write;
> What though his skull be cudgel-proof!
> He's orthodox, and that's enough.

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Though it is rather by virtue of wit than of inspiration that Trumbull achieved his degree of fame as a poet, that achievement is far from negligible, and the service rendered by the Andiron Club in making his works accessible is unquestioned. The press work of the book is excellent; and the managing editor and the Dictator of the Club, Professor A. H. Nason, of New York University, and Associate Professor J. W. Draper, of the University of Maine, respectively, are to be congratulated on producing a volume of such worth and attractiveness.

University of Maine. H. M. Ellis.

CORRESPONDENCE

Another (?) Shakespeare Allusion [1]

William Warner's [2] translation of *The Menaechmi* of Plautus (1595) contains what may be a hitherto unnoticed [3] allusion either to *The Taming of a Shrew* or to Shakespeare's revision, *The Taming of the Shrew:*

"*Men. Cit.* We that have loves abroad and wives at home, are miserably hampered, yet would every man could *tame his shrew* as well as I do mine." (Italics mine.)

The original [4] reads:

> "*Men.* euax! iurgio hercle tandem uxorem abegi ab ianua
> ubi sunt amatores mariti? dona quid cessant mihi
> conferre omnes congratulantes quia pugnaui fortiter?"

Mr. Nixon's [5] translation is a good example of the modern version:

"Hurrah! By Jove, at last my lecture has driven her away from the door! Where are your married gallants? Why don't they all hurry up with gifts and congratulations for my valiant fight?"

It will be seen at once that nothing in the original suggests the phrasing, "tame his shrew." Though such an expression as taming one's shrew may have been proverbial,[6] still there is at least a

[1] In working out this allusion, I have had the assistance throughout of Professor T. W. Baldwin, Department of English, Reed College.

[2] Warner, Wm., *The Menaechmi* (Shakespeare classics), ed. W. H. D. Rouse, 1912, p. 19.

[3] For previous notice, I have examined Munro, John, *Shakspere Allusion Book;* Munro, "More Shakspere Allusions," *Modern Philoogy*, Vol. XIII, pp. 497-545; Ward, *History of Elizabethan Drama;* and Bond's, Rolph's, the Tudor, and the Eversley editions of *The Taming of the Shrew.*

[4] Warner, Wm., *The Menaechmi*, p. 18.

[5] Nixon, Paul, *Plautus*, 1917, Vol. II, p. 377.

[6] I have found no such expression as taming one's shrew in any of several books on proverbs and sayings. The current form as given by Camden, *Remains* (1605), was: "Every man can *rule* a shrew save he that hath her."

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possibility that this particular expression is an allusion either to the old play or to Shakespeare's revision of it.

So far as dates are concerned, the allusion might be to either play. The old play was entered on the *Stationers' Registers,* May 2, 1594.[7] Shakespeare's revision was made not later than the summer of 1595 and almost certainly in the winter of 1594.[8] On the other hand, it seems quite probable that Warner's translation does not date very long before its publication in 1595, though some place it earlier, believing it was the source of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors.* This inference they support by the supposition that the manuscript had, for some time, been passed around among Warner's friends before it fell into the hands of the printer. But Warner's statement,[9] which is merely that he made the translation for his friends and not for publication, should not be taken too literally, because such a statement of apology for the printing of one's writings had been in vogue from the beginning of printing, finding expression in the prefaces of such men as Caxton,[10] More, and Shelton. Further, Mr. P. J. Enck[11] has shown that Shakespeare has material from the original Latin which does not appear in Warner's translation. It is not necessary, therefore, to date Warner's translation earlier than 1595 in order to place it as a source for Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors.* So far as chronology is concerned then, our supposed allusion might be either to *The Taming of a Shrew* or to *The Taming of the Shrew.*

When we examine the personal relations of Warner and Shakespeare, we find some evidence to indicate that the allusion is probably to Shakespeare's version. Beginning with the summer of 1594, Warner and Shakespeare for a time both had the same patronage. All Warner's books before and after this period were dedicated either to Sir Henry Carey, the first Lord Hunsdon, or to his son Sir George Carey, the second Lord Hunsdon.[12] Shakespeare's company came into the elder Hunsdon's patronage between April 16 and June 3, 1594;[13] and, after his death July 23, 1596, passed into the patronage of his son. Doubtless then, Warner and Shakespeare would have been brought together in this summer of 1594, if they had not previously met, just as, in an analogous situation, Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Kyd became acquainted

[7] Greg, W. W., *Henslowe's Diary,* Vol. II, p. 164.

[8] This is shown in a forthcoming article on *The Chronology of Shakespeare's Plays* by Professor Baldwin.

[9] Warner, Wm., *The Menaechmi,* p. 1.

[10] *Harvard Classics,* Vol. XXXIX, p. 6; More, Sir Thomas, *Utopia,* ed. by Edward Arber, 1906, p. 13; *Harvard Classics,* Vol. XIV, part 1, p. 6.

[11] *London Times,* Lit. Sup., March 17, 1921, E. A. Sonnenschein, "Shakespeare's Knowledge of Latin."

[12] *Dictionary of National Biography,* Warner, Wm.

[13] Murray, J. T., *English Dramatic Companies,* Vol. I, p. 91; Greg, W. W., *Henslowe's Diary,* Vol. I, p. 17.

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when Kyd was a servant in his master's household and Marlowe was writing for his master's players.[14]

This situation might explain Warner's special interest about 1594 in *The Menaechmi* of Plautus, which Shakespeare had adapted as his *Comedy of Errors.* In this very autumn, the Shakespearean Company had revived *The Comedy of Errors.* We know the play was performed at Gray's Inn, December 28, 1594,[15] though it had not appeared in *Henslowe's Diary* while the Company was performing at The Rose (1592-94). This means that the Company had not likely given the play between March, 1592 and June 15, 1594. It would seem then that the play was revived between June 15 and December 28, 1594. In view of the probable personal relations between Warner and Shakespeare at this time, it would seem a fair hypothesis that Warner became specially interested in translating *The Menaechmi* of Plautus by seeing the revival of *The Comedy of Errors.*

This revived popularity of the play would also account for the printer's eagerness to publish Warner's translation, unpolished as it was. It might also be noticed that there had been sufficient time for Warner's making this translation between the time of the revival of *The Comedy of Errors* and the time of the printing of the translation.

Thus, if our previous hypothesis of relationship between Warner and Shakespeare is correct, it is also at least possible, even probable that, as Warner translated *The Menaechmi* under the inspiration of *The Comedy of Errors,* he made an allusion in it to Shakespeare's latest play, *The Taming of the Shrew.* If our two hypotheses are correct, William Warner was by 1595 more than ordinarily interested in William Shakespeare. Such a situation would make it probable that Warner was really referring to Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in a passage[16] long ago pointed out, all these things together indicating that at least from 1594, or 1595, through 1606, William Warner was so interested in Shakespeare as to allude to and echo his work.

Our supposed allusion, if genuine, is important both because it was one of the first favorable notices of Shakespeare's plays and because it was made by so important a person as William Warner. This allusion would date a full three years before the recognition accorded Shakespeare by Francis Meres, indicating that even as early as 1594-5, Shakespeare, as a playwright, was winning the approval of men who had already established themselves in the literary world.

DONALD D. RAMSDELL.

Reed College.

[14] Boas, F. S., *The Works of Thomas Kyd.* Introduction, pp. cviii-cx.
[15] Munro, J. J., *The Shakspere Allusion Book*, Vol. I, p. 7.
[16] Munro, J. J., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 158.

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Shelley and Browning

The attitude of Browning toward Shelley as it is expressed in the *Essay on Shelley* and in *Memorabilia* is well known. But I have never seen it stated that Browning's theory of the function of the poet as it is worked out in *How It Strikes a Contemporary* shows Shelley's influence.

It will be recalled that the final sentence of Shelley's *Defense of Poetry* is, "Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world." This is the very conception of the rôle of the poet in the community as Browning makes clear from his poem.

Allen R. Benham.

The University of Washington.

Library Coöperation

During the meeting of the *MLA* in Philadelphia, December, 1922, an informal meeting of professors of German was held to discuss a plan for coöperation between college and university libraries in connection with the purchase of books in Germanic philology, literature, and kindred subjects. The plan suggested did not in any sense involve coöperative buying, but provided for a division of fields for specialization.

The desirability of inaugurating some agreement of this sort was based on two principles; in the first place on financial considerations, and secondly on the increase of efficiency in securing more extensive collections for the work of scholars in Germanics. The demands upon the financial resources of colleges and universities for the maintenance of the libraries are enormous and are constantly increasing. Ten of the larger university libraries on the Eastern seaboard spent last year nearly half a million dollars in the purchase price of books alone. In addition, it is estimated that it costs a dollar and a half to place a book on the shelves after it has been purchased, and that it costs a dollar to provide housing for each book;—in other words, a library to hold a million volumes represents an expenditure of about a million dollars. Library buildings rapidly become inadequate for the increasing collections.

Most librarians recognize the fact that intensity of specialization in all fields is frankly an impossibility; no library can hope to obtain every book in every field. Hence, the needs of scholars might be best served if there were a division of the fields whereby certain libraries should make themselves responsible for certain subjects. This responsibility would involve the acquisition, as far as possible, of every new work in the field, and of every older work whenever procurable; bibliographical completeness within a restricted field would be the aim. For example, if the subject were

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a single author, the library would purchase every edition of the collected works, and of individual works, at least every edition which has significance, and all works concerning the author. Other libraries would be informed of this specialization, and scholars would thus be aware of the location of the special collections. A fundamental principle of such a scheme would be a system of inter-library loans whenever desired.

Naturally each library would still continue to endeavor to satisfy the reasonable wants of professor and graduate student in their research work, and would retain complete freedom of action in purchasing extensively wherever it seemed desirable. Each library would, however, agree to specialize in certain fields, and other libraries might as a consequence be relieved of the burden of specialization in these fields.

The plan was received with interest, and since the meeting it has been discussed by means of a questionnaire. Still further discussion will be required to develop the details of the scheme; and such discussion is earnestly urged. It is hoped that the coöperation of a considerable number of colleges and universities will be secured, and the plan, or some desired substitute, will be adopted as of substantial value to the study of Germanics and of real relief to library budgets.

Harvey W. Hewett-Thayer.

Princeton University.

The Chaucer Concordance

The *Chaucer Concordance,* which was finished and sent to Washington on April 25, 1923, has had a long and complicated history. This outline, which will give some idea of its character as well, is sent to officials of institutions which have aided the work, and to some others who may be interested.

The enterprise was started in England by Dr. F. J. Furnivall in 1872. Slips were made and more or less edited with the plan of perhaps making a dictionary as well as a concordance. The work was taken over in 1893 by Dr. Ewald Flügel, who planned to make it at the same time a very extensive dictionary and a complete concordance. In 1904 the Carnegie Institution of Washington began its liberal assistance. At Dr. Flügel's death in 1914, his great work was more or less finished as far as the letter H.

Late in 1916, the present editor took up the work, with Dr. A. G. Kennedy as co-editor, and with restored assistance from the Carnegie Institution. Most of 1917 passed in the examination and alphabeting of the enormous mass of Dr. Flügel's material by a competent assistant, and it turned out that in the part of the work not yet used by Dr. Flügel about one-half of one per cent. of the slips were missing. Since a concordance must be absolutely accu-

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rate and complete, obviously this old material could not be used. The concordance feature is what is most needed; so it was decided to make new material for that and omit the dictionary part for the present. There is a good hope that Dr. Flügel's material will be of the highest value for a new Middle English Dictionary, which is in prospect.

No work was done during 1918, owing to the war and the hope (which was disappointed) that a better text of Chaucer's writings would be available soon. The work began in earnest in January, 1919, with the help of forty or fifty persons in various parts of the country. The 250,000 slips were mostly in by the end of the year, and by spring, 1920, had all been verified by two assistants. Then an assistant added words to those passages which would otherwise have been ambiguous, and another assistant verified this work. During the summer of 1920, four assistants alphabeted the 250,000 slips, and during that summer and fall thousands of slips by the co-editor and an assistant were made as specimens of certain words not included in the 250,000 slips. During that fall, the editors made slips for variant readings in the Globe, Skeat and Koch editions, and elsewhere. The spring and summer of 1921 were spent in various tasks of selecting, verifying, and correcting. In the spring of 1921, slips for variants were made, with the kind coöperation of Professors F. N. Robinson and R. K. Root, from their forthcoming editions. In August, 1921, the editor went to Scotland and consulted certain unpublished collations of about a thousand crucial passages in practically all extant manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, and extracted many variants. This was an afterthought, but a useful one. The concordance, in the hope of never being superseded, has taken variants not only from all editions published and in prospect, but for three-fourths of Chaucer's poetry (the *Troilus* and the *Tales*) from practically all existing manuscripts.

In the spring of 1922, after the selection of specimens from some 30,000 slips of certain words not to be printed in full, began the immense task of finally arranging the 200,000 remaining slips, which had been arranged in 1920 in strict alphabetical order. All the slips for a word had to be put under one heading. What makes the *Chaucer Concordance* perhaps the most difficult (as well as one of the largest) ever made in any language is the great variety of spellings for the same word (*e. g.* seven spellings for the word *one*), and also the difficulty of determining what constitutes a single word(*e. g. himself, him-self, him self*). After some experimenting, it proved most practical to put under a heading in modern spelling all words still in use today. Between April, 1922, and March, 1923, the whole mass was thus gone through twice; and in addition some 2500 cross-references were made. After further verification of head-words and cross-references, and various other

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tasks, the whole was pasted on more than 13,000 large sheets, which were finally reviewed and numbered.

The work has taken some four years, with scarcely any pause for vacations or even holidays, except for a time in the fall and winter of 1921. That it has gone so rapidly, and has avoided wasting much time through errors and wrong decisions, is due largely to the liberality of the Carnegie Institution and of Stanford University, which have allowed the editors so much financial help and free time; and also to the intelligence and conscience of nearly sixty helpers (mostly unpaid).

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK.

Stanford University.

CHAUCER'S WHELP AND LION

The falcon in the *Squire's Tale* tells Canacee her woful love-story

> for to maken other be war by me,
> As by the whelp chasted is the leoun.[1]

The explanation is surely no riddle on the face of it, even if Dr. Skeat had not found in Cotgrave and George Herbert a couple of modern proverbial sayings to the same effect. But the saying is older than Chaucer. It may have been an old saw in his day, or he may have got it from Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale,* XX, 68: "Uerberatur catulus coram eo [*sc.* leone] creditque illius exemplo se debere timere hominem quem in canis coertione videt potentem. Hinc in prouerbio dicitur quod pulcre castigatur qui per alium se castigat." (With no proverb it is also in his *Speculum doctrinale,* XVI, 89.) Vincent professes to draw the context "Ex libro de naturis rerum," which is often quoted in this part of the work. This book is probably Thomas of Cantimpré's *De natura rerum,* in which the statement occurs.[2] Another possible source for Chaucer is Bartholomeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum,* XVIII, 63, which attributes the statement to Solinus (wrongly, to judge by Mommsen's edition), "qui dicit leonem timere quando videt vel audit catulum verberari." The earliest like statement to be easily found is in St. Ambrose's *De Cain et*

[1] Ll. 490-1. The conceit appears in *Othello,* II, iii, where Iago cheers Cassio, in despair over his disgrace,—"a punishment more in policy than in malice; even so as one would beat his offenceless dog to affright an imperious lion." Some of the commentators misunderstand this, through not recognizing the allusion.

[2] "Pliny says that a captive lion can be tamed by seeing its cub whipped or by watching a dog obey a man." I quote from Lynn Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), II, 383, one of the most important contributions to medieval scholarship in many a day. "Cub" is presumably a translation of "catulus."

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Abel, lib. II: "Caeditur canis, ut pavescat leo: et qui sua injuria exasperatur, coercetur aliena, alteriusque exemplo frangitur." [3]

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK.

Stanford University.

A NEW NOTE ON FIELDING'S *Historical Register*

Apparently we shall never find the missing advertisements for the first performance of Fielding's *The Historical Register,* but I recently found in the British Museum a new item referring to the forthcoming appearance of the play, a reference which should be added to those which I gave in *Modern Language Notes,* XXXIV, 221-222. It is ostensibly a news item, but as it appeared simultaneously in the *St. James's Evening-Post* and the *London Evening-Post,* March 8-10, 1737, it would appear to have been inspired. It reads as follows: "The Town are in great Expectation of being

[3] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XIV, 359. In spite of Thomas of Cantimpré the thing does not seem to occur in Pliny's *Naturalis historia,* nor in certain other writers on the lion cited by Vincent,—Aristotle (*De historia animalium*), Solinus, Isidor of Seville, several of the *Physiologi.* Vincent, who had Pliny at his fingers' ends, does not father this on him. So Thomas probably got it from elsewhere. But it is just possible that Thomas also ridiculously misunderstood an anecdote in VIII, 61; at any rate, this is the nearest thing in the *Naturalis historia.* A huge dog belonging to Alexander the Great was shown various animals in vain,—too proud to fight, "contemptu immobili jacente eo." By the king's orders he was shown a lion and an elephant. "Nec distulit Alexander, leonemque fractum protinus vidit." No one who read the anecdote through could have misunderstood; still, "leonem fractum" might mean "was tamed" as well as "torn in pieces."—The proverb quoted by Vincent is also in Chaucer, quoted in a more rhetorical form from Ptolemy's *Almagest* (*Wife of Bath's Prologue,* 180-1; Flügel in *Anglia,* XVIII, 134-8); Skeat also finds it paralleled elsewhere. Pandarus with his weakness for proverbs does not overlook it (*Troilus* III, 329),

For wyse ben by foles harm chastysed.

I add another point where Vincent illustrates the *Canterbury Tales.* The word *Auctor* is found in the margin of certain MSS., once in the *Clerk's Tale* (995, in MSS. El, Cm, Cm Dd), and five times in the *Merchant's Tale,* 1783 (El, Hn, Cm, Cm Dd, Hl), 1869 (El, Hn, Cm Dd, Hl), 2057 (El, Hn), 2107 (El, Cm), 2125 (El, Cm). All are passages of ejaculation, comment and moralizing, and stand apart from the tales. Why the label seems to be used only in these two consecutive tales, and whether it and other *marginalia* are due to Chaucer himself is not the point now. In Vincent's *Spec. hist., nat.* and *doctr.* among quotations from earlier writers one constantly finds bits labeled "Actor" or "Auctor." In the third chapter of the prolog of each work he says these bits include matter which he has picked up from various sources ancient and modern, and "nomine meo id est autoris intitulaui." Eustache Deschamps seems to follow the same custom in his dismal Lay on Human Fragility. A strophe less close than usual to his main source is headed "L' acteur parle" (S. A. T. F., II, 275); another "Ci s' excuse l' acteur," others "Cy parle l' acteur," etc. (285, 289, 302).

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entertained, in a few Days at the Hay-Market Theatre, with a new Dramatick Piece, call'd, The Historical Register for the Year 1736, written by the Author of Pasquin; which has been approved by the best Judges, and is thought to contain the finest Humour and genteelest Satire, of any Thing published a long Time." The most delightful thing about this discovery is the suggestion that the satire of *The Historical Register* was thought to be "genteel"!

CHARLES W. NICHOLS.

University of Minnesota.

BRIEF MENTION

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. Vol. VIII. Collected by G. C. Moore Smith (Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1922. 167 pp.). The carefully selected and neatly printed *Essays and Studies* issued by the English Association now constitute a series of eight small volumes compact of first-class matter. The diversity of subjects treated in each volume (six or seven articles making up a volume) is like that in the collection now to be noticed, of which the table of contents is as follows: "Tragedy," by John S. Smart; "On the Meanings of Certain Terms in the Anglo-Saxon Charters," by G. B. Grundy; "The Felon Sew," by G. H. Cowling; "The Mystical Element in English Poetry," by A. Hamilton Thompson; "Romanticism in the Modern World," by C. H. Herford; "Hazlitt," by W. P. Ker; "English Grammar and Grammars," by R. B. McKerrow. To name these contributors is to give assurance of a volume of positive worth.

In a series of short chapters, Mr. Smart comments on different aspects of "Tragedy." He first corrects that critical view which fails to distinguish the subtle fact that Shakespeare reflects both the medieval conception of external Fate or Destiny and the modern conception of the tragic force of personal character. The two notions may be blended, for "The direct effects of Fortune's blows can be averted by meeting them with firmness of mind." The inquiry is continued under the form whether there be "such a thing as mere fatality," or whether the tragic hero must in some degree be at fault, by act or by defect in his nature, and must therefore blame himself not fate. Aristotle and Hegel are specifically arraigned, and refuted by the evidence of the tragic story of Clarissa Harlowe. Hegel defended his theory by an appeal to the fate of Antigone (as in Sophocles); but this was set at naught by Goethe's finer analysis of Creon's motives. Goethe's reasoning was, however, not observed by subsequent German critics, who reverted to the tenet that where there is suffering there must be guilt, the tenet that misled Gervinus to commit gross misrepresentations of the tragic motives in Shakespeare. Mr. Smart cor-

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rects him, and summarizes the argument: "A nature which has many noble qualities but some fatal defect is a legitimate theme of tragedy; but it is not the only theme. Guilt may enter deeply into the tragic matter; but must we believe that, in some form or other, it is necessarily and invariably present, and that without it tragedy is incomplete? So Gervinus assumes; and with clumsy ingenuity he adapts all the tragic dramas of Shakespeare to this conception" (p. 22).

Having arrived at the 'heart of his inquiry,' Mr. Smart continues the discussion on the assumption that tragedies are of different kinds and that they always involve "reaction against calamity." The argument is supported by concrete evidence and contains details of first-class literary criticism. A formula is adapted from Trollope: "Polyphemus can be tragic only if he has *mind* enough to suffer" (p. 30). Applied to *Romola* the case is clear that it is not Tito, with his selfish nature, but Baldassarre, with something of greatness in him, who suffers tragic distress. Among English novelists Thomas Hardy is declared preëminent for deeply pondering "over tragic issues." In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* the fate of Michael Henchard demonstrates the saying (which is quoted in the book) that "character is destiny." Elsewhere Hardy's characters are "the victims of blind fatality." Mr. Smart closes this thoughtful and instructive survey of a fundamental problem in a refutation of a cynical theory, emphatically approved by Emil Faguet, that the reader's and the spectator's pleasure in tragedy is *malicious,* because of "a tinge of ferocity" that survives in us all, and is cunningly exploited by the tragic writers.

Mr. Grundy has contributed the results of a documentary investigation of real importance to the lexicographer and to the student of earliest English life; and Mr. G. H. Cowling has supplied the documentary history of the transmission of the text of the *Felon Sew* [*Sow*] *of Rokeby,* and in scholarly fashion edited the mock-heroic ballad, the "jargon or song," which was transcribed by Sir Walter Scott into a note to his *Rokeby*. Incidentally he finds that a comparison of Scott's text "with the other versions disposes of the notion that he used the lost original" [manuscript of 1565], the loss of which has been attributed to him. These two articles, differing so widely in subject-matter, are equally sound in method.

Coming to Mr. Thompson's article on "The Mystical Element in English Poetry" one is reminded, in his first sentence, of a contrast to the strictly "documentary" method so well observed in the preceding articles. He has in mind *The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse* chosen by D. H. S. Nicholson and A. H. E. Lee (Clarendon Press, 1917), but this is referred to, according to a happily outworn method, merely as "a recent anthology of English mystical verse." Moreover, *The Oxford Book* was followed in 1919 by Percy H. Osmond's excellent volume entitled *The Mystical*

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Poets of the English Church (London, Soc. for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York, The Macmillan Co.). To this work Mr. Thompson does not refer even in his vague manner,—a fact constituting, if one wishes to be strict, a double indictment, from the point of view of the reasonable demands of the student. But it is to be noticed also that *The Oxford Book* is not listed by Osmond; this one must suppose to be due to an oversight in the delayed handling of the Ms. of the book, which was "ready for the press when the war broke out."

Now, what constitutes a genuine surprise in observing Mr. Thompson's neglect of Mr. Osmond's book is a deeper matter than a failure to keep posted on the lists of 'recent publications.' Mr. Thompson finds *The Oxford Book* giving a misleading view of the range of mysticism in English poetry by offering five-sixths of its selections from the last three generations of poets, and thus favoring the inference "that mysticism in English poetry is a comparatively modern growth." But Mr. Osmond has an excellent chapter on the "pre-Reformation Poets." Mr. Thompson also finds that in the 'anthology' the distinction is not made sufficiently clear between the professed mystic and the poet who merely projects himself by sympathy into the mystic mood: "Verse about mysticism is a very different thing from the verse of the mystic." Traherne, for example, yields to the attraction of "mystical paradoxes; but his verse is not the natural outcome of ecstacy," it is rather the effect of attempting "to write himself into that condition." So too, Donne's "knockings at the gate of mysticism" are indicative of one who was restrained by the world in his path from frankly treading the mystic way. Mr. Thompson's essay abounds in fine observations of this sort. He writes excellently, in thought and expression, to enforce "the distinction which marks off genuine mysticism from a sensitiveness to mysterious influences," and incidentally offers valuable details of literary judgment.

Mr. Herford's signature cancels all questions as to form and matter; and it always refreshes and strengthens an intellectual or aesthetic concern for important subjects. This essay is a critical examination of Professor Babbitt's *Rousseau and Romanticism* (1919), of which the dominating formula is thus defined: "Romanticism is fundamentally a pursuit of limitless innovation—art where there are 'seven and seventy ways of being right,' life in which wandering desire replaces fixed principle and the taboos of the moral law give place to the limitless affirmations of individual temperament. Romantic genius is aspiration for a formless infinite, Romantic nature-worship is a futile self-projection, only to be tolerated as a 'holiday or week-end amusement'; Romantic love is lawless passion." The formula is based on a misunderstanding of Rousseau's profound "conception that life in society is the condition" of individual freedom; the condition is not pre-social, but is won thru society, not in spite of it. The "true nature of

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man" is not to be divested of inherent qualities to fit it for social life, but the "universal human understanding," as the doctrine was set forth by Kant, is "the master-clue to all experience," the philosophic basis for a true theory of life. And the Romantic passion for scenery, that is not, as Mr. Babbitt interprets it, "a mere negation, a flight from the actualities of civilization," but starting with the *Nouvelle Hêloïse* it has the deep value of "bringing actuality more completely into view and into the recognized domain of art."

Romanticism has ethical aspects. According to Mr. Babbitt it is ethically centrifugal,—throwing off the restraints of fixed standards. Under this head Mr. Herford cannot refrain from accusing Mr. Babbitt of "a thoroughly perverse piece of criticism." Here is an instance of Mr. Herford's incisive refutation and constructive criticism: "That there was in Shelley's nature a vein of pure revolt, an impulse strictly centrifugal . . . is certain. . . . One is almost ashamed to have to reiterate, a century after his death, that deeper in him than the merely centrifugal revolt, and in all his greatest achievements transforming and spiritualizing it, was the passionate self-subjection to a higher law, sometimes to be called Beauty, sometimes love." And again, "the action and the imagery of the *Prometheus*" is indeed unrelated to 'normal human experience' but it is an inexcusable confusion of image and purport to suppose Shelley's thought to be "equally unrelated and remote. . . . Shelley does not 'refuse to face the facts of life'; . . . he grapples with them," and "in some vital points he saw more clearly than any of his contemporaries." Mr. Babbitt contends for a 'Thou shalt not' morality in which "an affirmation in conflict with a check is assumed to be wrong, to be merely centrifugal." This is concretely disproved in Mr. Herford's best manner by reëxamining the two literary works, Browning's *The Ring and the Book* and Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, which Mr. Babbitt himself singled out "for special reprobation." The ethic of Romanticism and the ethic of Classicism are alike vindicated in the laws of man's nature; in both domains of art, the 'inner vision' must be followed; the artist must express his "own inmost experience." This admirable essay will repay studious reading more richly than has been indicated in this brief notice.

Mr. Ker gives instructive glimpses, chiefly thru quotations from the writings of Hazlitt himself, of the philosopher, portrait-painter, and critic. It is done in Mr. Ker's fine manner, always clear in thought, felicitous in phrase, and never astray in purpose. He would have special attention paid to Hazlitt's understanding of the character and genius of Coleridge.

The volume ends with an article on "English Grammar and Grammars" (pp. 148-167), by Mr. R. B. McKerrow, who introduces himself as "one who has not indeed had any opportunity of active participation in grammar-teaching for many years past, but

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who, as a teacher of English in Japan in the closing years of the last century, was obliged to give a great deal of attention to the matter." He would offer suggestions as to how the present-day English may be "more correctly presented" in the schools. The method must have no contact with 'historical' grammar; that would merely confuse matters. To adapt a symbol from Mr. Babbitt, this article has a certain peripheral suggestiveness 'and a great central void.' At the center it is philosophically unsound. Mr. McKerrow may have been successful in teaching English in Japan and thru this experience has been led to deal with formal grammar in a very independent manner, and has even become somewhat orientalized, as may be inferred from his impatience "with the difference between 'go' and 'goes' in 'I go' and 'he goes.'" He would cancel this difference in form, and implies his belief that custom will not much longer tolerate this formal difference in expressing the identical meaning. That Indo-Germanic grammar has a philosophy of its own is too feebly grasped by this practical teacher. If this were not so, he would not be found revamping the out-worn indictment that Latin grammar has had a perverting influence on the subject of English grammar; nor could he possibly dismiss 'historical grammar' from the range of his serious attention with so much confidence in the conviction that he is not failing in the fundamental discipline required for an understanding of his subject.

Mr. McKerrow quibbles with the grammatical nomenclature. For example, "in what sense is one [of the participles] 'present' and the other 'past'?" In no true sense is the distinction "a matter of time," it is replied. And the designation 'present tense' contributes "another bit of confused nomenclature." And the other 'tenses' are also misleadingly designated. There is also a quarrel with the usual explanation of the use of the auxiliary verbs. The reasoning is almost entertainingly in error. Moreover, he condemns the usage of the expression (not denying the truth of it, except in a quibbling way) "an adjective used as a noun"; and to designate a verb as sometimes transitive and sometimes intransitive offends his sense of true grammar-teaching. Illogical enough is this comprehensive statement of the case: "in the division into Parts of Speech, which comes in the forefront of most grammars, we are taught to consider words not according to their form but according to their meaning and use"; but this brings us, thru the indoctrination of declensions and conjugations, to consider "words as words, and not as symbols of meanings," and confusion sets in when "the same word is used now as one part of speech, now as another."

Mr. McKerrow writes in an earnest manner but is so far astray in doctrine as to put his article into unfavorable contrast with the preceding contributions to this volume.

J. W. B.

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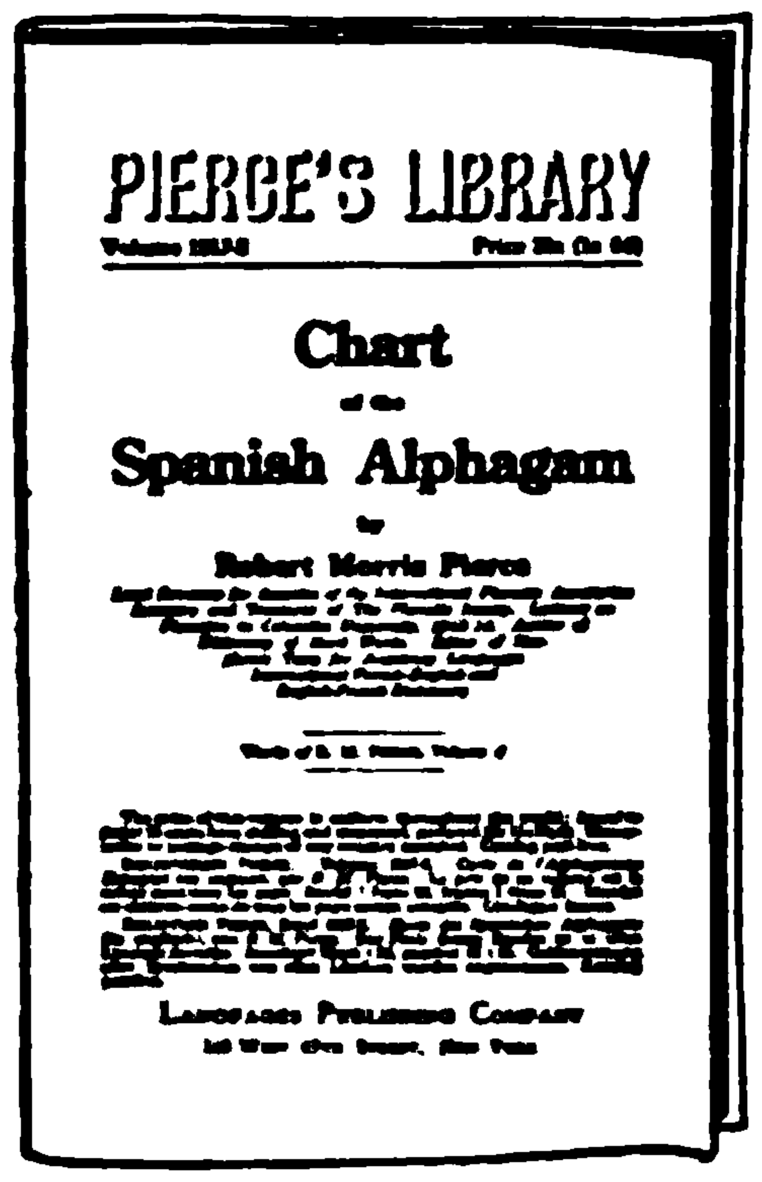

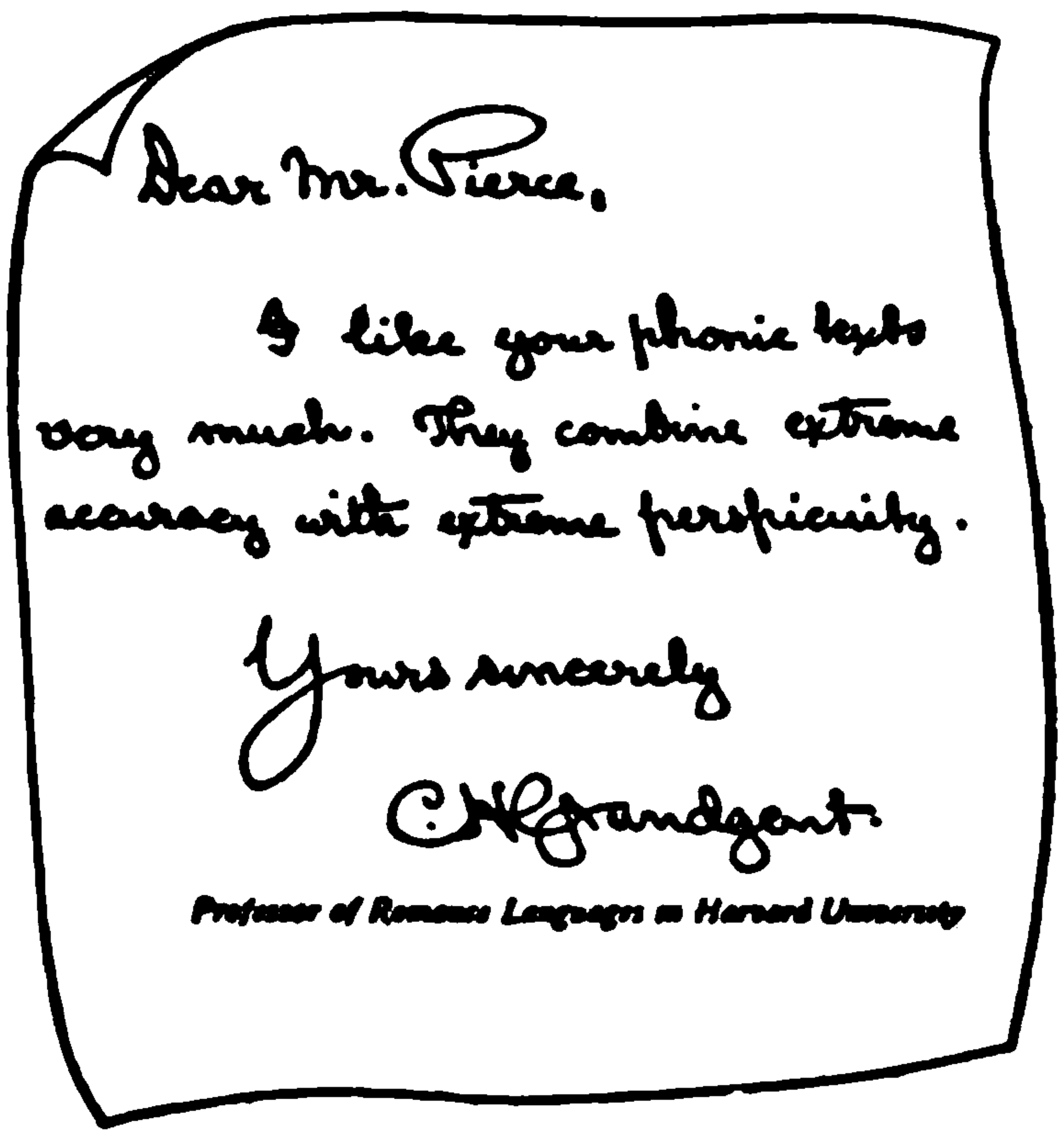

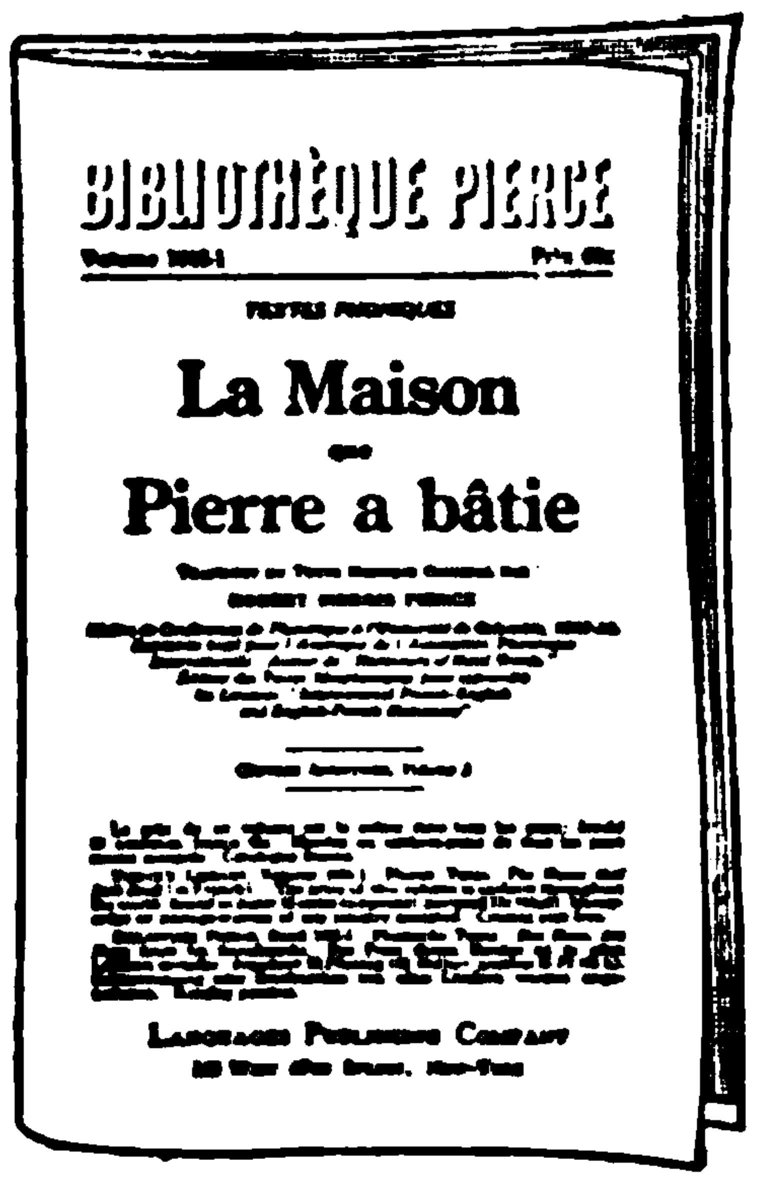

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